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THOMAS RADCLYFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX.

OR FRA

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR ANTONIO MORE IN THE POSSESSION OF

WILLIAM RADCLYFFE, ESQ

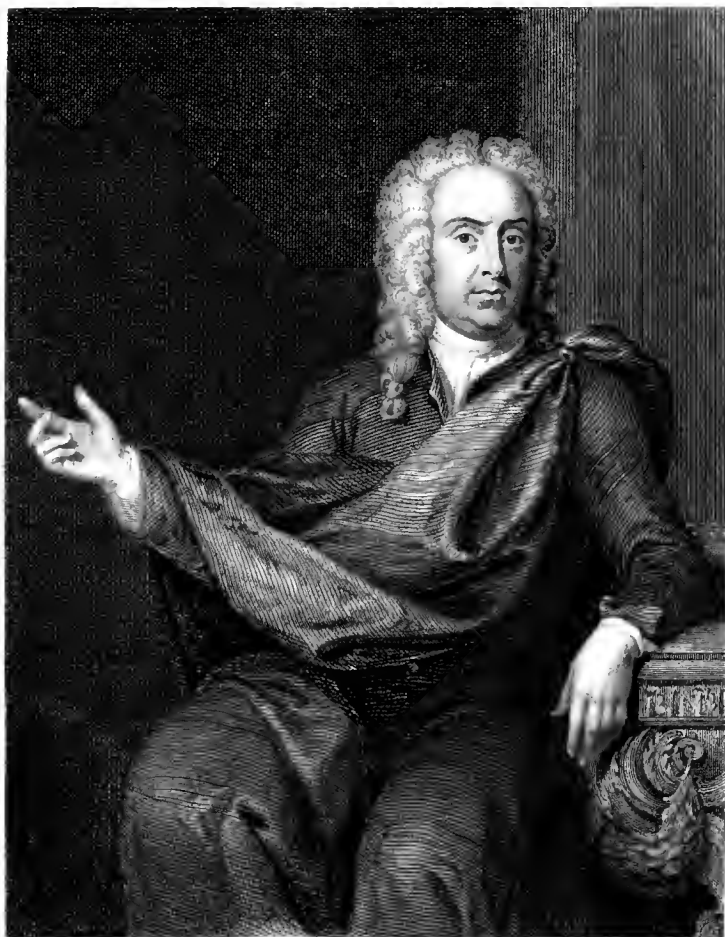


JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF ORMOND.

OB. 1688.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNEELER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF STRATHMORE.



WILLIAM PULTENEY, EARL OF BATH.

OR 1764

OF THE ORDER OF THE BATH

THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD NORTHWICK



engraved by J. H. van

WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

OB. 1576.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} LORD BAGOT

English, and the question of restoration to the former possessor, or confirmation to the present, which now occupied most seriously the attention of statesmen.

It was this question of property which at first occupied most sensibly the minds of men of all parties. The king was harassed with a multitude of conflicting claims, all pushed with equal clamour and importunity, and he was willing to relieve himself from these by any method which promised the least personal trouble. It was most difficult to evade the claims of the adventurers, who at an early period of the war had advanced their money on the faith of acts of parliament to which the late king has given his assent, and which had been confirmed by subsequent proceedings, so that they seemed to have been consecrated by the unanimous approval of all the different powers which had successively held the English government. To refuse their claims would be a public act of injustice and want of faith. Next to these came the claims of the protestant army in Ireland, who were to be paid for their services in Irish lands, and whom, for their late services in the restoration of royalty, and the power they had in Ireland, it would be dangerous as well as ungrateful to disoblige. The king himself had made a treaty with the Irish confederates in the beginning of 1649,* which contained extensive concessions to the catholics in general, to which their own violence had destroyed their title, but many of the catholics had remained faithful to the treaty, they having gone into exile to place themselves at the king's service, and by his commands they had entered the services of France and Spain. These put in their claim to partake in the benefits secured to them by the treaty, and their loyalty and fidelity seemed to entitle them to special favour. On the other hand there were a number of protestant royalists who had served against the Irish till the arrival of Cromwell, and who had received no compensation for their losses or the arrears of their pay on account of their attachment to Charles, but who now brought forward their claims. The claims of the two latter classes interfered in many instances with those of the former.

Various schemes were successively pro-

* This peace was in reality concluded early in the year 1649, but as the first months of the year, from January 1st to March 25th were in the old style of reckoning considered as part of the previous year it was commonly called the peace of 1648.

posed for satisfying these conflicting appeals, but all were found equally beset with difficulties, until at last the king adopted one drawn up by the Earl of Orrery, sir John Clotworthy, and sir Arthur Mervyn; these men were in heart advocates of the claims of the adventurers and soldiers, and according to their plan the latter were to be confirmed in their possessions, while the "innocent" or "meritorious" Irish, were to be reprimed out of other lands that had been forfeited, and which, according to an estimate they had made, would be sufficient for the purpose.

It was on their report that the king published his *declaration* for the settlement of Ireland, by which the various claimants were placed much in the same order of preference in which they are enumerated above. The adventurers in the first place were confirmed in the lands they possessed on the 7th of May, 1659, agreeably to the acts of parliament of the 17th and 18th of Charles I., which were to be held in free and common socage; and all deficiencies were to be satisfied before the month of May following. The soldiers were next confirmed in the lands allotted them for their pay, to be held in chief by knight's service, with the exception of church lands, of estates procured by fraudulent means, and of the lands of those who were excepted in the act of oblivion and indemnity, or who since the restoration had made any attempt to disturb the public peace or who had manifested publicly an aversion to the regal government. Officers who had served before June, 1649, and had not yet received lands for their pay, were to be satisfied by the allotment for this purpose of estates, houses, and other securities, from which they were to receive immediately twelve shillings and sixpence in the pound of their arrears and an equal dividend of whatever should remain of their security. Protestants, whose estates had been given to adventurers or soldiers, were to be restored, unless they had been in rebellion before the cessation, or had taken out decrees for lands in Connaught or Clare; and the persons removed to make way for the restoration of their estates were to be reprimed, without being accountable for the mesne profits. Innocent papists, although they had taken lands in Connaught, were to be restored to their estates, and the persons removed to make way for them to be reprimed; if they had sold their Connaught lands, they were to satisfy the purchasers. In this article

there was an exception relating to corporations, as it was considered necessary for the security of the English government that they should consist entirely of English inhabitants: the innocent papists, whose former estates lay within the corporate towns, instead of being restored, were to be reprimed in the neighbourhood. Those papists who had submitted and adhered to the peace of 1649, who had remained at home, sued out decrees, and received lands in Connaught, were to be bound by their own act, and not relieved from it; while those who had served abroad under the king's orders, and had accepted no lands in Connaught, were to be restored to their old estates, after the adventurers or soldiers who were in possession should be reprimed and satisfied for their disbursements. A provision was made for the interests of the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchiquin, who had already been restored by act of parliament to their estates, as well as those of some other lords; and thirty-six others of the Irish nobility and gentry were named, as objects of the king's special favour, to be restored to their estates on the same terms with those who had served abroad. To carry out the articles of this declaration orderly and without offence to those who might quarrel for precedence of restitution, it was directed that the innocent protestants and papists (those who had not taken part in the rebellion, but had been persecuted for their attachment to the monarchy) who had no lands assigned in Connaught, should be first restored; after them, the innocent who had taken out decrees for such lands; then the persons who were dispossessed by these restorations, were to receive their reprisals; after these, the Irish who claimed the benefit of the peace of 1649, and had served abroad on the king's orders, were to be restored to their lands; and lastly the persons dispossessed by them were to be reprimed. If any lands remained after these restorations and reprisals, they were assigned for the satisfaction of those who had furnished arms, ammunition, or provisions, for the Irish war previous to the year 1649. From all the estates thus settled, restored, or reprimed, a small rent was reserved to the crown.

The terms of this declaration were sufficiently general, and the exceptions were not numerous. The king intimated his intention of convening a parliament in Ireland

for the purpose of giving force to this declaration, and passing a general act of pardon and oblivion, with the exception only of persons notoriously guilty of murders. All persons concerned in the plot to surprise Dublin Castle in 1641, all the judges of the late king, all who signed his sentence, and the guard of halberdiers at his execution, were excluded from all benefit of this declaration; which concluded with a further provision that nothing contained in it should extend to confirm the disposition of any lands and tenements belonging to any city or sea-town incorporated, to adventurers, soldiers, or others; but that they were to remain in the possession of the crown to restore to such corporations as should be approved by the king, the persons thus dispossessed to be reprimed as in other cases. This of course, gave new force to the crown, by giving it the nomination of the new corporations, and thus enable the government of the restoration to purge them of dissenters and malcontents, as well as of papists. The king agreed to take as a free gift from the adventurers and soldiers, who had been specially anxious for their interests in the drawing up of this declaration, one half-year's rent from each of their two first years, to be applied to his own use and to that of the eminent sufferers in his service. Thus framed and concluded, the declaration was transmitted to Ireland with instructions to the three new lords justices to put it in execution.

Such was the famous declaration which was to do so much for the settlement of Ireland, but which in its effects fell far short of the expectations of its framers. There was something found in it to dissatisfy every party, and some of its provisions led to jealousies and animosities which produced the most unfortunate effects on the future prosperity of the country. The persons treated with most favour were the old adventurers and the soldiers of the late republican army; and the forty-nine men, as they were called, or those loyal officers who had served before the year 1649, could not conceal their discontent at what they considered a most unjustifiable partiality. They had fought against the Irish insurgents, when the power of the latter was greatest, and, having further undergone persecution during late years for their known loyalty to king Charles, they complained of the favour shown to republicans and fanatics, while they were themselves, by the terms of the

declaration, only to receive little more than half the arrears of pay which was due to them, and even the securities assigned to them were not considered sufficient to discharge that proportion of their demands.

The Irish catholics had still greater cause for dissatisfaction. Those who were adjudged *innocent*, and even the *meritorious*, were to wait for the restitution of their own estates, until reprisals were found and assigned to the present possessors. They objected equally to the commissioners appointed for executing the declaration, and to the instructions sent to them. The former were men whose interests and inclinations were closely bound up with those of the adventurers and soldiers; and they complained that the latter were so expressed, that it would be difficult for any Irish catholic to establish the qualifications necessary for ascertaining his innocence. No man was to be restored as an innocent papist who, at or before the cessation of 1613, was of the rebel party, or enjoyed his property in the quarters of the rebels, except the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, who were driven into those quarters by force. No papist was to be judged innocent who had entered into the Irish confederacy before the peace of 1619; or who had at any time adhered to the nuncio, the clergy, or the papal power, in opposition to the royal authority, or who, having been excommunicated for his loyalty, had acknowledged himself an offender and received absolution. Whoever derived his title to his estate from any who died guilty of these crimes; all who claimed their estates on the articles of peace, and thus acknowledged their concurrence in the rebellion; all who, residing in the English quarters, corresponded in any manner with the rebels; all who sat in any assemblies or councils of the confederates, or acted by any commissions derived from them, before the peace of 1649; all who had concurred in employing agents to treat with any foreign papal power for bringing forces into Ireland, before the departure of the marquis of Clanrickard; and all who had harassed the country as "tories" or wood-kerns; were equally considered guilty of rebellion and incapable of restitution.

The severity of these qualifications gave rise to loud complaints and recriminations. The catholics pleaded with justice that the mere fact of having lived peaceably and unmolested on their own estates in the portions of the island which had fallen under

the power of the rebels ought not to be taken as a proof of their disloyalty. A great number of catholic families, who were altogether opposed to the rebellion, but received no countenance from the government, had lived peaceably in their own houses, which happened accidentally to lie within the rebels' quarters, and had been permitted to remain there unmolested on account of the respect in which the rebels held their religion and character. The lords justices had, at the beginning of the war, issued a proclamation banishing them from Dublin, so that their only guilt consisted in residing in the only places where the government permitted them to reside, and, in a time of universal commotion, accepting mercy from those whom they were incapable of resisting. The catholics pleaded against the injustice of depriving of their estates men who had offended no further than this. Their opponents replied that such men had encouraged and assisted the rebels by the very circumstance of their rendering no assistance to the crown; that their banishment from the capital was in itself a proof of their having been considered enemies to the state; and that, since after a lapse of twenty years it was impossible to prove particular acts of rebellion against many of those who had participated most deeply in the guilt, their place of residence often afforded the only means of distinguishing between the innocent and the guilty. The protestants urged the necessity of adhering strictly to this qualification as the only means of hindering multitudes of disaffected papists from rushing in and recovering the power to raise new commotions against the English government, to which they were believed to be as hostile as ever. The animosities thus raised, joined with the rivalry between the presbyterians and the episcopalians, and the hostility between the new English and the old English, for the former affected to regard the latter, in spite of their known attachment to the protestant faith, as little better than Irish papists, caused men in general to look forward with impatience to the meeting of an Irish parliament.

At length on the 8th of May, 1661, the Irish parliament met, after an interval of nearly twenty years. As the soldiers and adventurers still retained possession of all their lands, as well as of their influence in the corporate towns, nearly the whole house of commons was composed of men devoted to their interests, and their anxiety to pre-

serve what they held had converted by far the greater portion of their party into sticklers for the royal authority and for the episcopal government in the church; only one catholic had been elected, but the exertions of the presbyterians in Ulster had secured the election of a few of the presbyterian party for the north, and some of the same party were returned for Ulster. In the house of lords the presbyterian interests were supported only by their tried friend sir John Clotworthy, now created lord Massareene, but some of the catholic peers attended. The feeling with which the opening of parliament was regarded by the governors is not ill described in a letter from the Earl of Orrery to the marquis of Ormond, written the same day on which the house had met. "His majesty," he says, "having empowered the lords justices to appoint a fit person to be speaker of the house of lords, my lord chancellor has proposed to us the lord Santry, against whom we had several material objections, besides his disability of body; and he being at best but a cold friend to the declaration; which made me propose my lord primate (archbishop Bramhall, the great supporter of Laud's high church principles under lord Wentworth), well known in the orders and proceedings of that house (having sat in two parliaments), a constant eminent sufferer for his late and now majesty, and that in such a choice we might let the dissenters and fanatics see what we intend as to church government. Besides it was but requisite the church, which had so long suffered, should now (in the chief of it) receive all the honours we could confer on it. My lord chancellor for some days dissented therein, but at last concurred; and this day my lord primate sat in that character. The lord Santry's strange passionate carriage at it in the council, his indiscretion towards my lord Monrath as well as his majesty himself, your lordship in my next shall have account of. His majesty in the honour of his letters to us of the 11th of March last ordered us to see sir William Dornville settled speaker of the house of commons here. This letter was not given us till the 27th of April last, at which time it was impossible to signify to the king what we humbly thought most advantageous to his service, and timely enough to receive his royal pleasure therein; but having had some private notice of that concealed letter a few days before, it occasioned a letter to a friend in England, which produced his majesty's let-

ters of the 30th of April, received the 5th inst., empowering us, notwithstanding the former letter, to approve of whom we should think fit. Yesterday in full council it was resolved, since only two were in nomination (sir William Dornville and sir Audley Mervyn) that it was best to leave the choice of either to the house itself, which this day was done; and notwithstanding several arts were used, yet this afternoon sir Audley was chosen speaker, and is to be presented us to-morrow to be approved. Those that opposed it would not, after they saw about three to one against them, come to a poll, but at last unanimously agreed for him. There sat this day in the house of lords but one papist peer, but some are to come to town this day, and divers others are coming. It may not be unworthy your grace's observation, that the papists and anabaptists stood in several places to be chosen, yet but one of each sort was actually chosen, and they both in the borough of Tuam, an archbishop's see; from which all collect that both those opinions will oppose the true church." "I am very confident," lord Orrery adds, "that much the major number of the house of commons are faithful servants to his majesty and friends to the church, which, whatever may be represented to the contrary, will by effects be made appear."

The opinion thus expressed, was soon fulfilled by the event. Both houses began with a declaration requiring all persons to conform to the church government and liturgy, established by law, and they concurred in passing a censure on the covenant and the oaths of association. The hostility of the parliament to the catholics was shown on every occasion as well as its favour to the adventurers and soldiers—the new possessors of estates whose titles were to be confirmed by law. The commons, in order to prevent the reversal of outlawries and the ejection of adventurers or soldiers before they were secured by a statute, petitioned the lords justices that the term should be adjourned and the courts of law for a certain period shut up; and, although the justices objected to it, as a measure of injustice to the old protestants, who would thus be prejudiced in their rights, the opinion of the house was so strongly expressed that they found it advisable to yield. A bill had been transmitted to England for imposing an oath of qualification on the members of the house of commons, by which it was intended to exclud-

all Roman catholics, but it had been disapproved as unseasonable. The house now attempted to effect the purpose of this intended act by a resolution, by which they excluded from their seats all who had not taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; but the lords justices declared this to be an invasion of the prerogative, and that the house had not the power to impose qualifications which were not stated in the king's writ. The protestant party became angry, and accused the government of an unjust and dangerous partiality for papists, and they indulged their animosity against the latter by raising and spreading abroad rumours of new plots and conspiracies to overthrow the government, to renew the old war of massacre and extermination, and by such means to re-establish the supremacy of the church of Rome.

The most important measure brought forward in this parliament was, of course, the bill of settlement, which was to embody in a law the king's declaration with such alterations as might be considered requisite, and which was not finally passed until a violent struggle which agitated the English as well as the Irish court during several months. The various parties interested in the provisions of this act, who became daily more markedly separated from each other, had now assumed or received party titles which will present themselves frequently in the course of the transactions of this period. Thus, the party of the adventurers and soldiers had taken the title of the *new interest*; while the Irish who had been named specially as objects of royal favour were termed the *nominees*, and those who had served abroad under the king's orders or ensigns were known as the *ensign-men*. It has already been observed that the new interest was predominant in the house of commons, and there it was the almost unanimous wish that the law should be a mere repetition and confirmation of the king's declaration. In the upper house sat a great number of peers who represented the old English families, most of whom suffered, and many were in danger of being ruined, by the strict application of the qualifications. This party had for its leader the earl of Kildare, who had in his hands the proxy of the duke of Ormond. They contended that the king's declaration had been obtained under false information, especially with regard to the amount of land at the disposal of the crown for reprisals. They said that, if the decla-

ration were strictly enforced, the new interest would doubtless be fully gratified, but no reprisals would remain for the old protestants, the nominees, the *ensign-men*, or the papists who should be adjudged innocent. They therefore insisted that a number of the more violent fanatics should be excluded by name from all advantages of the declaration, so that the lands of which they were possessed might be added to the forfeitures. They supported their argument, by reference to the applications of the claimants and the proceedings of the commissioners. It appeared from the proceedings of the court of claims, among other things, that of a great number of widows who had entered claims for their jointures, few of which admitted of any difficulty, not one had been restored. The conduct of the commissioners, in other respects, had not been irreproachable. In various instances where particular persons applied for restitution under the king's special order, as nominees, they could obtain no order for their estates, the commissioners pleading that there were no reprisals for the present possessors; and when the case was more closely inquired into, it was found that the commissioners had made clandestine grants of the lands allotted for that purpose to their own friends under the notion of cautionary reprisals. Revelations of practices of this kind served to embitter the animosity of the great parties against one another. Another complaint of the old English party in the house of lords was founded on what was termed the *doubling ordinance*, published by the English parliament subsequent to the act of the seventeenth year of Charles I., which vested those who should advance money with the forfeited lands in Ireland. By this ordinance, whoever should advance one-fourth more than his original adventure, should have the whole doubled on account, and should receive lands as if he had really paid double the original sum; and if the adventurer himself refused to advance the additional fourth, any other person on paying it was to reap the same advantage, deducting only the original money paid by the first adventurer. It was now pleaded that the claims made under the doubling ordinance ought not to be attended to, as the act itself was not binding on the king, nor was it just that the claimants should receive more than they had actually paid, to the exclusion of others whose claims were more just; and the money thus raised had not been applied to

the Irish service. Lord Massarene, who had been active in parliament in promoting the doubling ordinance, and who was particularly interested in supporting it, was the zealous advocate of the claims of the adventurers in the house of lords, but in spite of all his efforts, the objections were approved by the house, and the king himself, when the case was laid before him, admitted the justice of satisfying the adventurers for no more than they had really advanced.

At length, after numerous and obstinate contests, the bill of settlement passed the house of lords, and was presented to the lords justices. They revised it, and inserted some new clauses and provisoes, and some weeks more were expended in discussing and adjusting them. It was not till the month of September that the bill was agreed upon, and transmitted to England for the king's final approval. Three lords, the bishop of Cork, the lord Kingston, and the master of the wards, were commissioned by the Irish council to carry it over, and convey to the king and the duke of Ormond the opinions and wishes of the Irish government. Each house of parliament also chose agents to attend on the king and his council, and press their desires on the subject of this important bill; the Irish catholics at the same time sent their agents to oppose it; and thus for awhile London became the great scene of Irish politics. Shortly after the bill of settlement had been transmitted to England, the king announced his intention of appointing the duke of Ormond lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and before the end of the year lord Montrath died, and the number of lords justices was reduced to two, who received a new commission.

The new English party was strong at court by the sympathies of their protestant brethren there and throughout the kingdom, and they fortified themselves by raising a considerable sum of money to be distributed among those who could support their interests. The Irish catholics depended for support on turning to their advantage the petty intrigues which were going on among the English courtiers, and they overthrew themselves by the same indiscreet violence and presumption which had ruined their cause in the late commotions. While the English party professed an humble deference to the king's will, and based their hopes upon his generosity and mercy, the catholics assumed a high tone, speaking as though no rebellion had ever taken place, and boldly

asserting their claims as a demand which it would be contrary to common justice to refuse. There was an Irish officer named Richard Talbot, closely allied with some of the most zealous partizans of the nuncio, though he himself had served against that party; he had subsequently served in the Low Countries, and there acquired the favour of the duke of York, by whose interest he had been raised to a position of some importance at court. This man, who possessed but little talent, was filled with vanity and ambition, and he collected about him some of the most violent of the old party of the nuncio, who, having served under the duke of York, returned with him to England, and now looked upon colonel Richard Talbot as their patron. Ormond, who was not violent in his sentiments, had recommended to the Irish catholics to proceed with moderation, and offered on that condition to favour their cause as far as lay in his power and was consistent with his principles; but they had been persuaded to address themselves to Talbot as to a rising favourite, and by his advice they rejected Ormond's counsels and proflered favour. Talbot and his catholic friends at the court of the duke of York were the avowed enemies of Ormond, who was the constant butt of their satire and abuse, and they engaged themselves to the catholics of Ireland in a presumptuous confidence of their own power. The duke of Ormond was disgusted at their folly, and left them to follow their own course.

They proceeded boldly and confidently, and, as usual, began with advancing extravagant demands which evidently, under the circumstances of the time, could not be conceded. They insisted on being relieved at once from all the qualifications of innocence which had been required by the king's instructions, that neither their claiming the articles of peace, nor paying contributions to the rebels, nor residing in their quarters, should be taken as a proof of guilt. This, of course, was equivalent with a general restoration of the old Irish party; it was a dispossessing of the English settlers, and placing them at their mercy; giving to them the power of returning a parliament of Catholics, and overthrowing the interests of the English crown. Such proposals met with little sympathy in England, and were at once rejected by the privy council. The king was disgusted with the difficulties thrown in the way of a speedy settlement, and his indolent disposition revolted at the

prospect of an endless series of fruitless discussions. He declared his intention of establishing and supporting an English interest in Ireland; and the catholics were further mortified by the acknowledged fact that there were no reprisals for the restoration of their estates, as the forfeitures of regicides, which might have been applied to this purpose, had been granted to the duke of York. Impressed with the idea that they had been defeated by the intrigues of the duke of Ormond, they employed Talbot to expostulate with that nobleman; and he executed his commission in an insulting manner, which ended in his being committed to the Tower, from which he was released only on making a humble submission.

The imprudence of the Irish catholics soon produced its natural effects, for the king became disgusted with demands which shocked his own notions of the prerogative, and interfered with his quiet, and he lent a ready ear to their adversaries. The latter seized eagerly the advantage which the others had thrown away, and they lost no opportunity of throwing odium upon the catholic party. The country was deluged again with narratives of the Irish massacres, and rumours of conspiracies to renew them. Charles, who had issued his declaration in the belief that there were lands enough to satisfy all parties, was now sensible of his mistake, and was tormented with the difficulties that beset the Irish question. Anxious to be relieved from it as quickly as possible, and aware that some party must suffer, he resolved to sacrifice the Irish. The feelings of the protestants at this time, in which the king and his advisers seem to have participated, is expressed fully in a letter from the earl of Orrery to the duke of Ormond on the 26th of February, an extract from which will furnish the best illustration of the state of public feeling under which the act of settlement was passed. The Irish parliament had passed a vote against permitting the Irish catholics to remain in the corporate towns. "And now," says lord Orrery to Ormond, in allusion to this subject, "I shall presume to tell your lordship my heart and principles unfeignedly. I believe that several if not most of the papists, who could rebel when they enjoyed their estates, have not lost the inclination, if they had power to do it, now they have lost their estates; and I as fully believe they could never have rebelled, if the corporations had been in the king's hands, and planted with loyal pro-

testants. These two foundations being, I humbly conceive, justly laid, I thought therefore since the evil was apparent, and the remedy certain, we ought not in duty to the king so long to delay this, that thereby we might feel that. And therefore I was not a little pleased, that both houses made it their desire unto us, to purge the towns of the papists, which indeed it was high time to do, when in most of them there were three papists to one protestant. I am perfectly satisfied that parliament ought properly only, at least chiefly, to make and repeal laws, and not to meddle in points of state and government; and that when they do so, it is more proper to thank them for what they offer, than usually to follow it. But, my lord, in this case, either we must have let the evil alone till possibly it had been past cure, or else we must singly have been the physicians. The first had been dishonest, the last imprudent; and if, for following their advice we are so exclaimed against, how had we been railed at if we had done it of our own heads? So that this was not done, only because they advised it, but it was done, because it was fit, nay, necessary to have been done, had they not advised it. The residue of their votes, as the securing the heads of the rebellion, not forgiven by the declaration, or by particular pardon, the securing of the priests, and the returning of the transplanted persons into Connaught and Clare, I was not over fond of; for I never would trouble or anger any body of men more than mere safety did require, and, while the corporations are purely English, I do not much fear what the country can do; but that these should still be prosecuted chastely in the protestants, I think absolutely necessary for many reasons. Two I shall only mention; the first is, that they dare not rebel, if all the towns be against them; or if they should rebel, and have none of those, they will soon feel the punishment of their sin. The second is, that while the corporations are protestants, the house of commons will still be such; and if ever it should be other than such, it is but too likely those will not contribute to maintain that force, which makes their trouble, because it makes the protestants' security, and in that the king's."

Then referring to a letter which had been intercepted, and raised, it appears, some suspicions of the designs of the catholics, Orrery proceeds:—"I acknowledge the occasion of those votes was that intercepted

letter; but the ground of them was the many alarms that preceded it, and the multiplicity of papists who in a few months had crept into all the corporations, even to the hazarding of them; so that I may say of that letter, what Monsieur Montaigne saith of the last step made of a tired horse—it did not make the weariness, but declared it. The fruit was ripe, and so a little shake cast it down. It is truth, my lord, this letter was the occasion of all those votes; but that of purging the towns was the humble suit of both houses to the king, before the letter was intercepted, and, if I mistake not, granted by his majesty before any noise of that had been. I shall not mention to your grace how far we have proceeded in the examination of that whole business concerning that letter; in a few days the whole will be ready to be sent your grace. But though I plead thus for keeping the Irish papists out of the towns, yet there is not one in Munster in which there are not some left; and, at sir John Stephen's desire, at once eight were allowed by me in Waterford some ten days since. Whatever may be done with safety, I am for. I think my nature will not lead me to severity, and I am sure my interest shall not. For that of securing the priests, and the heads of the rebellion, I confess to your grace, I thought to publish such orders was the certainest way not to have them executed. I hate no man for his religion, and therefore would punish none for it. The only good I hoped for by that vote was, that it might deter many from coming hither, that we knew were coming from beyond the seas; and of above eight thousand, which we hear are in the kingdom, I do not hear of fifteen that are secured by virtue of it; and all those may be released, if they will give security to be gone, or not to break the law while they stay here; which they did in Cromwell's time, and I know not why they should not do it in the king's time. That it is not matter of conscience, appears in that they once did it; or if they will say it is matter of conscience, I see no reason why they may not as much stretch their conscience for a lawful sovereign as for an usurper. As to the heads of the rebellion, I know few, if any, that are not pardoned, or are not still beyond the seas. The last thing is, as to the Irish papists to be returned to Connaught or Clare. I was still an enemy to that transplantation, upon those very

grounds your grace enumerates. And I must acknowledge, to put a hardship upon men in the gross, and relieve them by retail, is not proportionate to that strict rule of justice and reason, which I desire all my actions should be guided by. I know not of one man in that province I have the honour to govern, that was transplanted, or committed for having refused to return; but having understood, some men in the two other provinces were committed on that score, I made it my motion at the board, that all such should forthwith be released, and none should be confined for not transplanting, and got it ordered accordingly; so that the ground of clamour is removed, and at the request and solicitation of your servant. The priests of Galway put in a grievous complaint to the board of great oppressions and cruelties exercised against them, in their being turned out of that town. That very night it was put in, I got an order passed for summoning the mayor and recorder to answer it; which now they are come up to do; and the business is, I hear, also complained of in England. I will assure your grace, they shall have all justice here; but to complain there, while they are a righting here, is some sign to me, they are more desirous to complain, than to be redressed; else they would not do the first there, while the last is doing for them here. Whatever insolence may have been committed in execution of orders, hath been severely punished on complaint and proof, which is all that the most cautious authority in the world can do."

In the midst of this animosity of parties, the imprudence of the Irish gave sufficient cause for the recriminations of their opponents, and furnished the occasion for rejecting their own claims. We have seen how active they were in collecting and misrepresenting or aggravating every petty grievance to which they thought themselves subjected in the course of their opposition to the act of settlement. It might be expected that they would have chosen for their agents men of moderation, whose conduct during the late troubles would admit of no animadversion. Instead of this, their choice fell upon one of the most notorious and violent of the papist agitators, sir Nicholas Plunkett, a stanch partizan of the nuncio, and one of the Irish agents sent to offer the kingdom to foreign catholic princes. He had received his knighthood in Rome from the pope. The protestant agents, by some

means or other, obtained the original papers relating to the transactions in which Plunkett had taken so active a part, some of which were in his own hand-writing and bore his own signature; and when he appeared in London before the committee of the privy council on Irish affairs, to lay before them the written complaints and demands of the catholics, they brought these alarming records forward, and compelled him to acknowledge his guilt. The result is best told in the minute of the privy council held at Whitehall on the 14th of March, 1662:—"This day Mr. solicitor-general making report to his majesty in council, from the committee of this board for the affairs of Ireland, upon consideration of several papers presented to the board by sir Nicholas Plunkett in the behalf of some of the Roman catholics of Ireland concerned in his majesty's declaration, according to an order of the 12th of this instant, that after the committee had debated the said papers, the commissioners from the council and the parliament were called in and heard, and presented to the committee several papers, viz., instructions given by the supreme council, and others of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of the confederate catholics of Ireland, to be observed by the bishop of Fernes and Nicholas Plunkett, esquire, in the court of Rome, bearing date the 18th of January, 1647 (1648), and a draught of instructions to France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication published at Jamestown, and that all the said papers being read, and the said commissioners being withdrawn, and the committee then calling in the said sir Nicholas Plunkett, and asking him whether the signature of the instructions to Rome, by command of the general assembly, were his hand-writing, and whether the draught of the instructions to France and Spain were his writing also, he acknowledged in the presence of the committee that they were; and that hereupon it was the humble opinion of the committee, that the bill for the common settlement of that kingdom should not be retarded, but proceeded upon with all possible expedition. It was, upon consideration of the said report, ordered that in regard the said Roman catholics have been already several times fully heard at this board, as to the said bill of settlement, no more petitions or further addresses be required or admitted from them for obstructing the same; but the engrossing thereof

be proceeded upon without any further delay, according as the same is already prepared; and also that Mr. solicitor-general do send all the provisoes already allowed of by the said committee to be likewise engrossed. And it is further ordered, that the clerk of the council attending do not only signify his majesty's pleasure unto the said sir Nicholas Plunkett, that he do forbear coming into or appearing in his majesty's presence or court, but also give notice of this order to the commissioners employed from the said council and parliament, to be by them transmitted into Ireland."

The bill of settlement was now dispatched with all possible haste, and transmitted to Ireland, where it was soon afterwards passed by the two houses. It was a subject of no little exultation to the protestant party in general, and was so mortifying to the Irish, that the government apprehended at first that they might be driven into desperate courses. Orrery wrote on the 16th of April, "His majesty having now (as we hear) passed the bill of settlement (for which all the honest men in this kingdom owe your grace perpetual acknowledgments), and by the passing thereof the hopes of many of the Irish papists being turned into despair, I humbly offer it to your grace's unerring consideration, whether it were not requisite, as soon as might be, to raise men in Ireland for his majesty's service abroad, and for the service of his friends and allies; by which a double advantage will be gained, of sending away dangerous persons while at home, and useful persons while abroad." This advice appears partly to have been followed.

No sooner, however, was the act of settlement passed and published, than it excited more dissatisfaction among the protestants even than among the catholics, and almost every party found some grievance to complain of. The Irish declared loudly that they had not been heard before the council, and that their agents had not been consulted in framing the bill. On the other hand, some of the more notorious fanatics, in dread of being excepted from the benefit of this act, made hurried sales of their interests for trifling sums, and this gave new subject for discontent. An additional number of Irish nominees was then inserted, which was looked upon by the puritanical party as an evident mark of undue partiality for the papists; and they were no less offended by the provision made for the established

church. Those who were losers by the clause limiting the demands made under the doubling ordinance were equally clamorous. But the party who had a real cause for complaining was that of the "forty-nine" officers, whose merits and claims were undisputed, yet by the bill so many things were charged upon the lands to be allotted as security for their arrears, that the security itself was made almost unavailable to them. The Irish house of commons acknowledged the injustice which had been done to these claimants, and the bill of settlement was no sooner passed, than an explanatory bill was brought in, specially designed for their relief.

It was intended that the bill of settlement should be carried into effect on the arrival of the duke of Ormond to assume in person his office of lord lieutenant. This event was looked forward to with great impatience: and in their zeal to show their attachment to this nobleman, the Irish house of commons voted him a present of thirty thousand pounds, while his son, lord Orrery, was called by writ to the house of lords. The king's marriage, and various circumstances connected with it, detained Ormond in England longer than was expected; but in the month of July, 1662, he proceeded to his government, and was received with great pomp and ceremony. He gave the royal assent to the bill of settlement, to several bills relating to the revenue, and to one for abolishing the court of wards. The execution of the first of these acts was entrusted to English commissioners, disconnected with all Irish interests, and therefore likely to administer with impartiality. They were sir Richard Rainsford, sir Thomas Beverley, sir Edward Deering, sir Edward Smith, William Coventry, esquire (in whose place sir Allan Brodrick was substituted), sir Winston Churchill, and colonel Cook. These commissioners sat in Dublin to receive claims and hear pleas of innocence. They heard causes first on the 13th of February, 1663, and during that month, of the Irish who presented their claims, thirty-eight were pronounced innocent, and seven only were condemned; in the second month, seven again were condemned, and fifty-three acquitted; and in the third month, seventy-seven were found innocent, and five only pronounced guilty. This large proportion of acquittals is a proof of the moderation with which the commissioners exercised their functions; it was natural, too,

that those who were most certain of proving their innocence should be the foremost to offer themselves for trial, and that those who were conscious of their guilt, or of their inability to establish innocence, should hold back altogether. But the adventurers and soldiers, who were in possession of the estates of the rebels, were equally astonished and alarmed at the result of the trials, for the innocents were immediately to be reinvested with their estates, and the reprisals of those who would thus be dispossessed depended on the allotments for reprisals in general, which they knew to be small. Those who expected to become sufferers, were clamorous in their complaints against the partiality shown to papists; they intimated their suspicions that the commissioners were influenced by secret instructions, the concealed object of which was to exalt the Irish upon the ruins of the English interest. The more violent brooded over their grievances, and, consulting together in private, they proposed to organize an insurrection in favour of the protestant interest, and with that object they held communication with the disaffected in England. The general dissatisfaction found its way into the Irish house of commons, where the complaints against the commissioners were heard with favour. A clause in the act of settlement gave power to the lord lieutenant and council to give further directions to the commissioners, if they judged it expedient, and the commons, taking advantage of this article, drew up and resolved upon a petition to the lord lieutenant, urging the adoption of new and more stringent qualifications of innocence, which would have had the effect of proscribing the whole Irish party. The whole house attended the lord lieutenant with their petition, and sir Audley Mervyn, their speaker, pronounced a solemn and inflated comment on every article of their complaint. Ormond received them coldly, and with evident dissatisfaction; upon which the house of commons determined to appeal to the public by printing sir Audley Mervyn's speech; and they subsequently passed a resolution, declaring "that they would apply their utmost remedies to prevent and stop the great and manifold prejudices and inconveniences which daily did and were likely to happen to the protestants of Ireland, by the proceedings of the commissioners for executing the act of settlement." The king resented this violence of the Irish house of commons; and some offensive pas-

sages having been discovered in sir Audley Mervyn's speech, a prosecution was commenced against the printers of it in London and Dublin. The commons were somewhat appeased, and persuaded to retract their vote, by an explanatory letter from the duke of Ormond; and their violence was mode-

rated by the discovery of an apparently extensive plot to overthrow the existing government in church and state, originated by some of the fanatical party who had taken advantage of the existing discontents to make a desperate attempt in favour of their own violent principles.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRESBYTERIANS; BLOOD'S PLOT; THE BILL OF EXPLANATION.



HE leaders of the dissatisfied party thus raised in Ireland endeavoured to strengthen themselves by agitating the religious prejudices of the great body of the Anglo-Irish. During the interregnum, when dissent was encouraged, the presbyterians in Ireland had become a powerful body, and, although their strong-hold was still in Ulster, where the Scots were numerous, they had spread over a great part of the island. At the restoration they were the more disappointed at the sudden and absolute re-establishment of the episcopal church, inasmuch as they relied upon the king's former declaration in favour of the covenant, and the services they in their turn had rendered him; and these services and their strength in Ireland, made it more necessary for the government to deal tenderly with them. They were, however, not a little alarmed when, at the end of January, 1661, archbishops and bishops were so pompously consecrated at Dublin, and a proclamation was issued soon after, forbidding all unlawful assemblies, and directing the sheriffs and other officers to prevent or disperse them. The presbyterian meetings, as disallowed by the new church establishment, were understood to be included in those proscribed by the proclamation, and, in their alarm, the presbyterians held a meeting at Ballymena in the month of

March, to consult on the course which as a body they should take on this emergency. Their design became known at the last moment, and a troop of horse was sent to disperse them, but it arrived too late, when the meeting was already dissolved, and those who composed it were departed to their several homes. They had resolved to send four of their number, representing the several presbyteries in Ulster, to Dublin, to expostulate with the lords justices on the proclamation which forbade them to assemble, and to petition that in their several parishes they might be "free from the yoke of prelacy." They based their demands on the king's promises, and represented their constant loyalty, their sufferings, and their resolution to live as peaceable and dutiful subjects.

The presbyterian agents were but coldly received by the rulers in Dublin, and the episcopal party in general seem to have treated them with unnecessary scorn and contempt. The earl of Orrery, then lord justice, has left us an account of the interview with the four presbyterian agents, inclosed in a letter to the duke of Ormond, which is interesting as an expression of the private sentiments of the ruler of Ireland at this time.* "We have had," he says, "these two days four ministers before us, which were sent from the several presbyteries in Ulster to the lords justices and council, desiring liberty to exercise their ministry in their respective parishes, according to the way they have hitherto exercised

* State Letters of Roger, earl of Orrery, folio, p. 15. It is there printed as though inserted in a letter of the end of January; but this is evidently a

mistake: and there can be no doubt of its referring to the agents sent from the synod at Ballymena in March.

it in; and expressing their great sorrow to find themselves numbered with papists and fanatics in our late proclamation, which prohibited unlawful assemblies. After many debates upon several proposals how to answer them, we resolved on this answer—that we neither could or would allow any discipline to be exercised in church affairs but what was warranted and commanded by the laws of the land. That they were punishable for having exercised any other. That we would not take any advantage against them for what was past, if they would comport themselves conformably for the time to come. That if they were dispensed withal, by pleading a submission thereunto was against their consciences, papists and fanatics would expect the like indulgence from the like plea, which we knew their own practice as well as judgments led them to disallow of. That we took it very ill, divers of those which had sent them had not observed the time set apart for humbling themselves for the barbarous murder of his late majesty, a sin which no honest man could avoid being sorry for. That some of their number had preached seditiously, in crying up the covenant, (the seeds of all our miseries,) in lamenting his majesty's breach of it, as getting up episcopacy as introductory to popery, which they had not punished in exercising any of their pretended discipline over such notorious offenders. And, lastly, that if they conformed themselves to the discipline of this church, they should want no fitting countenance and encouragement in carrying on their ministry; so if they continued refractory, they must expect the penalties the laws did prescribe. To all which they answered—that as far as their consciences would permit them, they would comply, and what it would not, they would patiently suffer. That it was their religion to obey a lawful authority, (and such they owned his majesty was,) either actively or passively. That if any of their judgment had preached sedition, they left them to themselves and disowned them; and if they had the exercising of their discipline, they would punish severely all such. That many of them had according to the proclamation, kept the fast for the king's murder, which they heartily detested, and for the doing thereof in the usurpers's government many of them had been imprisoned and sequestered; and that to the last of their lives they would continue loyal to his majesty. And lest they might offend against our

proclamation, they desired to know what was meant by unlawful assemblies, because some were so severe as to interpret their meetings to pray and preach on the Lord's day to come under that head. To which we told them, that by unlawful meetings was only meant such assemblies as were to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which were not warranted by the laws of the kingdom, and not to hinder their meetings in performing parochial duties in those benefices of which they were possessed legally or illegally. They seemed much comforted with the last assurance; so that having again exhorted them to conformity, and promised them therein all encouragement, we dismissed them to try what this usage and the admonition will produce. I have had several private discourses with them, and I leave no honest means untried to gain them."

The presbyterians were now left entirely to the mercy of the bishops in their several dioceses, and were treated with more or less rigour according to the degree of liberality of those spiritual superiors. Among the foremost in persecution was the celebrated Jeremy Taylor, who had been appointed to the bishopric of Down. Adair, one of the suffering presbyterian ministers of his diocese, who has left us a history of these transactions, gives the following account of this prelate's bearing towards them, in which of course we must make some allowance for party prejudices. "The bishop of Down coming to his diocese at the time when the brethren were in Dublin, had intelligence of them and their errand, and so had an envious eye upon them. However, he forbore his first visitation till they returned, and, finding they had obtained no encouragement, he immediately summoned them all to his visitation. They could not then have a general meeting to consult; but Providence so ordered it that, a few days before the summons came which they were expecting, most of them were called to the burial of an honourable and truly religious lady, the lady Clotworthy, the mother of the now lord Massarene. There they had occasion to advise together, and were not all of one mind as to their going to Lisnegarvy. However, most part met in Belfast a day before the visitation, and from thence went together to Lisnegarvy. The bishop being then at his house in Hillsborough, the brethren sent three of their number to the bishop the day before the appointed visita-

tion. Their errand was to tell him that whereas they had received summonses to appear before his visitation, they could not appear in answer to that summons, neither as submitting themselves to episcopal jurisdiction, nor at all in the public visitation. Yet they were willing to confer with him in private, that he might know they were men that walked by principle, and held not groundless opinions; and that though they were dissenters from the present church-government and modes of worship, yet they were the king's true subjects. He desired they would give in on paper what they had to say. This they declined, on consideration that many of their brethren were not present. He told them he would receive nothing from them as a body, nor look on them in that light. They told him, whatever they were, or whatever way he looked on them, they behoved to advise with one another in matters of that concernment; as their relations as ministers, their former correspondence in all such matters, and their christian prudence, called for. Seeing they would give him no paper, he questioned them whether they held presbyterian government to be *jure divino*, and desired they would give him a positive answer. They readily answered they did. To this the bishop replied, that they needed no farther discourse of the matter of accommodation, if they held to that. They said it was a truth whereof they were persuaded in their conscience, and could not relinquish it, but must profess it as they were called; therefore if answers of that nature would but irritate at the public visitation, they judged it better not to appear, but to confer with him freely in private. He answered, if they should make profession contrary to law in the visitation, they would smart for it. Therefore seeing our foot in a snare, he desired them rather not to appear, and that as their friend. They thanked him, and withal said, they conceived they might hold presbyterial government to be *jure divino*, and yet not transgress the law of the land, since they were not exercising that government, for they knew that affirmative precepts bound not *ad semper*. He answered that was true, yet that they were not subject to another government was contrary to law; and he said though the king's late declaration in matters of religion were extended to Ireland, it would do them no good. They returned, that there were many in England who held presbyterial government to be *jure*

divino, yet at present enjoyed the benefit of the king's declaration. He replied, he saw not how that could consist."

The bishop then questioned them regarding the oath of supremacy, and offended them much by comparing them to papists; on which they returned to their brethren at Lisnegarvy, as Lisburne was still called, and the latter "saw themselves in a hard taking, yet encouraged one another to fidelity and steadfastness."

"The next day," Adair continues, "was the bishop's visitation in Lisnegarvy, where he himself preached, but none of the brethren except two went to hear him. Thereafter in his visitation all were called and none appeared; yet he did nothing farther that day. After dinner, two of the former four and another brother were sent to him to see if he would call all the brethren together to his chamber to confer with him, which they apprehended he had proposed at Hillsborough; especially from his saying it was not fit for them to appear in public. When accordingly they went, and proposed this to him, he wholly waived to answer their question, and fell angrily on reflections on presbyterial government; having nothing to reflect on any particular brother, or on the particular actings of the presbytery in this country, though fain he would if he could; and withal proposing arguments for conformity, which engaged the brethren in some discourse of that nature. Notwithstanding his own expressions the day before respecting their not appearing at the visitation, yet he now alleged it was contempt made the brethren not appear on that occasion. One said it was the awe of God and conscience that made them not appear. He replied—a Jew or a quaker would say so much for their opinions, and everybody would use that argument for the vindication of their erroneous courses. There were also some few of the brethren whom he called to him in private to engage them to conformity, and gave them great offers of kindness and preferment; but he obtained not his purpose."

Adair's narrative shows us the spirit which the bishops, now restored, carried with them into Ireland. As far as we can judge by the accounts of both parties, the behaviour of the presbyterians was moderate and forbearing, and they showed no inclination to resist the will of the civil government. The visitation at Lisburne was followed by the simultaneous expulsion of all the presby-

terian ministers in bishop Taylor's diocese from their pulpits and livings, and this prelate's example was followed in the other dioceses. The expelled ministers were at once deprived of all support which they had derived from their parishes, turned upon the world to seek a living by their own resources, and, which to them was the greatest punishment of all, forbidden to preach or exercise the ministry in public. "Thus," says their historian Adair, "there came a black cloud over this poor church. The old enemies became bitter and triumphed, and kept a searching and severe eye over the outed ministers, that they might get some advantage of them. For generally they did reside in some places of their parishes, being excluded not only from their maintenance, but from their houses that the parishes had built for ministers; except those houses that were built by themselves and were their own property. They did also, as the danger and difficulty of that time allowed, visit the people from house to house; and sometimes had small meetings of them by parcels in several places of the parish in the night-time, which were narrowly pried into and sometimes gotten knowledge of, and by these observers and ministers called in question. Yet Providence brought them off again. Besides, there were some who had been once of the brethren by profession, and ordained by them, who now, turning with the times, became more dangerous than others."

At the meeting of parliament in May, 1661, bishop Taylor was chosen to preach the sermon, and the presbyterians soon found that they had nothing to expect from the favour or indulgence of the houses or of the government. One of the first acts of the Irish parliament was to put forth a declaration requiring all persons to conform to church government by episcopacy, and to the liturgy as established by law, and forbidding all to preach who would not conform accordingly. This declaration, which was adopted by the house of lords on the 15th of May, was there moved by lord Montgomery of the Ardes, a nobleman who had been very active in the civil wars of Ulster, and had twice solemnly taken the covenant. It was ordered to be printed and circulated, and all ministers throughout the kingdom were directed to read it from their pulpits the Sunday next after it came to their hands. Soon after, on the 27th of May, an order of parliament was passed, condemning

the covenant as "schismatical, seditious, and treasonable," ordering it to be burnt in all cities and towns by the common executioner, and requiring the chief magistrate of the place to be present and see the order executed on the next market-day after its receipt. It was further declared that "who-soever shall, by word or deed, by sign or writing, go about to defend or justify the said treasonable covenant, shall be accounted and esteemed as an enemy to his sacred majesty and to the public peace and tranquillity of his church and kingdom."

The terrified presbyterians made another attempt to be heard in their defence in parliament. We may again use the words of the contemporary chronicler of their proceedings:—"The ministers of the north," says Adair, "in this juncture, gave themselves especially to prayer, and did cry to God for help. They sometimes also privately met together for that end in societies, to encourage one another and take mutual advice how to carry themselves. They thought it their duty, though their hope was very small, to make an essay for some toleration or immunity from the rigour of laws made over their consciences, by petitioning the parliament. For this end they sent three of their number to Dublin, with a commission subscribed by all the brethren of several societies, that, as they were advised by friends in Dublin, they might present a petition to parliament in their own and brethren's names. Accordingly they went thither and drew up a petition, but could not get it presented; their best friends in Dublin advising them to return home, after long attendance for an opportunity, and wait there on God for a better time. In this petition the brethren owned their conscientious and peaceable subjection to the laws, either actively wherein they found clearness, or passively, wherein they were of a different persuasion. They declared what had been their carriage in the usurper's time in general; and they annexed to it a particular narrative of their actings and sufferings during that period, of their address and petition to the king on his return, of his majesty's gracious answers to them, as well as his declaration at Breda, and other grounds of hope that he had given to those who were of tender consciences, being otherwise good subjects. Notwithstanding these things, they complained of their present usage by the bishops; and petitioned for liberty to preach the gospel without those impositions to which they

could not agree with peace to their consciences. This was the substance of that petition which could not have access to be read in parliament."

From this moment the presbyterian ministers were subjected to considerable persecution, and to much personal annoyance, for, as always happens in such cases, the local magistrates were everywhere ready to go beyond their instructions in their eagerness to prosecute offenders. This persecution provoked in some degree the zeal of the persecuted, and a few young presbyterian ministers entered upon their preaching with more courage than prudence. "They called the people to solemn and great meetings sometimes in the night and sometimes in the day, in solitary places whither people in great abundance and with great alacrity and applause flocked to them. There they spoke much against the bishops and the times. This matter of preaching, as it was in itself commendable and faithful when rightly managed, did exceedingly please most people. These men were cried up as the only courageous, faithful, and zealous ministers, by the common sort of people, and by those who had great zeal but little judgment and experience; though not approved of by the more serious, prudent, and experienced christians. The manner of it, in daring the magistrate openly, and calling great assemblies together in despite of authority, was by that sort of people thought great stoutness and gallantry. The people upon this not only countenanced and cried them up, but liberally contributed for them; generally neglecting their own ministers who laboured more privately, and in some sort with greater difficulty among them. Thus they continued for a considerable time, going from one place and from one parish to another, as well as from one county to another, under disguise and oft in the night time, although the magistrate heard and took great notice of it, yet they were not for a long time owned, in order to see if the rest would follow their steps; which many were longing for, that so they might have greater ground to accuse the whole Scottish presbyterians of designs of rebellion; which many were oft suggesting to the duke of Ormond, but could not get grounds to build their accusations upon. Only they made use of this practice of these young men, as much as they could, for a reflection upon the whole. And indeed all the rest of the ministers at this time were in a very dangerous and sad

case." "They," continues this presbyterian writer who disapproved of the conduct of these agitators, "considered not what hazard their way brought on the whole brethren from the magistrate, in depriving them of the small opportunity they had to do good among their people, nor how it occasioned contempt and reflection from the more injudicious and uncharitable of the people, who usually are the greatest numbers; nor yet how it cut themselves short of occasion to do more good to their own congregations, if they had carried themselves more privately and prudently. For within a short time they were forced to flee the country without the benefit of their presence and labouring among them as others did, to the great advantage of their flocks. Now the people, who had so much cried up the carriage and zeal of these youths before, and condemned the way of the rest of the ministers, soon saw the imprudence of the one, and the true prudence and courage of the other, in sticking to them under difficulties and discouragements around them. They were convinced of this more and more when that way the prudenter ministers took, did, by degrees and insensibly without much observation of the magistrate, make way for the more public exercise of their ministry, as afterwards it proved. And it is to be observed that the faithful ministers of Ireland, the first planters of the gospel in these bounds, when they were put from the public exercise of their ministry by the bishops, did not use that way of gathering the people to the fields; but they dwelt privately in their houses, and received as many as came to them of their own parishes; though they had greater provocation to do so, because they got not the same liberty, but were shortly after chased out of the country by pursuivants from Dublin."

The good behaviour of the presbyterians, indeed, gradually mollified the feelings of the civil government in Dublin, which, convinced of the harmless life of the presbyterian ministers, seemed willing to connive at their private exercise of the ministry. The bishops, however, opposed this tendency on the part of the civil governors. Lord Orrery writes to the duke of Ormond on the 16th of April, 1662,—“Lately, upon a petition from the recusants of Ireland, who had been indicted upon the statute of the second of Elizabeth for not coming to church, we ordered the judges, in their several circuits, to suspend the execution of that penal

statute, till his majesty's pleasure were signified, or further orders from ourselves. Soon after, the non-conformists of the north being also indicted for the same offences, we gave the like orders for them, but would not dispense with the penalties of the law to such as should hold unlawful assemblies or conventicles. Though we would connive at their not doing what they should, yet we would not connive at their doing what they should not. The good bishops soon found the bad effects of these indulgences, and acquainted us with them: which made us call them to advise what was fit to be done; and that has produced this inclosed paper, which yet is not given in. I thought it my duty to present your grace with a copy of it, that if possible I may receive your pleasure on it before it comes into debate. The thing is very weighty in its consequences, and difficult in the resolution; and therefore your grace's judgment, which I humbly beg, is most requisite for our guidance. If the laws be fully put in execution, ten parts of eleven of the people will be dissatisfied; if they be not put in execution, the church will be dissatisfied, and sects and heresies continued, I doubt, for ever; and if any of the sects be indulged, it will be partiality not to indulge all; if none be favoured, it may be unsafe. This is to me a short state of the case, and too true a one. If England and Scotland fall roundly upon the papists and non-conformists, and we do not, Ireland will be the sink to receive them all. If they are fallen upon equally in the three kingdoms, may not they all unite to disturb the peace?"

The lords justices were induced by the urgent appeal of the bishops, to issue a proclamation on the 30th of April (no doubt, the paper alluded to in Orrery's letter), revoking the indulgence which had hitherto been shown towards the Irish dissenters. The Duke of Ormond, on his arrival, seemed desirous of treating them with gentleness, but he had always to contend with the prejudices and animosities of the high-church men; on one occasion, when the presbyterians had presented a petition for relief to the lord lieutenant in Dublin, he observed to some of their advocates, with feeling, that "by their petition he perceived they had suffered *for* the king, and now they were like to suffer *under* the king." And on another occasion, when the subject was debated in the council, and the bishops spoke against the presbyterians with some animosity, Ormond spoke

in their favour, and "said that they were unhappy who first suffered *for* the king, and then suffered *under* him; and he thought it just that what the king had promised them should be performed, and said that what these ministers had spoken in their petition or answer to his queries, should not tend to their prejudice, since they spake their conscience, and since he himself had required them to subscribe it."

It was at this time that the discontent excited by the bill of settlement was at its height, and some of the more violent republicans and fanatics entered into a conspiracy to take advantage of it to overthrow the government. They entered into correspondence with the remains of the old republican party in England, and agents were employed throughout the country to agitate in secret. The leaders of this plot were chiefly officers in the army, for in general the soldiery were attached to republicanism and dissent; and the chief was colonel Thomas Blood, the man afterwards so celebrated for his delinquencies in London, from whom it has been called Blood's plot. He was joined by his brother-in-law, a presbyterian minister, named Lecky, and by a few others. They first addressed themselves to the presbyterian ministers in Ulster, but with very little success; they met, however, with more sympathy in the south and west. They appointed a committee to conduct the enterprise, one of the members of which sold himself to the government, and gave secret information of all their proceedings. A small party, more zealous than the others, entered into a premature scheme to seize upon the castle of Dublin, which was discovered and defeated. They were encouraged by the temper exhibited by the Irish house of commons upon the question of increasing the rigour of the qualifications of the catholics, and several members of the house actually joined them, as did some lawyers, and a few presbyterian ministers. Ormond, who, as just intimated, was well informed of all their movements, allowed them to go on till their plans were ripe for execution. They printed declarations ready to be dispersed, calling upon all good protestants to unite to secure the English interests, setting before them the danger with which they pretended that the three kingdoms were threatened by the countenance given of late to popery, and urging the necessity of confirming the English in the estates they had purchased by their

services, and of establishing religion agreeably to the solemn league and covenant. The lord lieutenant received other informations which enabled him to fix upon the principal conspirators in different parts of the country. On the night of the 21st of May, a party of the chief conspirators assembled in Dublin, with a considerable number of men ready for their purpose, intending the next day to surprise the castle and seize upon the duke's person. But the latter was informed of all their movements, and early in the morning about a dozen of them were taken into custody. Among the papers seized upon them were the copies of their declaration intended to be published immediately on their obtaining possession of Dublin castle, and a list of the chief conspirators. Lecky, the presbyterian minister, was among those who were arrested; Blood and some others made their escape.

The discovery of this plot strengthened the Irish government, and it was made use of immediately to alarm and intimidate the house of commons. They retracted their vote against the catholics, and declared their abhorrence of the fanatic plot; yet their temper against the catholics was soon revived, and they resolved on an address to the lord lieutenant, representing the danger arising from recusants, and the confluence of popish priests, friars, and jesuits, and urging that new acts should be passed for enforcing the oaths of supremacy and banishing all popish ecclesiastics from the kingdom. On the other hand, the government took advantage of the plot, to disarm the people, both protestants and papists, throughout the country, with only a few exceptions of persons in whom the government placed special trust. A proclamation was issued offering a reward for the capture of Blood and the other conspirators who had escaped. Lord Orrery, who had now become a more zealous supporter of royalty than ever he was before, accompanied the copies of the proclamation with a private letter to the several governors and chief officers in Munster, in which he made a declaration of principles somewhat startling to the more liberal feeling of the present day. "In the heads of these traitors' intended declaration," he says, "which his grace sent me a copy of, we find they would have declared for *liberty of conscience, which is diametrically opposite to the known and ancient laws of this kingdom*; and they would also have declared for the establish-

ing of the protestant religion in its purity, according to the solemn league and covenant, which said league and covenant hath been, even by all the parliaments now sitting in his majesty's three kingdoms, condemned to be burnt by the hand of the hangman. By which any man may see what their actings would have been, had not God prevented them, since even their declaration (which certainly was the most specious thing they could invent) was so criminal and destructive."

Immediately after the discovery of the plot, parliament was prorogued to the month of November. The government thought it necessary to proceed with great caution and leniency, as it was said from fear of provoking the army, but the small number of offenders brought to justice would lead us to believe that far more importance was given to the plot than it really possessed. On the 2nd of July, colonel Alexander Jephson was tried and found guilty; and major Richard Thompson and colonel Edward Warren were found guilty on the two following days. They were executed at the Gallows-green near Dublin on the 15th of the same month. Lecky was treated with so much rigour in his prison that he became insane, and could not be brought to his trial. At length, having recovered his reason, and finding his keepers less strict in their watching, he made his escape one night in his wife's clothes; but he was recaptured next morning, and immediately underwent his trial and consequent condemnation. The members of Trinity College, of which he had been a fellow, petitioned for his life, which was granted on condition of his conforming to the established church. This he refused, and he was executed on the 12th of December. These were the only executions on account of this plot. When the house of commons reassembled some months afterwards, seven of its members were expelled for their participation in Blood's conspiracy.

However, although the presbyterian ministers in general had taken no part in this conspiracy, it was made a pretext for persecuting them. Many had been arrested on mere suspicion, and some were, by the king's special order, detained in prison, or forced to quit the country, and a few, comparatively, were only allowed to remain in Ireland in a private capacity, and at first closely watched. They soon, however, began to recover their courage; for, to use again the words of Adair, "the few left in the country

continued as formerly, endeavouring to converse among their people, to their edification as the time would bear. And it is to be observed that, after the duke had narrowly searched into the carriage of the Scots in this plot, and had found them unconcerned in it, he did, as some reward of their integrity, give the people in the north indulgence not to be troubled for six months with the official (*i.e.* ecclesiastical) courts in the matter of non-conformity. And providence ordered that, during that time, Bramhall the primate died a sudden death [he died on the 25th of June, 1663], and the bishop of Dublin, one Margetson, succeeded him, a man of a mild spirit, who to ingratiate himself with the people of these parts gave six other months' indulgence; and thereafter the judges of assize had not commission to trouble the people at the assizes for non-conformity. The bishops stormed at this begun favour to non-conformists, and did process many to their courts upon account of non-conformity. But most got off again for money as thereafter; there being wars between the king and the state of Holland wherein he had considerable loss, and all sorts of people being much discontented, the edge of the bishops' fury was much blunted. Meantime the few ministers in the country took every opportunity, and made use of the small advantages they had, to creep up by degrees to the exercise of their ministry, in their own congregations especially."

As the alarm created by the plot subsided, the agitation on account of the bill of settlement was revived. The explanatory bill prepared by the Irish commons was rejected by the king, who was offended by the independence of temper they had lately shown, and who was unwilling to have them called together again, or to listen to any scheme for the accommodation of the different interests which might originate with them. He therefore sent directions to the lord lieutenant and council, that they should take the affair into consideration, and prepare a new bill. They entered upon this difficult question with deliberation, and seem to have been guided by a wish to do what they considered justice to all parties. The purport of their bill was, like the other, to *explain* some clauses in the bill of settlement; they proposed to assign a better security to the "forty-nine" officers; to prevent the restitution of Irish lands and houses in the corporations; to increase the stock of reprisals,

by taking away a sixth part from adventurers and soldiers, and by other expedients, and to make provision for some individuals, whom the court of claims had not been able to relieve in consequence of the determination of their power. This bill, having been agreed upon in council, was transmitted to England; and all parties again sent their agents there to watch over their respective interests.

In the mean time, when the period for the meeting of parliament arrived, it was prorogued again, in accordance with the king's wishes. This was to many an additional subject of discontent, and was not without its attendant difficulties. The speaker, sir Audley Mervyn, urged the calling together of the houses. The opinion of lord Orrery, who flattered the court, yet saw the difficulties with which it had to contend, was conveyed to the lord lieutenant in a letter dated the 21st of January, 1664, and will help to give us a correct view of the state of affairs at that time:—"Since your grace commands me," he says, "to say something on the motion made you by Mr. Speaker, of not again proroguing the parliament, I thus humbly obey you; but it is only to your grace that I write. The motives for it seem to be these: first, because it is desired; secondly, because it is thought necessary; thirdly, it is undertaken that nothing shall be done at the sitting but what your grace shall allow. I confess, my lord, some may think it hard, that while the Irish, the adventurers, and the 'forty-nine' officers have their allowed agents to speak in England against what they dislike, and for what they desire, that the whole body of the people should have none sent from them for those ends, nor be allowed by meeting to be in a capacity to employ persons for that purpose. It may look, that all parties are free, who ought not to intermeddle, and those are bound who legally are chiefly concerned in representing all those who now have chosen others to represent them. I know withal, that if the event of the bill be not good, too many will say this has happened because we were not allowed to employ members of our own to be our solicitors. And though this may be most false, yet none can prove it is so, and therefore will be believed to be true by those that have a mind to believe it. To deal faithfully with your grace, I think it is irregular, that either the Irish, or the adventurers, or the 'forty-nine' officers, should be heard upon a bill sent from your grace and

this board to his majesty. For either these several parties are represented in the parliament, or are not. If they are, why do they act as they do? If they are not, why does this meeting called a parliament continue, it being not a representation of all people? It is true indeed, while a declaration of the king's pleasure was framing, any, whom his majesty would call or admit, might fitly be heard for information, or for humble advice. But since all parties have been fully heard, and since the bill is in the legal way of being despatched, I think it (with humble submission) irregular, that any parties should take any way but what the law has set down. If the king dislikes it, he can reject it at the council board in England; if the commons of Ireland dislike it, they can cast it out in their house; if the lords dislike it, they can do the like within their walls; and who is unrepresented in both these places? If it be said, the Irish are not equally represented in this parliament; I say, the papists are not equally represented in the parliament of England and Scotland; and therefore it is as rational, that those should be heard, out of the body which represents them, as those out of the parliament of Ireland; nay, it is more reasonable they should be so, by how much men's consciences are preferable to their lands; and yet this never yet was done. The reasons are clear; for it is against law, nay, it is against reason; for if never any parliament should be, till it be a representative of all parties equally, there could never be a parliament, or at least it never could act as a parliament; for then there could be no majority of voices, which is the decision of all votes. I believe too many are troubled that sir Nicholas Plunkett, who was most active in the rebellion, and who never did anything to cleanse himself of those stains, and who, even since his majesty's glorious restoration, was banished the court on proof he would have sold this kingdom to the pope or any popish prince, should be employed and received as the Irish agent; and that those persons who are complained of for ruining Ireland, should be the only persons appointed to draw up the act to settle it. These and a crowd of many other things, which possibly are now but whispered by discontented spirits in corners, will possibly be preached on the house top, if they meet; which may occasion more disturbance than the new meeting may produce good. What, too, if

some should desire to impeach those who, by applying themselves into England, own thereby their not being represented in parliament here? I assure your grace, this had been done before your arrival, but for me; it was pressed much, and it was with no little difficulty I then stopped the current. Suppose such a thing should be started at their meeting, either your grace must stop or allow it; if the first, they will complain that they are hindered from an impeachment, the natural rights of a parliament; if the last, will not the Irish cry out and say, the parliament was only permitted to meet to do them that mischief? nay, will not they impeach all that employed them? for in ill things, as well as good, accessories are the like with principals. But in answer to this, we have Mr. speaker's undertaking, that nothing shall be done that your grace dislikes. I should think any man unwise who should make such an undertaking, and I think it unadvisable to depend upon it. I thus (to obey your grace) humbly lay before you my thoughts on that undertaking. First, will not all, who know you call them together on that undertaking, believe your grace has not let them hitherto meet for want of such an assurance, and that now you let them meet, having received it? Secondly, will not some think, if not say, if it were requisite to meet, why were we not allowed to do it sooner? If it be not, why are we called to meet now, when probably the result of what we are to have will be taken before we can do anything for ourselves? Thirdly, the speaker is either able to make good what he undertakes, or is not. If he be, why did not he hinder some things which disgusted the king and your grace? If he be not, what does his undertaking signify? He had certainly already wanted will or power, and either makes it unfit to take his engagement."

Under the specious reasoning contained in this advice, we perceive on one hand how little the principles of constitutional liberty were then felt by men in power, and on the other, how difficult it was found to manage the contending parties in Ireland. The government had at this moment to contend with a discontented and almost mutinous army, without the money to pay it; for without calling a parliament they could not raise supplies at home, and the king's extravagance and the mismanagement of affairs in England had already brought necessity on the English treasury. The Irish, who

felt themselves almost out of the law, exhibited their hatred in petty reprisals, which degenerated into an extensive system of murder and plunder, which the dissatisfaction of the English soldiery rendered it more difficult to repress. A few extracts from the correspondence of the statesmen of the time give us more insight into this state of affairs than we can now derive from any other source, and we find an interesting notice of the condition of Munster, in one of the earl of Orrery's letters written little more than a month subsequent to the one last quoted. He writes on the first of March, 1664: "Your grace's letter mentions five hundred recruits, which are to be distributed in the army. I humbly beg your grace that when they are sent to the several companies, care may be taken for some pay for them, else they will all perish. For they are mustered for three months, and probably receive no assignments, till a month after the three months they are mustered for, and then not their money in two months after. So that coming over without money, and being likely to stay six months before they receive any, their condition will be sad. I had very much difficulty to get the officers and towns to trust the first recruits for diet, and I am afraid their faith will not stretch to a second part to the same tune. Colonel St. Leger was here with me yesterday, to let me know, the people where he is garrisoned will not give them one day's credit more. I have sent for the magistrate, to try if I can prevail; and, rather than the men shall starve, I will myself be bound for their diet. Many of our last recruits have spoken mutinous words, and several of them have desired leave to return. The first we cannot well punish, for none can hang well that do not pay well; and the last I could not grant. Those recruits will not work to augment their livelihood; the old soldiers help out what they want in pay by their daily labour. If some little money could be got for the first and last recruits, it would be a necessary charity; if that cannot be done, I will do all in me to keep both from want."

After thus alluding to the wants of the army, Orrery proceeds, "We have lately had some murders and robberies committed on the English by the Irish. Very lately, an English woman going but from her own house to the mill, was murdered by two Irishmen and one woman. The English woman's child was alive in her womb. By a great providence we have taken the mur-

derers, and they are safe in the prison at Cork. They come vizarded, about the fall of night, into the Englishmen's houses, and, surprising them, bind them, and rob them of all they have. I believe, if when any such robberies were committed, the priest of that parish (for every parish has a Romish priest, and never were they so numerous or more insolent) was but secured, till by his influence on his flock the robbers were discovered, it would prevent many of those mischiefs; for, robbing with vizards, it will hardly be possible any other way to discover them. I know this is not legal; but if something equivalent be not speedily done, the whole plantations of Ireland will be destroyed, without a rebellion; and every such attempt, unpunished, teaches others what they may safely do."

The consideration of these dangers seems to have modified Lord Orrery's opinions as to the propriety of calling the parliament together. In a letter written a week later, he says to the Duke of Ormond,—“Since our parliament is prorogued to the 19th of April, were it not possible that your grace might see what our second bill of settlement consists of, before the king and council's last sanction be put unto it. Doubtless, it would be a great happiness to this kingdom, if that could be. Besides, I make no great doubt, that while your grace is considering the bill, your servants might engage many members of the house of commons to grant four subsidies after the expiration of the twelve, which determine, if I mistake not, the first of September. I should not much doubt this, if your grace had the bill in your own hands, to offer what may befit into England, if any considerable alteration has been or should be made there. Your grace's perusing and comments on it, the king and council's then passing it, and returning it for Ireland, and the engaging the major part of the parliament for four subsidies more, might all be effected by the nineteenth of April. And I fear, if some such supply be not given, your grace will be put to sad straights. For if the army be ill paid, notwithstanding all your grace's care and frugality, now that the subsidies are received, what will be our condition when those fail? And though honest men will do more in gratitude than in hope, yet perhaps all men are not so honest. And therefore, before the bill be past in England, probably, to have it a good one, many may be induced to engage for those additional subsidies, while

they are in hope, more than afterwards when they are in possession. If your grace had those four subsidies, I would believe, while they are spending, the kingdom might be settling; and when settled, you might perhaps reduce your charge to your revenue, or new ways might be thought on to heighten the revenue to your charge. For as to what your grace has in cash in Dublin castle, you may be pleased to remember, I have often said, and still firmly believe, you never ride anchor but while you have that purse untouched there; and nothing less than an universal rebellion, or a strong invasion, should open the strings of it."

It must be confessed, that this Machiavellian policy resembled too much that pursued by Charles I. towards his parliaments, which had led to such disastrous results. The struggle of Irish politics was now, however, again removed to London, where the agents of the different parties interested in the bill of explanation were heard before the council, and among the courtiers who tried to profit by them, Richard Talbot was again the most forward. This man engaged, for certain considerations, to obtain provisos in the bill in favour of particular individuals. The privy council was again embarrassed with contending claims and interests, and to profit by his counsels in this and other matters, the king determined to call the duke of Ormond into England. Accordingly, at the beginning of June, 1664, the duke of Ormond left his son the earl of Ossory to govern Ireland as lord deputy, and repaired to court.

On his arrival in London, Ormond found the representatives of all the interests concerned in the bill of settlement and the explanatory bill now before the council dissatisfied, wearied, and most of them willing to yield somewhat of their claims to come to a definite conclusion. He had endeavoured to draw up the bill with as much impartiality as the circumstances would permit, and, in compassion to the Irish, many of whom were suffering innocently for want of being heard by the court of claims, he had proposed that the lord lieutenant and six of the privy council of Ireland should be empowered to nominate such other persons as innocents of whose constant loyalty they had sufficient knowledge, and who would thus be entitled to the same advantages with those who were pronounced innocent by the court of claims. But the tide now ran high against the Irish party, and Or-

mond's proposal was rejected by the English privy council. On the other hand, there appeared reason for hoping that the amount of the lands set apart for reprisals would be considerably increased. The London adventurers, who formed a considerable and powerful body, had become so wearied with these tedious disputes, that they offered to resign their lands to the king and to account for the mesne profits, on condition of being reimbursed the money they had originally contributed, with interest at the rate of three per cent. The adventurers and soldiers in Ireland proposed on their part to cut off all adventurers who had issued their money after the rupture between Charles I. and the parliament. The "forty-nine" officers consented to take ten shillings in the pound for their composition. In addition to these sources of increase of the fund for reprisals, the attorney-general of Ireland, sir William Domville, discovered that one entire moiety of the money of the adventurers had been subscribed and paid subsequent to the doubling ordinance, and therefore that one-half of the lands allotted to them had to be resumed. A searching examination had also been instituted into the way in which the lands had been allotted, which led to the discovery of many abuses and clandestine grants that also, when corrected, added to the stock of reprisals.

To conciliate the various claims as much as possible, it was ordered by the English council that the lord lieutenant, calling to his assistance such of the Irish privy councillors as were in London, with the commissioners of claims, and sir Heneage Finch, the English solicitor-general, should review what had already been deliberated, and offer such further proposals as they should think fit. The task they thus undertook was long and tedious, for so many petitions crowded in, so many provisos in favour of the claims of particular persons were insisted upon, that ten months passed over before they could bring their labours to any satisfactory conclusion. At length it was suggested by the Irish catholics, that their interests would be satisfied by the consent of the adventurers and soldiers to resign one-third of the lands respectively enjoyed by them on the 7th of May, 1659. The adventurers and soldiers agreed to this proposal, and, with the consent of their agents, a bill founded upon this arrangement was framed and laid before the English privy council. It was left to the duke of Ormond to select twenty

persons from among the Irish catholics to be added to the list of nominees, to whom the king was to restore their estates, and who were to be particularly mentioned in the act of explanation; and this task exposed the lord lieutenant to new odium from all those of the Irish who, believing in their own claims, were excluded from his choice. They accused him of partiality to individuals, and they complained that in the causes pleaded before the court of claims, perjury and subornation had been practised. They were the more discontented, because, by the terms of the new bill, every remaining hope of those claimants whose causes had not been heard was entirely cut off. It was declared that the protestants were in the first place and especially to be settled; that every ambiguity that might occur was to be interpreted in the sense most favourable to their interests; and that no papist, who by the qualifications of the former act had not been adjudged innocent, should at any future time be reputed innocent, or entitled to claim any lands or settlements. It was under this bill of explanation that the earl of Antrim, who had acted throughout the whole period of the civil wars so wild and equivocal a part, was restored to his estates. In answer to the accusations brought against him, he pleaded the late king's authority for all he had done previous to the king's death, and through powerful friends at court he obtained the present king's letters of restitution. Ormond and the Irish privy council expostulated against the favour shown to a man whose delinquencies were so notorious, and represented his treacherous conduct subsequent to the death of Charles I., when he had been in communication with Cromwell, and had betrayed the royalists on more than one occasion. The king yielded to these representations, but the marquis of Antrim's powerful friends at length prevailed, and he obtained his restitution.

At length, in the beginning of the September of 1665, the duke of Ormond landed at Waterford to resume the personal direction of the Irish government, bringing with him the act of explanation to be passed by the Irish parliament, which now re-assembled for the first time since its adjournment in the summer of 1663. Here, however, the bill seemed destined to encounter new opposition and new difficulties, for the lord lieutenant found the discontent more general than he expected, some thinking themselves not so well provided for as they deserved,

and envying the better fate of others, and many objecting to the bill as not sufficiently secure. The duke therefore began by using every means in his power to model the parliament to his wishes. The fanatic plot, which had occurred two years before, furnished a powerful instrument for this purpose; for not only had the temper of the house of commons, when prorogued, been supposed to have given some encouragement to it, but several members of the house had been more or less implicated in it, and the fact of the parliament not having assembled since furnished an excuse for the delay in proceeding against them. The first subject, therefore, brought before the Irish parliament was the "late" plot. On the first day of the session, a letter from the king to the duke of Ormond was laid before them, in which their former proceedings and votes relating to the commissioners of claims were strongly condemned, and it was intimated to them that unless they proceeded in a more subservient spirit they might be punished with a dissolution. The latter alternative was particularly dreaded by those who had given offence in the former session, for they felt convinced that a new parliament would be less friendly to their interests, and they now made their submission, acknowledged their errors, raised a loud outcry against the plot, and vied with each other in professions of loyalty. Such of their members as had been at all concerned in the plot were expelled, and declared incapable of re-election, and Ormond took care that members devoted to the government should be elected in their places. The explanatory act was then laid before them, and, satisfied with the promises and explanations of the lord lieutenant, who, in addition to his persuasions, alarmed them with reports of a threatened invasion by the French in favour of the Dutch, then at war with England, they passed the bill unanimously on the 15th of December, 1665, and thus set at rest the long-debated question of the settlement. Five commissioners were appointed to superintend the execution of these acts, who were, in all matters of difficulty, to resort to the lord lieutenant and council. It was a duty which continued for a long time to give equally trouble to the government and dissatisfaction to the people; and the regular course of the law was continually interrupted by special grants and letters obtained by individuals from the king.

An extract from a letter written by the

earl of Orrery at the beginning of January, 1666 will enable us to form some notion of the condition of the country at this period. "I thank God," he says, "all in this province (Munster) is very quiet. We have not, that I can hear of, one tory in those counties under my care. For, as soon as I heard of the robberies committed in Meath, Kilkenny, King's, Queen's counties, and Tipperary, I ordered the sheriffs and justices of peace from Dublin to keep strict watches, and the soldiery to be ready in all parts to do their duties in suppressing any which should rise. But as soon as I came home, I sent for some Irish spies whom I entertain, and ordered them to be prying in all places where they thought such loose people might be inclined to follow such ill examples, as some in other parts had showed them. One of these Irish gentlemen assured me, he would be most watchful to prevent such

villanies in Munster; and, if I were concerned in it, he would bring in those tories which were up in the borders of Tipperary and in the King's and Queen's counties; for he had a foster-brother who was no enemy unto them, and knew all their haunts. I esteemed this service would not be unacceptable to your grace, and therefore I did furnish him and some of his associates with some money, and six pocket pistols, and have sent him on that service with my pass for four weeks; and he has undertaken the work, which when done, I have promised him an answerable reward. Though they may go out of the province, yet I do not doubt but your grace will approve of what I have done. For the taking or destroying such rogues will contribute to the kingdom's peace; a few such vermin being able to hinder the plantation of a whole country."

CHAPTER III.

PROHIBITORY BILLS RELATIVE TO IRISH COMMERCE; RUMOURS OF NEW PLOTS; MUTINY AT CALRICKFERGUS; ORMOND RECALLED.



WHILE the resolution of the great question of settlement seemed to promise mere tranquillity in Ireland, other circumstances arose to spread discontent and distress. The pecuniary difficulties in which the English government was constantly involved, seemed to have made the parliament neglectful of the interests of the sister island, and, it having been found of late years that the rents of England had decreased to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds annually on the sum total, they somewhat hastily attributed it to the importation of cattle from Ireland, not considering what were the necessary results of the profligacy and political blunders of the government at home. The English house of commons was carried away with this notion, which was encouraged by some of the powerful courtiers, who were desirous of creating embarrassments

for the duke of Ormond; and as early as 1663 a temporary act had been passed, prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the first day of July in each year. The inconveniences even of this act had been represented forcibly, but in vain; and in the session of the English parliament which commenced in the October of 1665, at Oxford, whither it had been driven by the great plague of London, a new bill was introduced to effect a perpetual prohibition of importing all cattle, of whatever description, from Ireland.

A resolute but vain attempt was made to hinder the passing of this act, and sir Heneage Finch and others represented the evils to which it must infallibly lead. They urged that the inhabitants of Ireland, who would be chiefly affected by the bill, were Englishmen, who had the same claims on their consideration; they showed the misery to which it must reduce that country, compelled either to trade with foreign countries to the detriment of England, or to give up their trade altogether, the natural con-

sequence of which would be that the population would gradually degenerate into its ancient barbarism; that the trade with England had in former times been greater than at present, and so far from being injurious to the prosperity of England, this country had derived considerable advantage from it; and that, if this trade were interrupted the inhabitants of Ireland would be unable to pay taxes, or to maintain the forces necessary for the security of its government. The commons paid no attention to all these arguments; they even refused a copy of the bill to the agents sent from Ireland to advocate the interests of that country; yet it passed the commons only by a small majority. In the house of lords, however, it had to encounter new opposition, and it was delayed there till the parliament was prorogued. Ireland was nevertheless exposed to great distress; for its chief trade with England was already stopped, and war, in which England had for some time been involved with Holland, and was now involved with France, cut off the commerce with other countries.

The active vigilance of the duke of Ormond alone preserved the country from a renewal of its troubles. His ears were beset on every side with reports of plots and schemes of insurrection. The more violent of the catholic clergy were known to be inciting the Irish to rebellion, and to be treating with France for assistance, while the fanatics were in correspondence with their turbulent brethren in England, and the army was still ill paid, and therefore discontented. In February 1666, the lord lieutenant was alarmed by information of an extensive conspiracy of which, for some unaccountable reason, the secret had been entrusted to the wife of an officer who conveyed the intelligence to the earl of Orrery. It was pretended that an insurrection was to burst out in one night throughout the whole island, that all the strongholds were to be seized, and the castle of Dublin surprised. With this intent it was further stated that a great part of the army and the garrisons had been corrupted, and were ready to join with the conspirators. In giving this information to her husband, the lady said, with justice, "when the man told me first of this business, truly I thought he was mad, or drunk, that he should tell a silly woman a business of that great weight." Other circumstances, however, seemed to give some countenance to it, and the govern-

ment took its precautions, and employed spies to trace out the truth of the report. Almost at the same time, information was privately conveyed to lord Orrery in Munster, and to the lord lieutenant, that the English fanatics had intelligence in Ireland, and were prepared for a rising there, and that Blood and others had been sent to Ireland and were lurking about Dublin. Further information was gained by the seizure of the person who had revealed the design to the captain's lady, Mrs. Oliver, who now turned king's evidence, and informed Lord Orrery that he had been drawn into the plot by one of the active conspirators, who had called at his house and discoursed with him on the dangerous growth of popery on one hand, and on the other of the tyranny of the bishops and the extravagance and debaucheries of the court. He said that it was determined to put an end to this state of things, and "that there was a general design carrying on in England, Ireland, and Scotland; that it would be executed in one hour in all places; that those who were engaged in it were called the old blades; and that every one had sworn not to discover who was of it; but he, who was engaged in it, was to be only known by this appellation, viz. an honest man. That their design was to get up again the long parliament, about forty of whose members were engaged in it by Ludlow, who was to be general under them of these three kingdoms. That Ludlow was to be assisted with forces and arms and money by the Dutch and other the king's enemies. That they would all rise in one night, and it should be a bloody one; for they would kill whoever did oppose them or not join with them in their design, which was to pull down king and lords, to set up a sober and peaceful ministry. That they had made over all Ireland good collections of money, with which they did work upon the necessities of the soldiery. That they had already bought several men in several garrisons; and that, by great sums of money, they were sure of Dublin castle whenever they were ready to declare, which would be in a few weeks."

All this could but have originated in the wild imagination of some extreme fanatic, or it was perhaps invented for the purpose of gaining converts to a party which had already made one or two futile attempts that served to show its own weakness while it exhibited its reckless courage. Ormond, more cautious than Orrery, rejected that

nobleman's counsel to seize upon the chiefs of what was termed the fanatical party throughout Ireland, until he had received fuller and more credible information of the extent of the pretended conspiracy. Reports were next spread abroad that the Irish were preparing to revolt, and that their insurrection was to take place at the same time with that of the fanatics; and the watchful eyes of the agents of government saw alarming symptoms wherever they were turned, and it was found that many of the suspected Irish had been secretly furnishing themselves with arms. The object for which these were obtained was, however, soon made apparent by the sudden commission of numerous robberies on the houses of the English settlers. An organised system of robbery and violence prevailed throughout the country, but, after a few weeks' alarm and agitation, the fear of the plot seems to have subsided, or to have merged into a new alarm caused by the threats of a French invasion. On the twenty-fifth of May, Lord Orrery wrote a long letter from Munster to Ormond, full of alarm, and intimating the various steps he had taken for the defence of that province. "It can hardly enter into my thoughts," he said, "that the French will invade Ireland with the body of an army (*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*,) but rather, that they will send a small body of men, with good store of arms and ammunition, and secure some place in a fast country near the sea (as too many such there be in this province), to which the discontented Irish shall resort, and there furnishing those with arms and ammunition, kindle a flame, which they may rationally hope will find fuel enough to maintain it, from the discontent and religion of the natives. I wish they have not hopes from the Ulster Scots. And if at one time they can stir up both ends of the kingdom, they will not much doubt but the middle part of it will dance to the same tune. It is almost impossible they should transport great bodies of horse out of France into Ireland, and escape the king's fleets; and it is much more impossible they should do much here, if we master them in horse, in which, under God, our great strength consists. And, therefore, the speedy forming of the militia of horse, and the strict watch over our horse now at grass, lest they should be surprised, are two things essentially necessary. I doubt extremely that the fanatics of Ireland will not be idle, if the French invade us. And therefore, if your grace is

confident we shall be invaded, I beseech your pardon if I again renew my humble request, that the heads and chief officers of the fanatics and nuncio Irish be forthwith secured, till we see what this cloud will turn to. It may prevent much mischief, and can do none."

Although they were not seriously verified, these continual alarms spread a feeling of excitement among the Irish, which made them show signs of turbulence. The popish clergy were especially busy, and were said to have held several meetings, and to have had active agents in France, for they also looked forward confidently for an invasion. At this moment the attention of the duke of Ormond was suddenly called off from the south, to a more serious cause of alarm which had arisen unexpectedly in Ulster. The army still remained without its pay, and in some places exhibited marked symptoms of discontent. In the latter part of the month of May, the garrison of Carrickfergus broke out into a sudden mutiny, seized all the money that was in the hands of the king's receiver, deposed their governor, the earl of Donegal, and took possession of the castle and town; and they acted in such a resolute manner as to cause great uneasiness to the government, for there was room to fear that it might be the commencement of a more extensive rebellion. The duke of Ormond immediately dispatched his son, the earl of Arran, with four companies of guards by sea to Carrickfergus, who attacked the mutineers immediately on his arrival, and drove them from the town into the castle, with the loss of their leader, corporal Dillon. Next day, Ormond himself, who had marched from Dublin with his own guards, appeared before the town, upon which the mutineers surrendered. One hundred and ten were tried by a court-martial, nine of whom were executed, and the companies to which they belonged were disbanded.

The alarms of preparations for rebellion becoming every day more rife, Ormond, by the king's directions, attempted to conciliate the catholic clergy, by allowing them to hold a sort of convocation or national synod at Dublin, on the 11th of June, in the hope that they would be induced to disclaim the rebellion of 1641, and give assurance of their loyalty by taking an oath drawn up by their own procurator, Peter Walsh, under the title of the Irish remonstrance. This attempt at conciliation was, however, rejected

by many of the bishops, one of whom declared openly that the rebellion of the Irish was no crime, and needed no palliation. The turbulent spirit of the clergy increased the fears of the government, and on the 19th of June Ormond wrote to England, "There is hardly an hour in a day wherein I have not hot alarms of conspiracies ready to be executed by the Irish; and such concurrent intelligence from several places and persons concerning it, that I now really believe they are put into a disposition of rebelling by some employed out of France; I will, according to instructions, keep the Irish clergy to the letter of the remonstrance or to a sense equivalent."

The English ministers were now alarmed for the safety of Ireland, and they contrived to spare fifteen thousand pounds from the treasury, which enabled the lord lieutenant to give some satisfaction to the army, and to complete the establishment of a body of militia throughout the provinces, a scheme which had occupied his attention since the beginning of the year, and which promised to be an effectual safeguard against foreign invasion or domestic insurrection. This body was composed principally of veterans, of tried valour and experience, who had served against former rebellions. The Irish parliament was dissolved on the 7th of August, and immediately afterwards the lord lieutenant made a progress into Munster, the province specially threatened with invasion, where he examined the state of the towns and forts on the coast, arrayed and armed the militia, and assured himself of the provident care with which lord Orrery had prepared for its defence. Although he still avoided pursuing any violent steps against the Irish party, he took a further measure of precaution on his return to Dublin, by arresting the popish titular archbishop of Armagh, who was known to be an active agitator, and sent him prisoner to England. The alarm was now increased by intelligence of the great fire of London, which, in the exaggerated terror of the moment, was looked upon as a part of the grand conspiracy which was supposed to threaten the peace of the three kingdoms. It was soon found however that this event had little effect on the revolutionary designs which were watched in Ireland, and Ormond found himself at liberty to propose measures for relieving the sufferers. Thirty thousand beeves were cheerfully subscribed by the nobility and gentry of Ireland, and sent over to relieve

the houseless population of the English capital.

The fears from the fanatics seem now to have been in a great measure dispelled, and it was the movement among the Irish catholics which excited alarm, and caused every act of that great body of the population to be regarded with suspicion. We may again illustrate the feelings of the day by an extract from the correspondence of the earl of Orrery, who writes from Munster on the 19th of October, "I have several complaints this week from divers parts of this province, of the great insolency the popish clergy are suddenly (especially since the burning of London) grown unto. I shall give your lordship some instances. They have lately set up several schools, which their jesuits publicly teach in. Though I know they are the best schoolmasters in the world, yet it is to be doubted they teach their scholars more than their books, and imbue them with ill principles. And one Thomas Stretch by name, a jesuit, who lately is turned a schoolmaster, did in the county hall, with his scholars, act a play, whither a great confluence of people repaired, notwithstanding that Mr. John Andrews, minister of the place, did expressly prohibit him, because the design of it was to stir up sedition; for the plot was, that a pastor having lost his flock by wolves and other beasts of prey, he was persuaded to teach a school, and his scholars having helped him to destroy the wolves, he turned pastor to a flock again. This is the fable, and in this pastoral he seemed to show to them his own condition and hopes. The argument was bad, the plot worse, the contempt of authority worst of all. Some have turned of late several English to the mass, who being upbraided with their perversion, have said they did it to preserve themselves. I have ordered the ministers of those parishes to proceed against such perverts, according to the utmost severity of the law. For if fear made them change their religion, possibly fear may make them discover what those dangers are which so terrified them. One priest had the insolency to say public mass within a carbine shot of this house (Charleville), with a great concourse of people to hear him; but I have sent him fair warning, if he relapses, I shall deal with him according to law. I should make this letter three sheets of paper, should I tell your grace the many particulars which I have received on this subject. I shall therefore only trouble your grace with one

more; it is this, that they have lately set up in an island called Brentine, in the county of Clare, a formal abbey of Franciscans, where they wear their habits, and do all things else as openly as if they were in Rome. I was desired by some of the justices of peace in the said county, to send to demolish that abbey, and to seize on the friars; but I would do nothing, till I received your grace's commands in this particular, which I humbly beg to receive, for this seems to be a great act of insolence in them, and gives much scandal to all the protestants."

In England the excitement on the subject of Irish affairs was naturally increased by the rumours of conspiracies, which gained in intensity in their passage; and their interest received no little addition from the intrigues which were at this time carried on in the court of king Charles to effect the disgrace of the duke of Ormond. Everything connected with the government of Ireland received a colouring from this circumstance. Even the contribution towards the relief of the inhabitants of London who had been ruined by the fire received a malignant interpretation, and was represented as a political contrivance to evade the prohibition of Irish cattle. Although the experience of three years had proved that the effects of this bill were not such as its advocates expected, for the rents of England had not increased, while Ireland was so reduced as to be unable to pay the subsidies granted by its parliament, yet the English commons persisted in advocating it, incited by the faction of Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, the enemies of the lord lieutenant. It was their policy to raise discontents in Ireland, which might afford some pretence for removing Ormond from the government, and they still succeeded in persuading people that all the distress in England arose from the importation of cattle from Ireland. The house of commons was quite in a flame on this subject, and they resumed the bill in an unusual violence of temper. They began with a preamble declaring that the importation of Irish cattle was a *nuisance*, a strong expression intended to intimidate the king, who at that moment depended on them for supplies to carry on the war. Among the amendments made in the house of lords this preamble did not escape, for they inserted, in place of the word *nuisance*, the words *detriment and mischief*. The commons, after some debate,

insisted on their own preamble in its original form, which gave rise to a dispute between the two houses, which led to a conference between the committees of each, in which the amendment in the preamble was discussed, with obstinacy on both sides. Lord Ashley, with an affected moderation, proposed that, instead of calling the importation a nuisance, they should declare it to be felony, or a premunire. The lord chancellor sarcastically proposed an amendment equally reasonable with the other, which was, that the importation of Irish cattle should be declared to be *adultery*. The debate on this bill in the lords assumed a violence which was ill suited with the dignity of that house. The duke of Buckingham, in his heat of prejudice against the opposers of the bill, declared that none could be against it "but such as had Irish estates or Irish understandings," intimating by the latter phrase that they were no better than fools. Ormond's eldest son, lord Ossory, who was personally popular for his many engaging qualities, took this as a personal reflection, and sent the duke of Buckingham a challenge. The latter, instead of accepting it, made a complaint to the house, and the earl of Ossory was committed to the Tower. On his release, the Irish nobleman was not dismayed, but when lord Ashley inveighed against the Irish subscription and all concerned in promoting it, he declared that "such virulence became none but one of Cromwell's counsellors." The house of lords was with difficulty saved from becoming a scene of tumult and riot.

This scene took place at the end of the October of the year 1666. The commons still persisted in their resolution to retain the obnoxious expression, and they declared that rather than omit it, they would give up the bill, and introduce it without any amendment, as a proviso to the bill of assessments; and they even made an offer to the lords interested in Irish estates, that if they would agree to their preamble, they would concede one year's liberty for the importation of cattle. The king, weary of the question, and anxious to secure his supplies, directed his ministers in the house of lords to agree to the word *nuisance*, and thus the bill was at length passed, and received the royal assent. The feeling these debates excited in Ireland may be illustrated from a letter of the earl of Orrery dated on the 14th of December. "Our usage in England," he says, "amazes me. They will not only

wound our estates, but our titles, nay, our clarity. But I hope we shall show them, that we merit not what they would load us with; and I wish they may not feel that in wounding us they wound themselves. They show us they have new lights in politics, as the fanatics had in religion. Past ages heard of neither, and the present will be misled by the one, as much as these last years have been misled by the other; but I trust both will soon be extinguished. Yet I must say, since they will destroy our estates, they do but wisely to endeavour to suppress our titles, for nobility and beggary are not over consistent. But as they have done what they can against us, so I doubt not his majesty will do what he can for us, and then I will not despair but by the abrogation of some laws, and framing others, we shall carry that trade (if God send us peace) to other countries, which our native one has so unadvisedly rejected; and when England does feel the mischief, it will condemn the short-sightedness of this new policy, and look on Ireland through a truer optic. I will never so much doubt the king's care of any of his own prerogatives, as to fancy an act in England shall be admitted to bind Ireland in point of its own rates and its particular trade. My lord Ossory is the only martyr for his country, which makes the honour greater than the suffering, and at once raises our gratitude to him and our envy of him."

On the same day that these observations were written, lord Orrery, having received intelligence of the insurrection of the presbyterians in Scotland, wrote again to the lord lieutenant, and this second letter contains some remarks which give us a further insight into the state of Ireland at this time. "I," he says, "consider Ireland as consisting of three sorts of people, the protestants, the Scotch presbyters and other sectaries, and the papists. By the best calculation I could make, I cannot find the protestants, including the army, to amount to above forty thousand men fit to bear arms. I believe the Scotch presbyters and other sectaries are double that number, and the papists quadruple the number of both. But then the protestants, to counterbalance the greatness of the other two, have the king's authority in their hands, together with the arms and garrisons. This insurrection in Scotland will no doubt animate all the birds of that feather in Ireland, if not some in England too, where of late some

disturbances have been about the hearth-money. So that, by what is already begun in Scotland, a greater body than the protestants of Ireland may be suspected in it. The king's late proclamation, at the humble desire of the parliament there, which puts the laws in force against priests, jesuits, and all popish recusants, will no doubt be laid hold of by the Romish clergy here to incite their flocks to mischief, and will fortify their persuasions with this argument: that if England, where there are twenty protestants for one papist, so warmly apprehend danger from those of their religion, what will they not apprehend for Ireland, where there are almost twenty papists for one protestant, by which they may be but too successful orators, if not vigorously and speedily prevented. Nor will this argument possibly be neglected by the French, nor arms nor ammunition omitted to be sent to them. Besides, I observed, that in the beginning of the late rebellion, in Scotland and Ireland, that no sooner the presbyters there cried up the covenant, but the papists here did the mass; and some considerable persons of the latter sort did clearly confess, that what the Scots had done was no small invitation to their attempts. And if when England was rich and quiet, the example of Scotland could give motion to Ireland, what may not now be rationally expected from the like example, considering that the Ulster Scots were then as ready to join to suppress the Irish, as some doubt they will be to help the rebels of their own country; considering also that England is not only impoverished, but London likewise, the magazine of money and all things else, burned; and the king actually engaged in a bloody expensive war at once against France, Holland, and Denmark, and the rest of the provinces of Europe at best but lookers-on; considering that France is quiet within itself, and governed by a young prince, ambitious, absolute, and wealthy, and apt on any occasion to enlarge his dominions, and in whose kingdom the desperate sort of the Irish have taken their sanctuary, and are no doubt provoking him daily to embrace this promising juncture of time. Lastly, to omit many material considerations, considering the inability of England to help us, if they had the will; and the want of will too signally expressed in the late acts they have passed, almost as destructive as a rebellion or war could prove. To which may be added our general loss of trade, and conse-

quently the almost impossibility of getting money to pay those taxes which are to pay the army."

The act of prohibition was found eventually to be more injurious to England than to Ireland, although at first it filled the latter country with the utmost consternation. The sudden interruption of commerce rendered the people so utterly incapable of paying the subsidies in money, that Ormond found himself obliged to take them partly in provisions. He seems to have acted upon lord Orrery's suggestion of opening a trade with foreign countries in place of that now prohibited with England, and he found the king not unwilling to agree to his suggestions. Having obtained the consent of his privy council, not, it is said, without reluctance, Charles, by an act of state, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, whether at war or in peace with England; and he at the same time permitted the Irish to retaliate on the Scots, who, in imitation of the policy lately pursued by England, had prohibited the importation of cattle, corn, and beef from Ireland. In return for this illiberal measure, the Irish government prohibited the importation into Ireland of linen and woollen manufactures, stockings, gloves, and other commodities from Scotland. The allowance of free trade with foreign countries soon benefited Ireland, more than it had been injured by the prohibitory act. One article only was left in an equivocal position. The exportation of Irish wool had been prohibited by law, except to England by particular licence of the chief governor; yet, in the order of council for free exportation wool was not excepted. The ignorance with regard to the affairs of Ireland and of the true interests of England of the lords of the council, who were enemies to Ormond alone, explains this oversight. Ormond suspected that some snare was laid, in order to obtain a pretence for a future accusation, for he began to perceive the aim of his enemies at court; he was therefore cautious, and refused to grant particular licences for the exportation of wool. But the Irish conveyed their wool by stealth to foreign countries, and they soon experienced the advantage of this clandestine commerce.

A more effectual way of eluding the consequences of the oppressive law of prohibition presented itself to the Irish subjects in applying themselves to manufactures, and thus working up their own produce; and in this they received especial encouragement

from the duke of Ormond. He encouraged men of talent to suggest schemes for promoting industry, to prevent the necessity of foreign importation. Sir Peter Pett offered a memorial for erecting a manufacture of woollen cloth that should at least furnish what was sufficient for home consumption. He recommended chiefly the making of fine worsted stockings and Norwich stuffs, which might not only keep money in the country, but if sufficiently improved would be a means of bringing considerable sums from abroad; and he offered to procure workmen from Norwich. The council of trade lately established in Ireland, approved of this proposal; and it was especially encouraged by the duke of Ormond, who erected the manufacture at Clonmel, the capital of his county palatine of Tipperary. To supply workmen, five hundred Walloon protestant families were induced to remove from Canterbury to Ireland. An ingenious projector, colonel Richard Lawrence, was encouraged to promote the business of combing wool and making friezes; and a manufacture of this kind was established at Carrick, a town also belonging to the duke of Ormond. But above all, this great nobleman determined to imitate the earl of Strafford in re-establishing and promoting the manufacture of linen cloth, which had been stopped amid the troubles and disorders of the intervening period. An act of parliament was passed at Dublin to encourage the growth of flax and the manufacture of linen. The lord lieutenant sent skilful persons to the Netherlands to observe the state of this trade there, the manner of working, the way of whitening the thread, and other circumstances connected with the manufacture, and to bring to Ireland some of their experienced workmen. Sir William Temple was engaged to send to Ireland five hundred families from Brabant skilled in manufacturing linen; and others were brought from Rochelle and the Isle of Ré, from Jersey, and from the neighbouring parts of France. Houses were prepared for these artificers at Chapel-Izod near Dublin, and, in the manufactories established there, cordage, sail-cloth, linen, and diaper, were brought to a considerable degree of perfection.

The duke of Ormond was not less active in encouraging the diffusion of learning and knowledge in the country entrusted to his rule. The university of Dublin was a particular object of his attention; and learning had been of late so much encouraged, that

he felt justified in protesting even against the appointment of Englishmen to the Irish bishoprics. When an appointment of this kind was made by the king without acquainting him with the design, through the influence of his enemies at court who wished to annoy him, he remonstrated in a letter to the secretary of state in which he said, "It is fit that it be remembered, that near this city there is an university of the foundation of queen Elizabeth, principally intended for the education and advantage of the natives of this kingdom, which hath produced men very eminent for learning and piety, and those of this nation. And such there are now in this church; so that while there are so, the passing them by is not only in some measure a violation of the original intention and institution, but a great discouragement to the natives from making themselves capable and fit for preferments in the church; whereunto (if they have equal parts) they are better able to do service than strangers, their knowledge of the country, and their relations in it, giving them the advantage. The promotion, too, of fitting persons already dignified or benefited, will make room for and consequently encourage young men, students of this university; which room will be lost, and the inferior clergy much disheartened, if, upon the vacancy of bishoprics, persons unknown to the kingdom and university shall be sent to fill them, and to be less useful there to church and kingdom than those who are better acquainted with both."

The greater part of the year 1667, like that which preceded it, was spent in constant alarms of foreign invasion, and of insurrection at home. Every ship that came in sight of the Irish coast was an object of suspicion, and towards the beginning of July the whole country was thrown into consternation by the appearance of a number of men-of-war off the head of Kinsale. For a moment the report spread from mouth to mouth that the French were arrived, and that the Irish were rising to join them; but a few hours changed the first alarm of the people about the coast into joy, when it was discovered that it was

an English fleet under Sir Jeremy Smith, which entered Kinsale harbour on the 11th of July. This report, however, had the effect of increasing the precautions which had been taken for defence, and on the 13th of the same month, Ormond reviewed the newly-raised body of militia of the province of Leinster, on the celebrated curragh of Kildare, and expressed his satisfaction with their appearance. All these alarms, as might be expected, rendered the Irish unsettled and turbulent, and the country was everywhere disturbed with robberies and murders, and other acts of violence, perpetrated for the most part by bands of "rogues and tories," (as the two names were generally coupled together) though in some cases they were the acts of the unpaid and discontented soldiery.*

Peace now came to tranquillize the country in some degree; with it the alarm of insurrection began to die away, and the defensive preparations were discontinued. But when the lord lieutenant was preparing to turn this state of things to the advantage of the government, he was alarmed by rumours of a conspiracy in London to deprive him of his office. The faction which had already overthrown his friend the lord chancellor Clarendon, resolved to involve the duke of Ormond in the same disgrace. They set themselves industriously to work to find grounds for charges of misconduct in his government, on the complaints of men whom he had offended by refusing to listen to their unreasonable demands; and it appears that individuals near about his person, and in whom he was accustomed to place his trust, did not hesitate in furnishing materials for the accusations of his enemies. The charges raised from time to time against his government were futile or unfounded. His enemies accused him of having given a commission for trying the mutineers at Carrickfergus by martial law, in what they called a time of peace; although they knew that at that very moment Ireland was threatened with an invasion by a foreign enemy with the professed object of exciting an insurrection among the people and

* Lord Orrery, then at Kinsale preparing for defence against the supposed foreign fleet, writes on the 27th of June, "The soldiers are in miserable want for money. One of colonel St. Leger's company will be hanged for a robbery and murder yesterday on the highway, if he can be taken. I have sent all ways to apprehend him. He said, before he went to do this villainy, that he was ready to starve. No man will trust a soldier for a farthing, because

old scores are yet unpaid. I beg your grace, that their assignments may be hastened to them, and that contingent money be sent to me; for this money I lay out here is what was to maintain my family, and it will be soon spent, and all things at a stand, if our supply come not speedily. I would have borrowed money, but these times make every one lock up his purse."

treason among the soldiery. What was considered a still more serious accusation, arose from a complaint brought against him by some of the citizens of Dublin for illegally quartering soldiers on the city. They discovered an obsolete Irish law of the 18th of Henry VI., which ordered that, "no lord, nor any other of what condition soever, shall bring or lead hoblers, kernes, or hooded-men, neither English rebels nor Irish enemies, nor any other people, nor horses, to lie upon the king's subjects without their consents, but upon their own costs, and without doing hurt to the commons of the country; and if any do so, he shall be adjudged a traitor." On the strength of this enactment, it was inferred that the lord lieutenant could not by law issue warrants for quartering soldiers on Dublin; and that Ormond had incurred the guilt of high treason, by maintaining the king's guards and quartering the troops necessary for the safety of his government agreeably to the usage of his predecessors. This with other still more frivolous charges, were formed into twelve articles of impeachment, and the duke received on every side alarming intimations of the lengths to which his enemies were prepared to carry their persecution. The king was under the influence of Buckingham and his faction, and though he professed undiminished regard for Ormond, and talked of protecting him to the last, it was already evident that these promises could not be relied upon.

The encouragement given by the known sentiments of those in power in England, raised the courage of all Ormond's private or public enemies in Ireland, who began everywhere to talk loudly against his person and government, and their complaints met with the most favourable reception. Some of those who had professed themselves to be his friends began also to waver. The earl of Orrery is suspected of having acted with great duplicity. He had hitherto professed towards the duke the most profound respect and the warmest attachment, and he still sent him intelligence of some of the designs and movements of his enemies, yet when he saw that his fall was at hand, desirous perhaps of ingratiating himself with those in power, he joined gradually with the cabal against him. Ormond received intimation

of his treachery, and, when he learnt that the earl was preparing for a voyage into England, he became alarmed, and determined to repair also to court and defend himself in person. On the 25th of April, 1668, he again entrusted the government of Ireland to his son, the earl of Ossory, as lord deputy, and proceeded to London. There he found his enemies busy at work to undermine him in the king's favour. The direct charges had come to nothing, and they now endeavoured to impress upon the king the belief that Ormond had mismanaged the Irish revenue, and that the Irish government might be made less burdensome to the crown. An attempt was next made to prevail upon the duke to resign the lord lieutenancy: but this also failed. But the king's attachment to his old and faithful servant gradually yielded to the incessant attacks of his court favourites, and it was noised abroad that Ormond's disgrace was not far distant. The latter, up to the last moment, was received by the king with the strongest expressions of continued favour, and it was after one of these interviews, which was more than usually cordial, that lord Arlington was sent to inform him of the king's resolution to dismiss him, and to entrust the government of Ireland to lord Robartes of Truro, who then held the privy seal in England, and who had been designated to govern Ireland immediately after the restoration. This nobleman was appointed lord lieutenant on the 18th of September, 1669.

No events of any importance characterised the short administration of lord Robartes. He appears to have given little satisfaction to the English ministry which sent him, for his mission appears to have been for the special purpose of raking up the supposed delinquencies of the duke of Ormond, and he found none, and he was too honest to invent them. He is said to have offended the people he went to govern by his solemn deportment, and his not very conciliating temper. He seems, however, to have given satisfaction to the presbyterian party by his unwillingness to countenance a persecuting spirit in the church. The account of him given by the presbyterian historian Adair, who was a witness of what he writes, is probably a fair picture of his government.*

* This historical narrative of Patrick Adair, one of the presbyterian ministers of Ulster throughout this agitated period, still remains (as a whole) in manuscript, and is preserved in the Presbyterian

Library at Belfast. Large portions, however, have been recently printed in Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, from whence they are here quoted.

"After a while," he says, "in September, 1669, the lord Robartes came over lord lieutenant. He was represented as a person of great worth for wisdom, learning, strictness in his commands, and severity against vice, no enemy to godly people, yet somewhat morose in his temper and carriage. This representation of him he answered in his practice during the short time of his government. He was a public discountenancer of all vice. The public players he stopped there, as well as other vicious persons. He was strict and peremptory upon the officers in the army, especially in two things; first, that they were forced to keep close to their quarters and garrisons where their soldiers were; and, secondly, that they were put to pay the poor soldiers exactly, whereas before they had used to recede where they pleased, and to spend much of the soldiers' pay upon their own extravagancies. He had his reflections sometimes upon the bishops, and particularly upon him of Dublin, who was also chancellor of Ireland, on account of the unmanageable charge he took upon him. As to the non-conformists, though his own practice was always after the episcopal forms of worship, yet he nothing disappointed their good hopes of him. For in his little time those in the north grew more confident and encouraged; and those in Dublin rather grew in the begun liberty they had under the earl of Ossory. The chancellor dealt with him to suppress the meeting there; but he told him, if they were not papists, and were peaceable and civil, he had no commission to meddle with them. The brethren in the north, beginning to understand these passages, not only went on in their ministry without fear, but begun to think of licensing young men to preach,

and recommending them to such congregations where none of their number were. But the lord Robartes' government was soon shortened. He came in September, and returned to England in the April following. The occasion of this was, the temper of the soldiers and persons of quality in this time could not bear severity against vice. All degrees of that sort of people desired to be rid of the yoke and from under such a severe governor. Many suggestions and complaints were sent over against him. He found he had many enemies in Ireland, and thought in his absence he might be clouded at court. Whereupon he wrote to the king desiring to demit his office, which the king by persuasion of some about him did immediately grant, and chose another, one lord Berkeley, in his room. Those who loved lord Robartes' government blamed him for so suddenly giving it up, seeing there were no just grounds of accusation against his government, but that he could not comply with the debauched temper of the time and place he came to. Many things worthy of a noble judge appeared in him. The king had a good respect for him, as being one in England who, during his majesty's exile, did very largely and yearly send supply to him. However, the short time of his government in Ireland gave a dash to open profaneness, and some encouragement to the lovers of truth."

This must be of course taken as the opinion of a stanch presbyterian; lord Robartes appears not to have possessed the talents to contend with the difficulties of his office, and to have enjoyed the entire confidence of no party. But amid the faction which disgraced that age, it would perhaps be difficult to obtain a correct view of his character and administration.

CHAPTER IV.

LORD BERKELEY; THE IRISH REMONSTRANCE; ORMOND RESTORED TO FAVOUR.



ON the 21st of May, 1670, John lord Berkeley, baron of Stratton, was sworn lord lieutenant. Coke has printed his instructions, which, in the circumstances under which he was appointed, are especially deserving of notice. A paragraph at the beginning seemed to insinuate that the new lord lieutenant had a special mission for the protection of the established church, particularly against the dissenters. "And for as much," said this article, "as all good success doth rest upon the service of God, above all things you are to settle good orders in the church, that God may be better served in the true established religion, and the people by that means be reduced from their errors in religion, wherein they have been too long most unhappily and perniciously seduced; and never more than since the late fatal rebellion, which hath produced too plentiful a seed-time of atheism, superstition, and schism. But in your care of religion, be sure to moderate the precipitation and preposterous zeal of any, on what specious pretences soever, who, under the name of Christ's kingdom, the church, and religion, disturb both church and state, and may endanger the peace thereof; whereas by wisdom and moderation, the established religion will not only be more firmly settled again, but by a wise and diligent hand the tares and cockle which many years' war and confusion have sowed will be most safely picked out. In order to this, proceed, as in the beginning of lord Chichester's time, to the building and repair of churches. And because good preachers will be difficultly obtained without competent means, inspect the ecclesiastical livings, with assistance of some of the church and others of skill, and raise them as you can, and supply those in our gift with pious, apt, and able persons, men of good respect and credit, and residents, and persuade all patrons to do the like, and to eschew corruption, observe the directions about the church of Ireland *anno* 1623, and see that the clergy lose nothing

designed for them in the several plantations; and that fit and diligent schoolmasters may have the benefit of our donations and the act of parliament; and that you encourage the people to send their youth to the college of Dublin." The remainder of these instructions relate chiefly to the administration of justice, the quartering and pay of the army, the regulation of the revenue, and the improvement of trade. "Send us an account of the state of the kingdom, what is wanting, and how it may be supplied. Enquire diligently how our judges, officers, and ministers behave themselves in the discharge of their respective trusts, and that faulty persons may be succeeded by better. Take exact musters, and administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to all officers and soldiers, and cashier such as refuse. To prevent false musters, and the mustering of servants and tenants, &c., change quarters often, even to remote provinces; renewing in this particular the printed instructions and rules to the commissaries in the duke of Ormond's time, with such alterations and additions as shall be found requisite. Quarter the soldiers most conveniently for our service, and the least burthensome to the subjects, and give strict directions that they live orderly, and according to discipline, and that the officer may not detain the soldier's pay, nor absent himself without licence, which must not exceed three months. Inspect the revenue, &c., exactly, as it was the 20th January, 1669 [1670], and is now; and improve it by increase of the income and abatement of the charge. If any orders under great or privy seal, privy signet, or sign manual, or from privy council, shall come unto you contrary to these instructions, or in your opinion unfit to be obeyed, you may suspend your obedience, until you signify your reasons for so doing, and receive our answer. Make no grant or lease of anything of ours, till office be found, or record entered, and an indifferent survey or valuation thereof made, and that then the same be put in charge in the proper offices, and the grantee give good security for rents and covenants. That new surveys be made of all forfeited, escheated, and concealed lands &c. Improve trade as

for as you can without breach of the acts of navigation and transportation of Irish cattle; particularly, encourage fishery, linen manufactory, the resort of protestant strangers [who transported foreign manufactures], and if they amount to any number, we will order them such privileges for their religion as will best consist with the peace of that kingdom. Have a strict eye to the transportation of wool, take bonds diligently, and prosecute them severely; and the better to discover frauds, transmit your bonds hither to be compared with the certificates here. Also prevent the abuse in coining, vending, and uttering small moneys. Endeavour to bring all to a conformity in the religion by law established, and acquaint us with what difficulties you meet with therein. Inspect our forts, castles, magazines, and stores, and endeavour to make saltpeter. We are informed that small profit hath heretofore come to our exchequer by castle-chamber fines, though misdemeanors proper for punishment in that court were many; we would therefore have you to look into the reasons thereof, and to resettle and uphold the honour and jurisdiction of that court, for the repressing exorbitant expenses, wherein our learned counsel are to do their duty faithfully. The vice-treasurer, or his deputy, to receive all money. Reduce the moneys there to the condition of sterling, and establish a mint there. . . . Lastly, several popish clergy, since the return of the Duke of Ormond hither, have exercised their jurisdictions, to the great grief of the remonstrants: if so, execute the laws against the titular archbishops, bishops, and vicar-generals, that have threatened or excommunicated the remonstrants; and that you protect such remonstrants as have not withdrawn their subscriptions."

In spite of the anti-popish tendency of these instructions, it was generally believed that Lord Berkeley was appointed to the government of Ireland by the influence of the popish party about court, and that his private orders agreed with his own inclinations to favour and encourage the Roman Catholics, in order to carry out gradually the secret views which Charles and his favourites are said to have begun to entertain at this time, of establishing a despotic and arbitrary power on the basis of popery. Lord Berkeley was himself a creature of the duke of Buckingham, and sir Ellis Leighton, another creature of the same nobleman, was sent with him as his secretary, but really

as a spy upon his conduct. The hostility of the new governor towards the presbyterians was more openly declared, and that party, alarmed by the persecution going on in England and Scotland, was struck with the utmost alarm. An accident happened at Dublin a few weeks after this lord lieutenant's arrival, which furnishes a curious illustration of the state of feeling at this time between the churchmen and dissenters in Ireland, and deserves to be related in the words of the presbyterian Adair, who gives it at the conclusion of his history. "Meanwhile," says this writer, "there fell out a passage in Dublin at Christmas in this year [1670], which, though not properly belonging to the history of the north of Ireland, yet it related to presbyterians, and is not unworthy to be recorded. There had been a while before builded at Dublin a large stately house, with three stories of galleries, for acting the stage plays, at the cost and free-will offering of noblemen and other persons of quality, unto which the bishops contributed largely, though at the time they refused to give countenance or assistance for building a church at Dame's-street, where there was great need through the multiplying of inhabitants in that city, much above what could be contained in the churches formerly built, especially in that part of the city. To this house came a great number of noblemen and ladies, besides other persons, and clergymen, on the first day of Christmas, being Monday [the 26th of December]. The play acted was one called by them *The Non-conformist*. And there among other parts of the play the poor shadow of a non-conformist minister is mocked and upbraided, and at last is brought to the stocks prepared for this purpose, that his legs may be fastened. Those of the greatest quality sat lowest, those next in quality sat the next above, and the common people in the upmost gallery. But behold, when this shadow is brought to the stocks, as an affront upon presbyterian ministers, and to teach great persons to deal with like severity towards them, down came the upper gallery on the middle one where gentlemen and others sat, and that gallery broke too, and much of it fell down on the lords and ladies. Divers were killed, and many hurt. Among those that were hurt was one of the lord lieutenant's sons, and the lady Clanbrassil, who, the year before, had caused to be pulled down the preaching house at Bangor. Such providences," adds Adair.

"so circumstantial in divers respects, will not pass without observation of impartial and prudent persons, for surely they have a language, if men would hear."

Contrary, however, to the general expectation, lord Berkeley's government was distinguished by no extraordinary severity towards the presbyterians, who were allowed to enjoy the same liberty which had been conceded to them under the preceding governor. But the leaning of the lord lieutenant towards the catholics was visible from the moment he assumed the government; some of the more factious partisans of the popish interest followed him to Ireland; and he gave his countenance to those catholics who were most violently attached to the supremacy of Rome, to the discouragement of the more moderate party, or, as they were termed, the remonstrants, in direct contradiction to his public instructions. A new division, in name at least, had arisen among the Irish catholics, to which we have already slightly alluded, but into the history of which it will now be necessary to enter a little more fully.

Since the political superiority of the English reformed church had been established in Ireland, there had always been two parties among the Irish catholics. Many conceived that while they retained the faith of their forefathers, and gave implicit obedience to Rome in spiritual affairs, they might in matters civil pay obedience to the ruling sovereign, whether catholic or protestant. It was in this feeling that many Irish catholics distinguished themselves in the service of queen Elizabeth and her successor James. The other party, which was supported by the more violent of the clergy, professed a blind obedience to Rome in matters civil as well as ecclesiastical, and we have seen how this party, under the guidance of the papal nuncio, gained the upper hand amid the turbulence of the civil war, and dragged the majority of the moderate party after it. After the restoration, the moderate party raised its head again, and some of the prelates and clergy, in the hopes of gaining some share of the king's favour and indulgence, sent a Franciscan friar, named Peter Walsh, as their agent, to present an address of congratulation to the king, and to petition that they might have the benefit of the peace of 1649. This, as we have seen, was inconsistent with the interests of those who were in possession, and had their claims acknowledged by the crown, and many of

the Irish knew well enough that by their own factious conduct they had themselves destroyed the claims on which they rested. Walsh was anxious to place the catholics of Ireland on a footing which would enable them to preserve their religion consistent with the security of a protestant government, and he drew up what was called a *remonstrance*, to convey the opinions of the Irish catholic clergy on this subject. In this document they acknowledged the king to be supreme lord and rightful sovereign of Ireland, and acknowledged that they were bound to obey him in all civil and temporal affairs, and to pay him allegiance, notwithstanding any power or pretension, or any sentence or declaration, of the pope or see of Rome. They openly disclaimed "all foreign power, papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able or shall pretend to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence to his majesty's person or government." They made a declaration against all conspiracies against the king, which they promised to do their utmost to detect and oppose. They expressed the opinion that all princes and supreme governors, of whatever religion, are God's lieutenants on earth, and that obedience is due to them in all civil and temporal affairs, according to the laws of each country, and they protested against all doctrine or authority to the contrary.

When this document, which has obtained some celebrity under the title of "the Irish remonstrance," was presented to the duke of Ormond, then lord lieutenant, he objected to it as being only offered on the authority of Walsh, as procurator of the clergy, instead of being signed by the clergy themselves. Upon this, though a few who were applied to refused their concurrence, one Irish bishop and twenty-three of the clergy subscribed their names to the remonstrance; and, circular letters having been addressed to the Irish prelates, a considerable number of the Irish clergy, as well as of the catholic lay lords and gentlemen, added their signatures to it. As this remonstrance amounted to a declaration against the temporal power of the pope, it was not likely to meet with approbation at Rome; and the internuncio at Brussels, to whom the care of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland was especially entrusted, and cardinal Barberini, were employed to raise up an opposition to it in Ireland. The internuncio declared that this remonstrance would inflict a greater injury

on the catholic church than all the persecutions it had ever experienced from heretics. A strong party was thus got up among the Irish catholics, who opposed the remonstrance with the utmost clamour, and employed against it every frivolous argument which they could derive from the credulity and intolerance of the see of Rome.

This controversy was at its height when the war with France encouraged the Irish to hope for assistance from that country, a circumstance which seemed to increase the animosity of the two parties. The remonstrants had expressed the desire to set the question at rest in a national synod of the catholics of Ireland, and it was upon their motion that the duke of Ormond, hoping that he might procure a declaration of allegiance which would be useful to the government at such a conjuncture, allowed the catholics to hold an assembly at Dublin on the 11th of June, 1666. But this meeting of the popish clergy, like so many others, was destined only to exhibit a new scene of fictitious turbulence. The popish primate, who (with the bishop of Ferns) had been permitted to return to Ireland on his promise of using his influence to support the remonstrance, came thither to practise against it. When the question was mooted of expressing regret for the late rebellion, the opposers of the remonstrance cried out, that there was no crime in the rebellion, and justified the part they had taken in it. After much tumult and confusion, the synod broke up without coming to any decision, and the two parties separated, violently inflamed against each other.

The anti-remonstrants, as the violent papists were now called, having so far defeated their opponents, now proceeded to greater lengths. They held provincial councils and diocesan synods, made their complaints to Rome, and procured a general ejectment of the remonstrant clergy from their benefices. They persuaded many to withdraw their signatures from the remonstrance, and those who adhered to it, or spoke in its favour, were excommunicated and exposed to the bitterest persecution. Such was the state of things when lord Berkeley assumed the government of Ireland.

It will be observed in lord Berkeley's instructions, that the article directing him to protect the remonstrants is inserted at the end, and it has been supposed this article was added after the original instructions

were drawn up, at the intercession of the duke of Ormond, to whom strong representations of the danger of the Irish protestant establishment had been sent. It is difficult to understand the policy of the government in favouring the extreme party, who declared openly that they would not give their allegiance to it, yet this was the case under lord Berkeley's rule. Richard Talbot who has already been mentioned as a favourite with the duke of York, and who acted a more conspicuous part in Irish affairs a few years later, had a brother named Peter, an intriguing ecclesiastic, whom the pope had made archbishop of Dublin as the champion of the anti-remonstrant party, and who had in London been introduced by his brother Richard to the notice of the king and to the favour of the duke of Buckingham. This man, with sir Ellis Leighton (lord Berkeley's secretary), became now the chief manager of the factious intrigues that were going on in Ireland. He was looked upon by the Irish clergy as a person of extraordinary influence at court, and he contrived to persuade the lord lieutenant that his power among the Irish was quite irresistible. Although this man actually refused to make any recognition of the king's authority, lord Berkeley permitted him to appear before the council in Dublin in the full dress of his order and station, which was a public outrage against the existing laws. Talbot next determined to celebrate mass in Dublin, and that with the utmost splendour and solemnity, and he applied to sir Ellis Leighton to borrow for that purpose some hangings and plate which made part of the furniture of the castle. Leighton acceded without hesitation to this request, and accompanied the articles with a complimentary letter, in which he was reported to have expressed a wish that high mass might soon be celebrated in the cathedral.

These circumstances caused the utmost dismay among the protestants in Ireland, and the remonstrants, equally alarmed, petitioned lord Berkeley for protection. The conduct of the lord lieutenant is quite inexplicable, unless we suppose that he had private instructions to act upon the suggestions of Peter Talbot in all matters relating to the Irish catholics. He not only refused to interpose his authority for the protection of the remonstrants, but, when they begged to be allowed to lay their case before him, he denied them an audience, and he re-

proved the protestant primate, Margetson, when he attempted to plead in their favour. The remonstrants now sent their complaints to the duke of Ormond in England, who warmly advocated their cause in the English council; but Berkeley only complained of his officiousness, and declared if he received any new orders of council on the subject, he should consider them as dictated by the duke, and would refuse obedience to them, and he proceeded to new acts of indulgence towards the catholics. The favour thus shown to Peter Talbot and the anti-remonstrants was speedily followed by an order for granting commissions of the peace to professed papists, and for admitting them into corporations. Some popish aldermen and a popish common council were imposed upon the city of Dublin, after a struggle which gave rise to much bitterness and animosity. The protestants became daily more terrified with these proceedings, and they were filled with new apprehensions of rebellion and massacre.

The alarm was increased by an attempt now made by Richard Talbot to unsettle, if not overthrow, the acts of settlement. At this man's suggestion, a number of the lords and gentlemen of the papist party who had suffered by the settlement, drew up a petition to the king "on behalf of his most distressed subjects of Ireland who were outed of their estates by the late usurped powers," which was presented by Talbot to the king and council. It set forth that the petitioners had been originally dispossessed of their estates for their loyalty to his majesty, and that they had been hindered from recovering them for the want of a just representation of their cases; on which grounds they prayed that some impartial persons might be appointed to hear and report their grievances. The duke of Ormond, who saw that the ultimate object of this petition was to undermine the settlement, spoke boldly against it, and urged that the petitioners might not be heard. Unable to carry this point, he proceeded to answer all their allegations fully, and so effectually, that the report, drawn up by sir Heneage Finch, was unfavourable to the petitioners. Disappointed at this result, the cabal which now governed England obtained the appointment of a new committee, from which Ormond was carefully excluded. Their report was found to be erroneous, and a third commission was issued, and much time was thus lost, while

the alarm spread throughout Ireland, and all the parties interested in supporting the acts of settlement sent their several petitions to England.

The people of the latter country were at this moment paying more attention than usual to Irish affairs, in consequence of their terror of popery, and their suspicions of the king and the duke of York, and the popular clamour became so loud, that the ministry took the alarm, and perceived the necessity of retracing the steps they had taken. As the time approached when they would be under the necessity of facing a parliament, their fears increased, and they affected to condemn the countenance which lord Berkeley had shown to papists. In the June of 1671, lord Berkeley found it necessary to repair to England, and the government of Ireland was entrusted to the lord chancellor and sir Arthur Forbes as lords justices. The latter was a steady friend of the presbyterians, and he had no sooner the power than he not only procured an order for the liberation of all those who had been kept in prison on account of their non-conformity, but he obtained by grant from the king a pension out of the forfeited lands still in his hands for the presbyterian ministers. The administration of the lords justices was not marked by any other occurrence of importance, and finding it necessary to make some concession to public opinion before the meeting of parliament, the English ministers removed lord Berkeley from the government, and in the beginning of August 1672, they committed the lord lieutenancy of Ireland to the hands of Arthur earl of Essex, and he continued to hold the office until 1677.

Early in 1673, the English parliament, which had been so much dreaded by the king, and which was distinguished by such bitter animosity against papists and dissenters, assembled, and after various acts which showed at once their temper and their power, the commons fell with some violence upon the affairs of Ireland. On the 9th of March, they resolved on an address to the king, which commenced with a request that he would maintain the acts of settlement, and that he would recall the recently issued commission of enquiry, "as containing many new and extraordinary powers, not only to the prejudice of particular persons, whose estates and titles are thereby made liable to be questioned, but in a manner to the overthrow of the acts of

settlement; and, if pursued, may be the occasion of great charge and attendance to many of your subjects in Ireland, and shake the peace and security of the whole." The parliament further petitioned that the king would give order, "that no papists be either continued or hereafter admitted to be judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, or mayors, sovereigns, or portreeves in that kingdom;" that the titular popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, abbots, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the pope's authority, "and in particular Peter Talbot, pretended archbishop of Dublin, for his notorious disloyalty to your majesty and disobedience and contempt of your laws, may be commanded by proclamation forthwith to depart out of Ireland, and all other your majesty's dominions, or otherwise to be prosecuted according to law; and that all convents, seminaries, and public popish schools, may be dissolved and suppressed, and the secular priests commanded to depart, under the same penalty;" that no Irish papist should be admitted to inhabit in the kingdom unless duly licenced according to the act of settlement, and that the licence to live in the corporations should be withdrawn; that the king's letters and the consequent order of council by which the subjects in Ireland were "required not to prosecute any actions against the Irish for any wrongs or injuries committed during the late rebellion," should also be recalled; that colonel Richard Talbot, "who hath notoriously assumed to himself the title of agent of the Roman catholics in Ireland, be immediately dismissed out of all command, military and civil, and forbidden access to your majesty's court;" and, "that your majesty would be pleased from time to time, out of your princely wisdom, to give such further order and directions to the lord lieutenant or other governor of Ireland for the time being, as may best conduce to the encouragement of the English planters and protestant interest there, and the suppression of the insolencies and disorders of the Irish papists there." The parliament concluded with stating that "these their humble desires" were presented to the king "as the best means to preserve the peace and safety of that your kingdom, which hath been so much of late in danger by the practices of the said Irish papists, particularly Richard and Peter Talbot; and," they said, "we doubt not but your majesty will find the

happy effects thereof, to the great satisfaction and security of your majesty's person and government, which of all earthly things is most dear to your majesty's most loyal subjects."

This energetic remonstrance had the full effect it was intended to produce, for the parliament had obtained so formidable a power, that it was not thought expedient or even safe to contradict it. The commission of enquiry was superseded; the king declared his resolution to maintain the acts of settlement; the catholics were again banished from the corporations, and the ejected protestants restored to their places in Dublin; and the favour shown so hastily to the popish interests was withdrawn.

The government of lord Essex was one of those which fill up a few years of history, without producing any remarkable event to give interest to it. The faction at court which had made such a bold attempt to raise up popery, disappointed of its object for the present, had only yielded to circumstances, and was waiting till the resistance it had provoked should subside, to renew its attempt. The lord lieutenant appears to have been a firm friend to the established church, but he raised no new bulwarks in its defence, and the anti-papist violence of the English parliament created too much alarm amongst the catholics to allow them to show any open hostility to his government. In all matters, Essex was cautious in his actions, as though he laboured under the fear of giving dissatisfaction to any of the parties who were or might be in power, and he appears not to have been popular with any. He displeased the king by his complaints against undue interference in Ireland, especially by the king's private grants, which embarrassed the Irish finances; while on the other hand he met with discontent in every quarter produced in the execution of the act of settlement. His greatest embarrassment arose from the factious spirit which had been generated in the corporations by the changes recently made in them, and by the enforcing of new regulations, which were calculated to repress the popular interest and to increase the influence of the crown. Many too were dissatisfied at the facility now given to the admission of foreign protestants into the corporation, a measure dictated by the desire to increase the manufactures of Ireland by the importation of workmen from abroad. All these discontents had been further embittered

by a quarrel between the Irish government and the city of Dublin, arising out of the violent proceedings of lord Berkeley in the introduction of popish aldermen, and said to have been secretly fomented by sir Ellis Leighton and Richard Talbot. Distressed at the petty embarrassments which beset his government, lord Essex declared that he found Ireland a country so rent and torn, that he could compare its distractions "to nothing better than flinging the reward upon the death of a deer among a pack of hounds, where every one pulls and tears what he can for himself;" and at length, in 1675, he obtained with difficulty a licence to repair to England to lay the condition of Ireland before the king. The result of this proceeding appears not to have been satisfactory; and, although he returned to reassume his government, it was generally understood that the king only allowed him to remain in the office of lord lieutenant because he could find no other fitting person to take it. It has even been asserted that the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland was privately offered for sale.

Meanwhile the duke of Ormond continued to attend on the court, neglected by the king, and detested by the faction who then governed him and his kingdoms, and who left untried nothing that could contribute to humiliate and disgrace him; but his services and his integrity still gained him respect, and gave him a certain degree of influence at the council board. On the 6th of December, 1670, the duke of Ormond, returning to his residence at Clarendon house, was dragged from his coach by a band of ruffians, who declared their intention of carrying him to Tyburn to hang him

there, but he contrived to disengage himself from the assassins, and escaped slightly wounded.* On the 9th of May following, colonel Blood, who since his escape from Ireland had hired himself as a creature of the duke of Buckingham, was taken in an attempt to steal the regalia from the Tower, and he confessed among other crimes that he was the perpetrator of the outrage on the duke of Ormond. The king, with a strange levity of character, had determined to pardon Blood and take him into his service, and he sent lord Arlington to the duke of Ormond to signify his pleasure that the duke should not prosecute Blood for the attempt on his life for reasons which Arlington was commanded to explain to him. The duke replied coldly, "If the king hath forgiven his design of stealing the crown, I may easily forgive the attempt on my life. His majesty's pleasure is a sufficient reason; your lordship may spare the rest." The young earl of Ossory bore the insult with less patience. He suspected that the duke of Buckingham was the originator of this attempt against his father, and he went to that nobleman as he was standing by the king at the court, and said to him in a voice though low, yet loud enough to be heard by those who stood near, "I well know, my lord, that you were at the bottom of this late attempt of Blood. Take notice; should my father come to an untimely or violent death, I shall consider you as the assassin; I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king; I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word." Still, Charles continued to treat the duke with coldness and distance, although conscious of

* The following account of this attempt on the duke of Ormond's life is given in a letter from lord Conway to his brother, sir George Rawdon, dated from London, the 12th of December, 1670. It may be observed that Clarendon house stood on the site of the present Grafton-street, and faced the upper end of St. James's-street:—

"On Tuesday last [December 6] a strange accident befel my lord of Ormond. As he was going home to his lodging at Clarendon house, about six o'clock at night, eight men set upon him, and threatened to pistol him if he did not come out of his coach; when they had him out he began to argue the case, and to ask them what they would have? If they came for money, he offered them forty guineas, and to send them more, besides his jewels which were about him, worth £1,000. They said they did not come for money, nor had time to dispute with him, but mounted him behind one of their company, and told him then that they would make him pay his old debts, and it is said that they intended to have

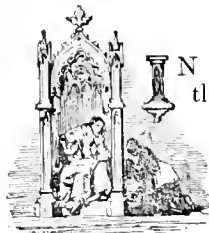
hanged him at Tyburn. But my lord of Ormond, with much presence of mind and resolution, by such time as they were gone twenty yards from his own house, that is, about my lord Berkeley's new house, began to struggle with the man that rid before him, and tumbled him off his horse, and fell down with him. Then they endeavoured to kill him, one shot a pistol at him, another fired at him, but the pistol went not off, another gave him a blow with a sword and rid over him, another gave him a blow with a pistol on his left eye-brow, which is the greatest wound that remains upon him, and in this scuffle his servants came out and relieved him; but the men got all away, leaving some of their horses, and other things. I have been with my lord of Ormond almost every day since this accident, and, as he told me yesterday, within three or four days he will be abroad again; but notwithstanding the king's proclamation, and a reward of £1,000 to him that shall discover the bottom of the business, nothing of that is yet discovered."

the injustice he was doing him, and on one occasion Buckingham is said to have enquired of the king whether it were the duke of Ormond who was out of favour with his majesty, or his majesty with the duke of Ormond, "for of the two," said he, "you seem most out of countenance." At length, in the April of 1677, the king surprised Ormond with an invitation to sup with him, and, as he was leaving, he told him that it was his intention to employ him again in Ireland. Next morning, when the duke came to court, the king is reported to have said to one of his attendants, "Yonder

comes Ormond; I have done all in my power to disoblige him, and to make him as discontented as others, but he will be loyal in spite of me. I must even employ him again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland." Various conjectures have been made on this sudden return of favour for the duke of Ormond, but the most probable explanation appears to be that which attributes it to an intrigue of the duke of York, who found it the only way of keeping the duke of Monmouth from that high office. The duke of Ormond's appointment took place in the August of 1677.

CHAPTER V.

THE DUKE OF ORMOND'S ADMINISTRATION; THE POPISH PLOT; DEATH OF CHARLES II.; RICHARD TALBOT CREATED EARL OF TYRCONNELL.



N Ireland the popularity of the duke of Ormond had continued unimpaired, and he was received with so much distinction when on a visit to that country during the administration of lord Essex, that, at his residence in Kilkenny, no less than two hundred gentlemen of distinction were daily entertained at his table. On his resumption of the government, two subjects of especial importance first occupied his attention, the defensive condition of the island and the state of the revenue. The latter was at this moment in such a state, that the lord lieutenant was anxious to call together a parliament, as the only means of obtaining the supplies now absolutely necessary to secure the army's pay, and a variety of grievances and embarrassments called for the remedy which could only be furnished by the national and constitutional assembly. He issued his orders for the due exercising and regular payment of the army, and proceeded to view the various garrisons and forts, in the course of which his attention was more specially attracted to the importance of the position of Kinsale. During the war, in 1673, the harbour of Kinsale had afforded protection to a large fleet of merchantmen from the East Indies, and it had been more

than once chosen as the landing-place of invading forces. He selected the site of the old fort of Rinecurran for the site of a new and more imposing fortress, which was completed in 1678, and to which he gave the name of Charles's Fort. Ormond was returning from a visit to this fort in the September of 1678, when he received at Kilkenny intelligence of the first informations of Tonge and Titus Oates relating to the too celebrated popish plot. He was soon informed that this pretended plot extended to Ireland, and, although he appears from the first to have placed no belief in it, yet he foresaw the disastrous consequences that might arise from the rumours of so formidable a conspiracy among a population who had already so many subjects of discontent.

At the same time the duke saw also the danger, in the temper of the people at that time, of appearing to hesitate in his belief that such a plot existed; and when he was informed that Peter Talbot was implicated in it, he immediately signed an order for his arrest. The officer appointed to execute it found this factious prelate labouring under a complication of disorders at his brother's seat near Dublin, whither he had come from Cheshire in order, as he said, that he might die in Ireland. It was evident that he was in such a condition as to preclude all belief

that he was at that time actively engaged in conspiring against the state, and as it seemed impossible to remove him from his brother's house, the security of the latter was taken for his appearance. Yet, when Ormond arrived in Dublin, fearful that even this slight indulgence might be misrepresented in England, he ordered him to be removed to the castle, and there to be attended to with the utmost care.

This step was followed by others equally decisive. It was the 11th of October when Ormond arrived in Dublin, and on the fourteenth appeared a proclamation from the lord lieutenant and council, ordering all officers and soldiers to repair to their respective garrisons and quarters. Another proclamation, issued on the 16th of October, required all titular archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, abbots, and other dignitaries of the church of Rome, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by authority from the pope, as well as all jesuits and other regular priests, to depart the kingdom before the 20th of November. All popish societies, convents, seminaries, and popish schools, were at the same time dissolved and ordered to separate and disperse. On the second of November, all papists were required by proclamation to bring in their arms by a certain day; and this was followed on the 20th of the same month by a proclamation forbidding them from entering into the castle of Dublin or any other fort or citadel, and ordering that the markets of Drogheda, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal, and Galway, should be held without the walls. They were at the same time forbidden to meet in unreasonable numbers or at unreasonable times, the unreasonableness, of course, to be decided by the protestant authorities; and none were to be suffered to reside in any garrison, except such as had been inhabitants there during the twelve months previous. The same day a reward was proclaimed for the discovery of any officer or soldier in the army who had attended mass since he took the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

These and other rigorous proceedings showed Ormond's desire at least not to appear remiss in taking the necessary precautions, if the plot should be anything more than an invention, but his zeal was not yet sufficient to satisfy the wishes of the agitators in England, or to allay the exaggerated fears of the protestants. in

Ireland. Their imagination was again pre-occupied with apprehensions of rebellion and massacre, which they wished to be prevented by measures of extraordinary severity. It was proposed by some, that those of the Irish who still enjoyed among their countrymen the old title of chieftainry, and who, stripped of their estates on account of the former rebellion, would be most likely to raise their septs in a new insurrection in the hope of retrieving their losses, should be immediately seized and placed in safe custody. The lord lieutenant looked upon it as an act of injustice to imprison men who were then guilty of no offence, and he considered that it would be on one hand an unnecessary provocation, while on the other it could not be put in execution without considerable difficulty. It was then urged, that all the papists, who had received licences to reside in corporate towns, should be immediately expelled from them, in order that the corporations, on which the government depended for defence in case of rebellion, should be preserved pure from taint. This was in fact only putting in force the law already existing, which had been suffered to be evaded; but Ormond saw here also that great inconveniences would arise from suddenly enforcing the law in its strict application, and a moderate course was taken, which would secure the government without committing any extraordinary act of oppression. People who were on any good reasons believed to be dangerous or suspicious were removed, and a watchful eye was kept upon the rest.

But the violent protestants were not yet satisfied, and an attempt was made to work upon the duke of Ormond's personal fears. Letters were dropped in Dublin, intimating a design to assassinate the lord lieutenant, and various reports and suspicions of a sinister character were industriously conveyed to his ear. A proclamation was issued on the 13th of December, intimating that a conspiracy was reported to have been formed against the life of the chief governor, and offering a reward of two hundred pounds to any one who would give satisfactory information against the conspirators. A young convert to popery, named Jephson, and two priests, were arrested on information pretending to implicate them in this design, and they were thrown into prison; but this was the only result of the proclamation.

The disappointed agitators now transmitted their complaints to England, where

the duke's enemies eagerly listened to them, and they easily persuaded people prejudiced in favour of the revelations of Oates and his confederates that Ormond was inclined to popery. He was accused of not seizing the Irish chieftains, of not expelling papists from corporate towns, and of commanding them by proclamation to deliver up their arms instead of sending his soldiers to seize them, by which, it was pretended, the garrisons must have been abandoned, and the army scattered in small broken parties exposed to destruction. Lord Shaftesbury, who hesitated at nothing which might contribute to ruin Ormond, brought the state of Ireland before the house of lords, and pointed out the supposed danger of leaving the government in the hands of the present lord lieutenant. The earl of Ossory again rose up in defence of his father, and, although closely pressed, even the king this time held firm to his determination of protecting him. But Shaftesbury was not yet daunted, for he proceeded to procure orders from the English council which he expected might give embarrassment to the Irish government, and which might possibly excite a rebellion, the very thing which the English ministry appeared to desire. The lord lieutenant and council were directed to prepare laws for excluding papists from either houses of parliament, or from any office in Ireland, agreeable to those which had been already enacted in England, and they were to issue a proclamation for encouraging all persons to make further discoveries relating to the popish plot.

Ormond cautiously avoided any steps which might compromise him in this period of agitation. He proceeded immediately to carry into effect the directions forwarded to him from England, and, without making himself a persecutor, he instituted inquiries into the pretended conspiracy of the papists, kept a watch over those who were suspected, placed under arrest those against whom accusations were transmitted from the English privy council, and took every precaution necessary for the safety of the state. He revived the militia, and disciplined, armed, and arrayed it. Compelled by his directions from England to proceed with somewhat more rigour than he had hitherto displayed, he issued a proclamation on the 26th of March, 1679, which appears to have been called for by the depredations of the wild Irish and their companions, who under the name of tories still continued to occupy

the fortresses in various parts of the country, and who had been rendered more turbulent by the new troubles of the time. This proclamation ordered that the nearest relations of known tories should be arrested and imprisoned, until such tories were killed and taken, and that the popish priests of every parish respectively should be apprehended and transported beyond the seas, unless within fourteen days after any robbery or murder committed the criminals were taken, killed, or discovered. This proclamation could only have been called for by an alarming increase in the number of these outrages. At the same time a reward of ten pounds was offered for the capture of any jesuit or titular bishop. Soon afterwards the popish inhabitants were ordered to be removed from the cities and towns of Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Drogheda, with the exception of some few merchants, artificers, and others, whose removal was considered to be disastrous to the places. The effects of this measure were soon found to be injurious, and the popish inhabitants were readmitted into the towns at the desire of the inhabitants.

In the midst of these anxieties, the insurrection of the covenanters in the west of Scotland excited new alarm in Ormond's mind, who appears at all times to have been more apprehensive of the presbyterians than of the papists. He suspected that the Scottish insurgents had correspondence with their brethren in Ulster, and he dispatched a frigate to Kinsale to watch the seas, while he took hasty measures for the defence of the northern province. But the battle at Bothwell-bridge, fought on the 22nd of June, soon dissipated all his fears on this subject.

The alarm of the popish plot continued unabated during the whole of this year, yet hitherto Ireland was but partially involved in the informations, and it was not till the beginning of 1680, that that country became an object of more special observation. Lord Orrery appears to have been one of the first men of much importance who caught the alarm. A rumour was set afloat that Ireland was threatened with a French invasion, in connexion with the grand design of the popish plot. An account of this supposed danger was transmitted to England by lord Orrery, and the information was so particular, that a certain ship was named as being the bearer of an immense quantity of

arms and military stores to Waterford. The ship in question was seized and searched, and was found to be freighted with salt. Yet even an example like this made little impression, and many men of abandoned character invented ridiculous stories, involving serious charges against individuals as a source of gain. Thus the earl of Tyrone was accused of being engaged in a conspiracy to bring in the French, by a man of infamous character named Burke, who sought thus to revenge himself upon that nobleman, who had committed him to prison for a crime a little before. The falsehood and malice of this accusation was fortunately proved. A protestant of the county of Limerick, named David Fitzgerald, who was in prison on a charge of high treason, declared that he could make some revelations of importance; and, after being acquitted, his information was received by the duke of Ormond, and communicated to the government in England. He gave a rambling and confused account of a pretended plot to raise an insurrection in Ireland, and mentioned the names of some men of distinction as being implicated in it. The persons accused met the charge with a prompt and indignant denial, and offered themselves to undergo trial in the place where evidence could most easily be obtained. But other informers had also presented themselves, and agents had been sent over from England to encourage them; and now, by an order of the privy council, Fitzgerald and several others were dragged over to London to give their evidence before the house of commons.

The Irish plot now had taken a more formidable shape, and people were employed by the government to collect evidence from whatever source or by whatever means it could be obtained. Some of the inferior popish clergy, whose income and character were equally low, were gained over by bribes, and the very haunts of the tories were ransacked to further the purposes of those who were interested in supporting the plot. London was crowded with informers from Ireland, who carried thither the name of tory, which has ever since remained as the designation of a political party. Happily for those who were affected by Fitzgerald's statements, he was seized with sudden remorse, and confessed that his information was false, and invented by himself. Still, the declarations of his accomplices obtained credit, and were encouraged by the faction of which they had made themselves the

tools. Among those principally involved in their informations was the new popish primate of Armagh, Oliver Plunkett, an ecclesiastic who had preserved a praiseworthy moderation during the late factional contentions, and who was even said to have done his utmost to restrain the turbulent temper of Peter Talbot. He had given offence to some of the lower clergy by reproving and correcting them for their loose living, and they now attempted to revenge themselves upon him. He was accordingly arrested and carried to London; but the evidence of the informers was so improbable and unconnected, that the jury could not be induced to find a bill against him. Other witnesses, however, were found, and being joined with the previous informers, the accusation was renewed under a somewhat altered form. Their story now was, that Plunkett had obtained the primacy from the pope on condition that he should raise in Ireland an army of seventy thousand catholics, who were to be equipped with the contributions of the popish clergy. An army of twenty thousand French soldiers were to be sent to join with the insurgents, and they were to land at Carlingford, of all the ports in Ireland the one least calculated for such a purpose. Plunkett was by accident deprived of the means of defence, for contrary winds and other untoward circumstances had retarded the arrival of his witnesses, and he contented himself with pointing out the extreme absurdity of their story, which, he said, even had he confessed it, no man in the slightest degree acquainted with Ireland would have believed. Yet the unfortunate prelate was condemned, and he was executed at Tyburn on the 1st of July, 1681, the last victim of the grand imposture of the popish plot. The following day, lord Shaftesbury, its principal promoter, was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason.

The violent agitation of the popish plot gave way to a calm, which was attended with a powerful reaction against the popular party, and the king and his brother, the duke of York, were now left to follow at leisure their designs of establishing arbitrary power. New attempts were made in England to destroy the credit of the duke of Ormond, and procure his recall, but in vain, although many who respected his talents and integrity, began to fear the influence of a man whose attachment to royalty seemed to be leading him into a

too great subserviency to the court in the promotion of its present designs. Ireland seemed again to be returning to a state of tranquillity, and trade and industry began to revive. Taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, and urged by the invitations of the king and the duke of York, who wished to profit by his experience, he placed the government of Ireland in the hands of his son the earl of Arran, as lord deputy, and returned to England in the May of 1682. The remainder of the reign of Charles II. was a dark period, during which the crown made rapid advances towards arbitrary power, and its influence was sustained by the most unconstitutional measures. Ormond was led by his unbounded attachment to royalty to become an active agent in the most odious and obnoxious measures, although he is said to have been carefully excluded from the more secret councils and purposes of the king and duke, and he has therefore been excused on the plea of ignorance. He remained two years in England, and before his return he was anxious to obtain the king's permission to call an Irish parliament, but Charles remained obstinate in his refusal. He is supposed to have been influenced by a dread that if the parliament in Ireland were called together it would, as on a former occasion, send over for his acceptance severe bills against the papists, which would have been embarrassing in his present designs. Another measure was adopted, with the alleged object of confirming the titles of the present proprietors to their estates, but it was generally understood by the protestant party that the real design was to make a narrow inspection into titles, and to discover what excuses might be made for depriving protestants of their possessions and restoring them to the Irish. On the 14th of March, 1684, the king issued what was termed a commission of grace to the chief governor and chancellor, treasurer, chancellor of the exchequer, the three chief judges, the master of the rolls, secretary of state, second justice of the king's bench, and the two barons of the exchequer, to grant his majesty's title to those who were in possession, and to grant manors and other privileges for a reasonable fine, &c., by virtue of which commission a court was held under the title of the "court of grace."

In the August of 1684, the duke of Ormond returned to his government in Ireland, and he soon received convincing proofs of

the king's real designs upon that country. The duke of York, by whose influence the kingdom was now governed, remembered the hopes which his father had once formed of recovering and preserving his crown by the assistance of an army of Irish Catholics, and he persuaded his brother that such an army was the only force on the entire devotion of which he could calculate. He looked upon the Irish protestant army as a body, composed in a great measure of fanatics and men who were republicans at heart, and who would not support the crown in any arbitrary measures. It was therefore resolved to remodel the Irish army, in a manner to which the king knew that he could not obtain Ormond's consent, and it was believed that, now that the Irish revenue had been considerably improved, such an army might be raised and supported in that country as would establish the royal power in the three kingdoms in a position that no rebellion could hope to shake. Ormond had hardly returned to Ireland, when rumours reached his ears of an intention to take the government out of his hands. The enemies of the duke and his family began again to raise their heads, and to accuse him and his son of mismanaging Irish affairs. Richard Talbot, who seems to have been admitted into the secret of the duke of York's designs, was allowed to return to court from the exile into which he had been driven by the violence of the English commons, and he was allowed to talk high about the condition and wants of Ireland, and to recommend a general reformation in the council, magistracy, and army, in that kingdom. It was this change, and not the disgrace of Ormond, which was now aimed at, and about two months after Ormond had reassumed the government, on the 19th of October, 1684, the king wrote him a letter informing him of his intention to entrust it to Hyde earl of Rochester:—"I find it absolutely necessary for my service," said the king, "that very many and almost general alterations should be made in Ireland, both in the civil and military parts of the government; that several persons who were recommended and placed by you (and who were fit to be so at that time) must now be removed. For which reason, and others of the like nature, I have resolved to put that government into another hand, and have made choice of my lord Rochester, who is every way fit for it; and, in one respect, fitter than any other man can be, which is, that the near relation he has to

you makes your concerns and those of your family to be his, and he will have that care of them which I desire may be always continued. And, because I would have this alteration appear with all the regard and consideration that I have for you, I offer it to yourself to propose in what manner you would wish it to be done; and afterwards, if you choose to stay in that country, all whom I employ shall pay you all the respect your merit and long constant services can expect; and whenever you come hither, you shall receive the same marks of my kindness, esteem, and confidence, you have hitherto had; and this you may depend upon. Nothing I have now resolved on this subject shall be public till I hear from you, and so be sure of my kindnesses."

The character of the changes thus threatened was soon made evident; for the new lord lieutenant was to go with a mere shadow of power; while all military matters, the remodelling of the army, and the appointment of all the officers, were to be assigned to a lieutenant-general, and this important office was given with significant haste to the duke of York's favourite, Richard Talbot, the notorious advocate of the popish interests. In a letter written to sir Robert Southwell, Ormond expressed his satisfaction that the task of forming a popish army was not committed to him. "I was much to seek," he says, "what it could be that was fit for the king to command, and yet would be hard to impose upon me to execute; for such things the king was pleased to say were to be done by my successor. But now I think that riddle is expounded in the restraints put upon my lord of Rochester; one whereof is, that he shall not dispose of the lowest commissioned office in the army. I confess it would have been very uneasy to me to have continued in the government upon those conditions; and I should have thought it not very dutiful to have refused to serve the king upon any terms or in any station. From this difficulty, I thank God and the king, I am delivered, and I am so well pleased that I am, that if it had been told me this was one of the changes intended, I should have owned my remove from the government far a greater favour than my placing in it in the most prosperous time." Lord Rochester appears to have felt the same scruples, and the reluctance he showed in accepting the office, which was increased when the king himself showed some inclination to change his policy and his councillors. Thus the appointment of the new lord lieu-

tenant remained in suspense, when, on the 6th of February, 1685, Charles the Second breathed his last.

At the accession of James II. the Irish government still remained in the hands of the duke of Ormond, who caused the new monarch to be proclaimed with due solemnity, although the protestant party, well aware of the inclinations and temper of king James, was struck everywhere with consternation. According to Coxe, people looked on at the king's proclamation "with such dismal countenances and so much concern, as if they had that day foreseen (as many did) the infelicity and misfortune of the following reign." This feeling of alarm was the more profound, as it followed upon the heels of a generally spread belief that king Charles was on the point of discarding his popish advisers when death put an end to his reign. His successor suddenly found himself invested with sovereign power when he also was apprehensive that his designs were on the point of being thwarted by the instability of his brother's mind, and he now openly declared his religion, and made no secret of the favour he intended to show to popery, by the aid of which he was to establish a despotism like that of which France then furnished an example. However, he proceeded at first with great caution, and made no sudden or violent change in the government. The duke of Ormond, who was particularly obnoxious to the violent catholics, the party now in favour, was immediately recalled, but he was treated with respect, and confirmed in all the offices he held at the English court. The excuse made publicly for his recall was his age and infirmities, which, it was alleged, rendered him unequal to the arduous duties of his office, and in this he affected to concur. But he is understood to have expressed very different sentiments in private conversation; and we are told that before his departure he invited the military officers in Dublin to dine with him in an hospital erected near Dublin during his administration for the reception of old soldiers, and that at the conclusion of the entertainment, holding in his hand a glass filled to the brim, he said, "See, gentlemen! They say at court I am old and doating; but my hand is steady, nor doth my heart fail; and I hope to convince some of them of their mistake. This to the king's health!" At the end of March the duke delivered the sword to two lords justices, Boyle arch-

bishop of Armagh and sir Arthur Forbes, now earl of Granard, and repaired to London.

Of the two lords justices, the one was so resolute a supporter of high church principles that he was suspected of having a leaning to popery, while the other was the great protector of the presbyterians. This important body of the protestants had been subjected to new and heavy persecutions during the latter years of the late reign, but they enjoyed a relief under the new lords justices, which was increased by the indulgence soon publicly given by the king's proclamation of liberty of conscience. Yet the presbyterian party was not blinded by this indulgence to James's real designs. They showed every where an inclination to join firmly with the protestants of the established church, in defending their faith against the Romanists, and they were looked upon (perhaps not without reason) as the party which was likely to throw the greatest obstacle in the way of the king's intended changes. His accession was a signal to the Irish catholics for assuming a tone of insolence and triumph towards their adversaries which showed clearly their great expectations, and the government was importuned with reports of the violent and dangerous expressions which they were said to make use of daily at their private meetings; while, on the other hand, the papists were continually spreading reports of plots against the king by those whom they described only by the epithet of fanatics. These complaints were discouraged as much as possible; and the king so far dissembled his own feelings, that, when lord Granard, alarmed at the movement among the catholics, intimated a desire to be dismissed from his station, James wrote him a letter with his own hand, begging him to remain at his post, and assuring him that nothing should be done in Ireland prejudicial to the protestant interest. Satisfied with this declaration, the two lords justices exerted themselves to allay the public alarm.

To the mortification of the catholic leaders, the Irish protestants of all shades, in spite of the numerous alarms of fanatic plots and conspiracies, gave an admirable example of peaceful behaviour under the trying circumstances which surrounded them. When the duke of Argyle rose in Scotland, the protestant army in Ireland marched with alacrity into Ulster, ready to be transported into Scotland to suppress the rebellion; and no sympathy whatever was

shown for the rebellion under the unfortunate duke of Monmouth. Yet the catholics whispered abroad that the earl of Granard was preparing to join with Monmouth; that the presbyterians were plotting with the churchmen; that they held frequent assemblies by night; and that they had formed a plan to rise suddenly and cut off the Irish catholics by a general massacre. Reports of this nature were industriously spread among the Irish peasantry, to excite among them terror and hostility towards their protestant neighbours, and with so much effect that many of them abandoned their habitations, and fled to their fastness for protection against the imaginary dangers. The whole island was thus filled with alarm, and the lords justices found it necessary to issue a proclamation against the new crime of "night meeting," which at that moment appears only to have existed in the imaginations of the catholics, and to have been invented for the purpose of throwing odium upon their adversaries.

The suppression of the Argyle and Monmouth rebellions seemed to have fully established king James's power, and left him at leisure to pursue his plans and to pay more special attention to the affairs of Ireland. Richard Talbot had pursued his measures for the alteration in the Irish army as far as circumstances and time allowed, but there was another body in Ireland, the militia, created by the duke of Ormond, which was now more powerful even than the regular army, and which consisted entirely of stanch protestants. No alterations could change these men into catholics, and it was necessary, if possible, to get them out of the way. Under the pretence that numbers of the Irish protestants were privy to Monmouth's attempt against James's government, an order was dispatched to Ireland to disarm the militia throughout the island, and they were ordered to deposit their arms in the king's stores. The catholics were filled with exultation, and exhibited their zeal in laying informations against protestants in possession of arms. The latter were now seized with the worst apprehensions, and believed that they were to be exposed defenceless to the fury of a new army of Irish rebels. The lords justices themselves were fearful that the proclamation for disarming might excite a determined resistance; and archbishop Boyle was employed to practise with the citizens of Dublin and allay their terrors, which he

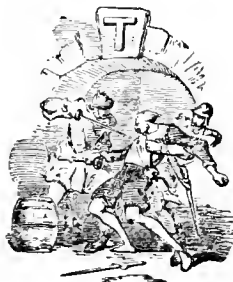
did with such success, that they voluntarily resigned their arms, and their example was followed throughout the kingdom.

No sooner was this important measure effected, than Richard Talbot returned to England, where, on the 11th of October, he was made earl of Tyrconnell, and he was formally appointed lieutenant-general of the Irish army. The two lords justices had served the purpose for which they were retained in power, that of keeping the protestants in obedience while the king took the first steps of his plan of aggression, for it is probable that, had he acted a little more precipitately, the militia would not have allowed themselves to be disarmed. The king now determined to appoint a lord lieutenant. All thoughts of appointing the earl of Rochester had been laid aside on the

death of king Charles. The violent catholics, who could admit of no delay in their expected triumph, petitioned the king for the appointment of the new earl of Tyrconnell. But this measure was one of too great precipitation, and did not accord with the caution which the king still considered it necessary to preserve. After some deliberation, he determined on appointing to that office the earl of Clarendon, who, as his brother-in-law and favourite, he imagined would be tied to his service by personal attachment, and would thus assist him in his designs, while the fact of his being a protestant would allay the fears of that party. Clarendon was accordingly appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland on the 16th of December, 1685.

CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CLARENDON; TURBULENT CONDUCT OF THE IRISH; VIOLENT MEASURES OF THE EARL OF TYRCONNELL.



HE new lord lieutenant appeared to be bound to James's service by so many ties of relationship and fidelity, that he did not hesitate to make him acquainted in some degree with his designs. He was placed in the same kind of dependence on the

lieutenant-general of the forces, the newly created earl of Tyrconnell, as was intended in the case of his brother the earl of Rochester. His public instructions intimated the king's desire that catholics should be introduced into the corporations, and that they should be made magistrates and officers of justice. He was commanded, however, to declare that it was the king's intention to respect the act of settlement, and the protestants were further given to understand that it was not the king's intention to alter the religious establishment. All these promises were equally sincere with Clarendon's declaration to the privy council, in his speech on receiving the sword of state, that he found Ireland in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity.

So far was the country from being at this time tranquil, that it had not for a long while, except in time of actual war, been more turbulent and uneasy. The Irish had their intelligence at the court of St. James's more sure and more constant even than their rulers; the priests who surrounded the king and queen gave them early intelligence of the designs for promoting the catholic religion, and they were unable to conceal their satisfaction and exultation. The Irish catholics began to assume a high tone in their intercourse with the protestants, who began to feel the utmost alarm when they found themselves addressed with contempt as heretics and rebels. They were insulted even in the courts of justice, for the change was so sudden and the signs of the times so alarming, that few men in office dared to compromise themselves by interfering in defence of a protestant against a catholic.

The savage banditti who, under the name of tories, had so long infested the wilder parts of the island, but who had been for some time past held in check by the activity of the protestant militia, took new courage when they saw it disarmed, and when they were informed of the favour which the Irish catholics now found at court. The tories

now joined in considerable bodies, increased by the accession of many who joined them to have an opportunity of plundering the protestants with impunity, ranged over the protestant districts, committing every description of outrage. The evil became so general and insupportable, that lord Clarendon was authorized to restore their arms to some of the protestants who were most exposed to these depredations; but the order was executed so cautiously and sparingly as to be of little avail, while the protestant inhabitants of Ireland were exposed to a new persecution still more galling, and which they found it less easy to avoid. A cloud of informers suddenly rose through the land, who carried before the magistrates every sort of vexatious accusation against their protestant neighbours, which the magistrates, however they might be inclined to despise them, dared not refuse to entertain, from the dread of being looked upon as disaffected to government. A protestant farmer, successfully resisting the attack of a tory, was in danger of being dragged before a court of justice for some pretended offences, the most important and least easily forgiven of these being words said to have been spoken against king James when duke of York. So many things had been said in the violent heats of the late disputes about popery, that it was next to impossible to escape from accusations of this description. The lord lieutenant was overwhelmed with informations against individuals, many of them of a much more serious description, but all supported, more or less, by falsehood and perjury. Of this he was well aware, but he was afraid to act upon his own sentiments, lest he should offend the king, who, in private, expressed a feeling of hostility to his protestant subjects in Ireland, and of favour for the natives.

The Irish catholics began soon to associate together for the purpose of undermining the present settlement in Ireland. It was thought too bold as yet to attack the acts of settlement themselves, but a petition was got up for the relief of those who had suffered by them, a proceeding in which there was nothing unreasonable except its form, inasmuch as it seemed intended to show a studied contempt for the lord lieutenant and his government. It was resolved that agents should be chosen from each county, and that these, without following the old usage of consulting with the lord lieutenant, should be sent over to England,

and lay their petition before the king. The more moderate of their own party refused to concur in a proceeding so disrespectful to the Irish government, which, in lord Clarendon's hands, had been especially indulgent towards the Roman catholics; rather than produce a schism in their own party, the more violent catholics yielded this point, but another petition was got up and presented to the lord lieutenant, in which they made the unreasonable demand that all the outlawries occasioned by the rebellion of 1641 should be reversed. The lord lieutenant explained the difficulties and dangers which must attend the granting of such a petition in general terms, however particular cases might deserve to be inquired into. But his opinions were now of little effect; for, on his arrival in Ireland, the earl of Tyrconnell had proceeded to England, and it was there, under the direction of this man, surrounded by a little court of violent Irish and Jesuits, that all Irish business of any importance was decided. It was apparent that the influence of Tyrconnell was superior to all other, and that the king was inclined to give ear to the most violent and offensive councils.

This was soon seen in the changes made in some of the important offices in Ireland. The seals were taken suddenly from archbishop Boyle the lord chancellor, and sir Charles Porter, a man in distressed circumstances and ready to sell himself as a willing tool of the court, was sent over from England to be substituted in his place. Three protestant judges were removed arbitrarily, without any reasons assigned for their disgrace, and two Irish catholics, Nugent and Daly, with an Englishman named Ingolsby, were nominated in their places. Ingolsby refused the office, and another Irishman, named Rice, was appointed in his place. The character of these Irish lawyers was not high; and that of Rice especially, was very equivocal. Yet, in spite of lord Clarendon's expostulations, they were not only sworn into office without being required to take the oath of supremacy, but these, with some other Irish lawyers, were ordered to be admitted into the Irish privy council. This honour had not usually been conferred on men of such low station, and caused so much scandal that Rice hesitated in accepting it. Another, Nagle, a popish lawyer of great talents and influence with his party, and a special favourite of the earl of Tyrconnell, declined the honour which was

offered him on the ground that it would interfere with the profits which he derived from his profession.

All these changes, and rumours of changes, increased the alarm among the protestants, who were seized with the darkest apprehensions. Some of the presbyterians, wearied with the annoyances to which they were exposed at home, sold their effects, and fled to New England. Others transported themselves to England and to Scotland. Protestant traders and merchants began to abandon the country in which they foresaw only the speedy establishment of popery, with a prospect of plunder and confiscation. The bonds of society seemed everywhere broken up, and the fears of the vulgar were soon communicated to the higher and better-informed classes. The earl of Granard had been deprived of his regiment, and to appease any resentment that might be felt by a nobleman of so much influence among the presbyterians, he was offered the new office of president of the council of Ireland; but he declined the honour, on the plea that it was his wish to retire from public business. The great body of the presbyterians, who took lord Granard for their guiding star, naturally saw in this proceeding a confirmation of their worst apprehensions, and their consternation was complete.

The admission of catholics to public offices of the state was soon followed by marks of favour bestowed on their clergy, which added to the alarm of the protestants, and this was further increased by the exaggerated reports that the Irish in their exultation spread abroad. They declared that the king had written to the pope to desire his holiness to appoint a successor to the protestant archbishop of Cashel, lately dead; and although this was not the case, the fears of the protestants seemed justified by the king keeping vacant this and other sees and applying the revenues to the support of the catholic bishops. Other measures followed equally significant. Orders were issued to protect the catholic clergy in the exercise of their religious functions; and the royal pleasure was notified that the popish bishops should appear publicly in the habit of their order. At the same time the protestant clergy were strictly prohibited from alluding to controversial subjects in their preaching; and they were subjected to a system of espionage which was equivalent to a general persecution. Such of the clergy as uttered any expression from the pulpit which could be

tortured into an allusion to popery were immediately reported to the king, and they were reprimanded or set down as disaffected and seditious.

The earl of Tyrconnell now returned to Ireland with powers to carry out the king's designs in favour of the catholics independent of the lord lieutenant, from whom their full extent was carefully concealed. He was to have the entire command and regulation of the army, and he brought with him a number of military commissions by which many of the best protestant officers were turned out and catholics of no personal merit substituted in their places. He also brought with him particular orders for the admission of Roman catholics to the freedom of corporations and the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace. The earl's written instructions only implied that he was to relieve the catholics from all disabilities, but he rejected all moderation, and hesitated not to promise his party that they should speedily see the extinction of protestantism, and he acted as though he were fully commissioned to put this promise in effect, and his conduct seems to have had the full approbation of the king. He proceeded to dismiss protestant officers and functionaries without any alleged cause, and they were often treated with contumely and even with cruelty. He talked openly and publicly against the acts of settlement, and he complained of the misconduct of the protestant government in a manner most insulting to the earl of Clarendon. The latter was offended at his violent conduct, and, when Tyrconnell ventured to issue strict orders that none but catholics should be admitted into the army, the lord lieutenant called him before him and remonstrated. Tyrconnell had the meanness to deny his own acts; but he was confounded by the spirit of lord Roscommon, who told him to his face that he and other officers had received those orders from him in terms the most peremptory and explicit. But the violence of Tyrconnell was not checked by such remonstrances; and he became the idol of the violent catholic party, the old followers of the nuncio—and of the lower orders of the Irish whom they led implicitly, and who chanted popular songs made in his praise and exciting them against their protestant neighbours. The flame was thus continually increased, and nothing was heard from the old Irish but boasting and threats. They said that now the army was purged of heretics, they would soon

recover their lands; some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants from paying their rents to their English landlords; and some of the popish clergy forbade the people to pay their tithes to protestant incumbents.

The earl of Clarendon began to be alarmed at Tyrconnell's extravagances, and he felt uneasy under the personal insults to which he was daily exposed. One of these deserves to be repeated, and we give it from one of the rather violent protestant tracts of the beginning of the following reign. "Upon a Sunday morning going to church, he perceived an Irish officer he never saw before, commanding his guard of battle-axes that attended his person, which exceedingly surprised him; whereupon he made a stop, demanding who he was, and who put him there? The Irishman was as much frightened as the lord lieutenant was disturbed, but with some difficulty, and in broken expressions occasioned by fear, told his excellency he was a captain put in by the lord Tyrconnell. His excellency demanded of him when? He replied, that morning. His excellency bid them call the former captain, and dismiss this of Tyrconnell's. The next day the lord lieutenant sent for Tyrconnell, and questioned him for this action, who replied, he did nothing but by the king's orders. To which the lord lieutenant returned answer, that whilst his majesty entrusted him with the government, he would not be disposed by his lieutenant-general. Complaints on both hands were made to the king, and so the matter ended."

Clarendon was too strongly imbued with the principles of passive obedience to kingly power to act with the manly character which the circumstances in which he was placed required. He felt the uneasiness of his position, suspected the king's designs, and saw the consequences which must arise from the violent courses of Tyrconnell and his agents. He ventured to remonstrate, but in so doing he acknowledged his conviction that it was his own duty to execute the king's orders whatever they might be, and he showed no inclination to prove his own protestant principles by resigning. He only recommended that the king's orders should be executed with more caution, and spoke of the necessity of quieting the suspicions and fears of his protestant subjects; and he proposed that a commission of grace should be issued for confirming titles, and a general pardon for words spoken against the king

while duke of York, in order to put an end to litigious persecutions. But the king paid no attention to these representations; he allowed the earl of Tyrconnell full liberty to proceed in his course of violence; and he even refused to repeat in a public manner his former assurances of maintaining the acts of settlement.

Tyrconnell now proceeded to London, with the twofold object of persuading the king to repeal these acts, and of procuring the recall of the protestant lord lieutenant. He took with him Nagle, one of the most acute and artful of the Irish lawyers, and a violent opponent of the acts of settlement. The violence of these men was not approved by the privy council, and the king yielded so far to its influence as to treat Nagle with coldness. But he was received by the bigoted catholics who were the king's private advisers with open arms, and directed and encouraged by them he drew up a pamphlet on the injustice of the acts of settlement, which was printed and distributed abroad, under the form of a letter from Coventry, and made considerable noise at the time under the title of the "Coventry Letter." Tyrconnell was more successful in his designs against the earl of Clarendon. Charges of maladministration had frequently been made against this nobleman, but they had been easily refuted, and he had been supported by the position as lord treasurer and favour in which his brother the earl of Rochester stood at court. But the king was now pushed forward headlong by his popish advisers. He resolved that his ministers should become Roman catholics. Sunderland yielded, but Rochester refused, and he was deprived of his office. The popish cabal ruled by father Petre had already resolved that Ireland should have a catholic lord lieutenant; they are said to have represented to the king that if he should be defeated in his design of Romanizing England, it was in Ireland that he must look for a safe refuge and support, and James's conduct seems to show that he acted on these representations. Tyrconnell's party in Ireland, who were in close correspondence with the most active and zealous of father Petre's cabal, declared that Petre had obtained from the king a promise of Clarendon's immediate recall. Sinister reports of this kind soon reached the ears of the lord lieutenant, who wrote to the king to complain of them, and to ask for a declaration of his intentions. The king in two successive letters assured the earl

of Clarendon that he was satisfied with his government, and that he had not the most distant intention of removing him. These assurances had not long been made, when the disgrace of lord Rochester gave Clarendon sufficient intimation of the uncertainty of his own tenure of office. If the king enforced the profession of Romanism on his ministers in England, much more would he do so in Ireland, and it is said that immediately after Rochester's dismissal, although he had privately resolved on the person who was to have the appointment, he pretended to ask the advice of the council as to the person best fitted to rule Ireland at that time. Sunderland, who was now the chief favourite and was acquainted with the king's secret intentions, boldly declared at the board his preference of the earl of Tyrconnell. The political pamphlets of the day speak of an unworthy intrigue which attended on the appointment of Tyrconnell, and to which the king is represented as having given his countenance. One of the competitors for the Irish appointment, according to this story, was lord Powis, a catholic and a favourite at court. He was made to offer the English minister, Sunderland, a pension of four thousand a year out of the income of the lord lieutenant of Ireland, as a condition of his appointment. The king, on hearing of this, instead of expressing his indignation, insisted that Tyrconnell should agree to give Sunderland the same pension, and then at once confirmed to him the appointment, but with the inferior title of lord deputy.

One of the Irish protestants who lived at this time, has left us, in one of the political pamphlets which it produced, an account of the consternation which the news of Tyrconnell's appointment to the government of Ireland caused generally among the protestant inhabitants of that country. "The confirmation of this dismal news," he says, "reaching the ears of the protestants in Ireland, struck like a thunderbolt: perhaps no age or story can parallel so dreadful a catastrophe among all ages and sexes, as if the day of doom was come; every one lamenting the dreadfulness of their horrible condition, and almost all that could, by any means, deserted the kingdom, if they had but money to discharge their passage; a demonstration of this were those infinite numbers of families which flocked over from Dublin to the Isle of Man and other places. Indeed I cannot recall to mind the great

consternation, the dismal apprehensions, and panic fears, which possessed the hearts of all protestants at this juncture, without reviving (like Æneas his repetition of the Trojan miseries to the Carthaginian queen) those *infandos dolores* under which I was then almost sunk and overwhelmed. Now everything discovered a gloomy and melancholy prospect, and seemed to be attended with so many discouragements, that many that had patentee employments, obtained licence from the lord lieutenant under the broad seal, to come away; and all that lay in his excellency's power for the help and assistance of the protestants he zealously performed. It was interpreted by many as a signal act of providence propitious to the English that the winds continued for some time contrary, after that this furious zealot for the cause (as impatient as a wild bull in a net) was come to the sea side; which disappointment did not a little discompose him, whose prejudice and ambition equally inspired him with eagerness to supplant his predecessor, whom he had looked upon as his co-rival in the government. This favourable delay was religiously respected by many as a certain warning or admonition from God to his people to fly from those heavy judgments which had been long imminent, but now in an actual readiness to descend upon that poor distressed kingdom. But he whose arrival was dreaded every moment, as the most fatal misery that could fall upon the nation, at last (after being thus retarded) to the unspeakable terror of the protestants, landed at Dublin; and the lord Clarendon (who had a particular favour conferred upon him to continue for one week in the government after Tyrconnell's landing,) at his grace the lord archbishop of Dublin's palace, resigned the sword to Tyrconnell with an admirable speech to him, setting forth his exact observance of the commands of the king his master, and faithful discharging of that great trust which had been committed to him; and concluding with his impartial administration of justice to all parties, in these or the like words addressed to Tyrconnell, that as he had kept an equal hand of justice to the Roman catholics, so he hoped his lordship would to the protestants. Never was a sword washed with so many tears as this; a most doleful presage of its being so in blood. It would surpass the art of rhetoric to set forth the dreadful reflections which the poor afflicted protestants made upon this ominous revolution. No orator

could find words to express the fatal calamities which were now derived from the consequences of this change; it presaged the worst of evils, and seemed to carry in all its parts the most dismal characters of an irreversible extirpation of the protestant interest and religion. Most of the English were possessed with the daily fears of a general massacre to be suddenly put in execution, and that in a most inhuman manner; and this produced the strangest convulsions in the minds of men that a most exquisite grief could be capable of. Others were more temperate in their sorrows, and were of opinion that, notwithstanding popery was the scene which must be acted, yet they were in hopes by some more plausible way than that of downright murdering. They considered that the last rebellion had heaped so much infamy upon the Irish, and had justly rendered them such barbarous and inhuman savages to the whole christian world, that to obliterate that deserved reproach, they would now take some milder course; which though it might have something more of humanity in it, would yet be as effectual to the design, the utter subversion of the protestant interest and religion. In fine, *quot homines tot sententiæ*; their sentiments were as various as their fears: but, however, all concurred in this, that popery was the game that must not only be played, but win too, whatever arts were used to obtain the upshot."

It was the February of 1687, when the earl of Clarendon thus resigned the sword, amid feelings which are not probably exaggerated in the foregoing account. When he embarked at Dublin, he was accompanied by fifteen hundred protestant families of that city, who preferred leaving their homes to incurring the dangers which seemed to threaten all those who in Ireland professed the same faith as themselves.

The political pamphlets of the time make us acquainted with another intrigue, which, if it was really contemplated, was not carried into effect. It is said to have been proposed in the cabal with which the king was surrounded, that before Clarendon was recalled all the protestant judges should be dismissed, and papists substituted in their places. It was conceived that by this measure the protestant lord lieutenant would be reduced to a fatal alternative; if he executed the king's orders, he would render himself unpopular among the protestants, and if he did not he would afford the king an excuse for depriving

him of his office by his disobedience. This plan was defeated by the reluctance of some of the king's catholic advisers to proceed to violent measures too hastily. A few changes only were made before lord Clarendon resigned the sword; but after Tyrconnell had assumed the government, no further tenderness was shown. The lord chancellor, sir Charles Porter, had given offence by his public declaration that he would not be made the instrument of overthrowing the protestant interests in Ireland, and he was disgraced. His office was conferred on sir Alexander Fitton, a lawyer who had been publicly convicted of forgery, but who had effaced all his offences by embracing the catholic religion. Porter repaired to London, represented to the king his faithful and loyal services, and requested to be informed in what particular he had transgressed, but he was treated rudely, and received no satisfaction. The next change of importance was the appointment of the violent papist Nagle to the office of attorney-general, in place of sir William Domville, a lawyer of great abilities and integrity, but who was guilty of being a staunch protestant. Two other active catholic lawyers, Nugent and Rice, were made chief judges, and the places made vacant by their advancement were immediately filled by Irish papists. Only three protestants were suffered to remain on the bench, Keating, Worth, and Lyndon. The lord chief justice Keating, of the common pleas, had been personally attached to the duke of York, and belonged to one of the old Anglo-Irish families, and, though his zeal was not quite so fiery as the new rulers desired, his other merits preserved him in his place. Lyndon, though secretly attached to the protestant interests, laboured under the temptation produced by poverty and a numerous family, and he complied at least outwardly with the king's wishes. Baron Worth gave frequent proofs of his subserviency to the court. By these changes the Irish protestants were cast off from all hopes of obtaining justice in courts of law, and the catholics, unable to restrain their exultation within limits, took every opportunity of insulting and oppressing them.

The next step of the court was the same which was practised in England, the seizure of the charters of cities and boroughs, in order to remould the corporations according to the king's wishes. The new lord deputy began with the city of Dublin, as the first and most important of the Irish corporations,

and the one whose example would necessarily exercise a considerable influence over the rest. The recent orders for the admission of catholics into the corporations had not produced the effects which were expected from them, for difficulties had everywhere been raised in the way of their execution, and the protestants were still in a majority in most of the large towns. The corporation of Dublin especially had shown reluctance in obeying them. Tyrconnell now called before him the mayor and aldermen of Dublin, and told them that he had in charge from the king to inform them first, as forming the chief city in the kingdom and deserving of his especial favour, that it was his pleasure to call in all the charters of the kingdom, and he tried to render the bait attractive by assuring them that it was not the king's design to alter or diminish their privileges, but on the contrary he intended by increasing them to give the citizens a proof of his favour and love. He added that the king expected of them a quick and cheerful surrender of their charter, that they might set an example to the whole kingdom of devoted loyalty. The mayor returned for answer that he would call an assembly and lay before them the king's desire. Next day, accordingly, the corporation assembled, and they agreed upon an answer setting forth their loyalty and services, and praying that the rights and privileges they had so long enjoyed might remain untouched. At this unexpected communication, Tyrconnell broke out in a violent passion, and told the mayor and his brethren insultingly, that this was only a continuation of their former rebellion; that at the commencement of the last war in Ireland they had turned out all the loyal subjects, and that they would do so now if it were in their power. He avowed to them, in very intemperate language, that the reluctance they had shown in obeying the king's commands to admit catholic freemen was the cause of the king's now calling in their charters; and he concluded by recommending the mayor to call another assembly, and urge them to obey the king's commands without further hesitation, unless they chose to incur his majesty's more serious displeasure.

Every step taken by the government showed more and more the resolution to establish absolute power in its most arbitrary shape. The lord mayor of Dublin replied to Tyrconnell's violent reproaches, by representing to him his own position with regard

to the city, and the necessity of adhering to constitutional forms. He represented that upon occasions of public business like this, it had been the constant practice of the chief governor to write a letter, expressing the wishes of the government, and addressed to the mayor, aldermen, and commons; alleging that if he called his brethren together a second time to listen to a mere verbal repetition of what they had heard before, they would be inclined to pay more attention to it if communicated in writing. To this the solicitor-general replied rudely, that there was no necessity for any such formality, but that it was sufficient if his excellency signified his commands by word of mouth, in which they ought at once to acquiesce. The mayor on this called a new assembly, in which it was resolved that the city should not make a voluntary surrender of its charter, and, after considerable debate, it was finally concluded that an application should be made to the lord deputy on the part of the mayor, aldermen, and commons, for permission to petition the king; and they again represented their exemplary loyalty and eminent sufferings for the king's father, and produced a letter written to them by Charles I. from Oxford, which contained acknowledgments of their great loyalty and faithfulness to him with promises of due reward, if providence should ever restore him to his crown.

But considerations of this kind had little weight under the present circumstances, and the only answer they received from Tyrconnell was a very rough reprimand, and a threat that he would himself write to the king and make a strong representation of their disobedience. His next step was to issue a quo warranto against the city. Another meeting of the common council was now called, and it was resolved to make a direct appeal to the king. Their recorder, sir Richard Reeves, undertook to carry their petition, and, in spite of the lord deputy's threats, he proceeded to London, and was introduced to the king by the duke of Ormond. His reception by James was as rough and unfavourable as that which the corporation had experienced from the earl of Tyrconnell, and he was peremptorily referred to the decision of the law officers of the crown in Ireland. The recorder returned to Dublin, discouraged by the king's answer to his petition, and by the apprehensions expressed by the duke of Ormond, but the citizens persisted in their resolution to resist,

and they employed counsel for that purpose. As, however, it had been previously determined, judgment was given against them, and the charter of Dublin was seized. The other corporations throughout Ireland underwent the same fate. One only gave them some embarrassment, that of Carrickfergus in the north, but it was induced to surrender its charter by the wily persuasions of secretary Ellis.

Nothing could be more contemptible than the government which had now been established in Ireland; for by turning out men of experience and talent merely because they were stanch protestants, and filling their places with others whose only merit was subserviency and zeal for the cause of Rome, a privy council was formed of men who in general were totally unacquainted with public business, and however apt they might be at undoing, they were unfit to grapple with the difficulties that surrounded them. The king, at the same time, having resolved to separate entirely the affairs of Ireland from those of England, his reluctance to consult on them with his English ministers and advisers threw the whole responsibility on Tyrconnell. The latter affected to despise his own privy council for their ignorance, and treated them in the most insulting manner; and we are told that when the council was called together, its time was taken up with unseemly disputes, in which each member treated the other with contemptuous scorn. Some of their first regulations with regard to trade threatened to be so disastrous in their effects, and gave so much alarm to the king's ministers in England, that he was obliged to send over a counter-proclamation. When the matter was brought before the English council board, lord Bellasis is said to have declared with an oath, "That fellow in Ireland is fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms;" and father Petre wrote to Tyrconnell to urge him to be more cautious in future. Thus warned, the lord deputy displayed more anxiety to receive directions from the king.

The reconstruction of the Irish corporations gave the lord deputy no little embarrassment. As it did not appear that the council could be brought to agree upon any plan, the matter was entrusted entirely to Keating and some of the lawyers, who at length drew up a scheme by which, to give some show of consideration for the protestants, it was arranged that, in great cities

where the English interest had been predominant, two-thirds of the members of the corporation should be catholics, and one-third protestants. Not content with this disproportion of the two parties, they took care to choose, under the title of protestants, only quakers and some other enthusiasts who had been gained over by the king's proclamation for liberty of conscience, or men of such low station and loose principles as might easily be made the tools of those in power. And although they admitted lords and gentlemen from the country, they found it difficult to complete the corporations without taking in an additional number of low and barbarous Irish. Things were carried to that extent, that in one town in the north the mayor was a man who had undergone condemnation for felony.

In the midst of these unconstitutional proceedings, the especial displeasure of the lord deputy fell upon the great protestant establishment, Trinity college in Dublin. The catholic party looked with jealousy on this protestant seminary, and an attempt had been made to interfere with it before the dismissal of lord Clarendon. The king's mandate was sent to the governors directing them to admit a papist named Green to a supposed vacant professorship, with all its emoluments and arrears of salary. The ignorance of the king's advisers in this instance saved the college; for it was styled in the king's letter a professorship of the Irish language, and it was easily shown that no such professorship had ever existed in Trinity college. Green was thus disappointed; but the members of the college looked upon it with alarm as only the commencement of the acts of violence to which their body was to be subjected, and they shared in the general consternation of the Irish protestants when they heard of the appointment of Tyrconnell to the government of Ireland. As the best means of placing their property in safety, they resolved to convert their plate into money for the purpose of erecting new buildings or purchasing new lands; and having obtained the consent of their visitors to this measure, lord Clarendon gave them the requisite licence for transporting the plate duty free to England, where they expected to sell it to a better advantage. It was at this point of the transaction that Tyrconnell arrived in Dublin to assume the government; and, informed of what had been done, he ordered the plate to be seized in the port of Dublin,

where it was waiting for transportation, and to be deposited in the king's stores. The more moderate of Tyreconnell's advisers prevailed upon him to restore the plate to the university. This body, debarred from sending it to England, sold it in Ireland, when Tyrconnell's fury was rekindled. The purchaser was called before him, and Nugent, as public accuser, charged him with having purchased stolen goods, the property of the king, and obliged him to give security to prosecute the governors of Trinity college. But Nagle, who had more temper and good sense, interfered to shield the university from the lord deputy's senseless violence. The terror arising from this prosecution had however scarcely subsided, when another attempt was made upon the liberties of that learned body, which was again defeated by the ignorance of those who promoted it. A papist named Doyle procured a letter from the king directing him to be admitted to a

fellowship, without taking any oaths but those of a fellow; he was wretchedly insufficient and scandalously profligate, but his voluntary conversion to the Romish faith had procured for him the favour of the court, and the fellows had not the courage to resist the royal mandate. It was found, however, when he came to be inducted that the oath of a fellow included the oath of supremacy, which Doyle refused to take. The wording of the king's mandate made it necessary to obtain another letter before the difficulty could be surmounted, and in the mean time the character of Doyle was found to be so infamous, that his patrons were ashamed of him, and let the affair drop. But Tyreconnell vented his vexation and rage upon the college, by stopping the pension annually paid to it from the exchequer, which at that time formed the most considerable part of its income, and by the loss of which it was much distressed.

CHAPTER VII.

DISSATISFACTION CREATED BY TYRECONNELL'S VIOLENCE; ATTEMPT AGAINST THE ACTS OF SETTLEMENT
THE REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND TERRORS OF THE PROTESTANTS.



WE have arrived at a period of dark intrigues, which cannot be unravelled by the uncertain records which remain. Few of those concerned in them were guided by pure or patriotic motives, and in the

dangerous game which they were all playing, each felt the necessity of destroying the evidence of his own acts. We are thus obliged chiefly to depend, for the history of this sudden elevation of popery in Ireland and England, on the narratives published immediately after the revolution, generally by zealous protestants who had scarcely recovered from the terror into which their exaggerated fears had thrown most of those who shared in their religious principles, and were ready to receive any story which threw discredit upon their enemies, without inquiring too scrupulously into its truth. It is necessary, therefore, to use some cau-

tion in receiving the accounts of the transactions of this period, though we have every reason to believe, that in the broad outline and in the most material details they are correct.

The catholic party, counting too hastily upon its own triumph, was already divided into two factions, both guided by foreign influence, the pope's party and the party of the king of France. The dark bigotry of king James inclined him towards the former, but his fears and his secret distrust of his own subjects obliged him to conciliate the latter. It was the king of France, who seems to have beheld with satisfaction the misgovernment of Ireland, whose influence now kept the earl of Tyreconnell in favour. The wiser of the catholics themselves became alarmed at the condition in which Ireland was plunged. Nothing was heard but complaints of the brutality and ignorance of popish sheriffs, of the scandalous partiality of the courts of justice, of insolence and barbarities committed by military officers, and of wanton robbery and murder,

which was restrained by no fear of punishment. Not only were the prisons discharged of the numerous Tories and robbers who had been lodged in them for their depredations, but these very men were formed into regiments for the service of the state, or placed in positions which enabled them to plunder with impunity, and to screen from justice the outrages committed by their fellows. Many of these were of a character too horrible to repeat. Rape, mutilation, and murder, when committed by an Irish papist on a protestant, went unpunished. Two acts committed under the immediate directions of the earl of Clancarthy, may be repeated as having obtained a special notoriety. A party of Clancarthy's men carried away, by force, the horse of a poor protestant butcher near Cork, who made his complaint to the judges of the assize, in the earl's presence. The judges, satisfied with the evidence, ordered satisfaction to be made to the man for his horse, and the earl promised to see it performed. As soon as the judges had departed from the country, he proceeded with a party of his troopers to the man's house, and ordered him to come out and receive the satisfaction he deserved. While the earl looked on, his men seized the butcher, and tossed him in a blanket, letting him continually fall upon the stones, until he was quite dead. No judicial notice was taken of this outrage. A protestant at Clonmel had similarly incurred the displeasure of lord Clancarthy, who went with some of his troopers, caused him to be seized, beaten with sticks, and then hanged, and, although he was soon taken down, and was said to have been carried away alive, he was never seen afterwards. The inferior actors in this outrage were brought to the bar and tried for the murder, but, although it had been done in the presence of a hundred people, they were acquitted, and no notice was taken of the conduct of the earl. The example of men of his quality encouraged the lesser depredators, and the protestants, in great numbers, deserted their homes and left the country. Many of the towns of the south and west, which had been chiefly inhabited by protestants, were almost drained of their population. As the protestants of the towns were, in most cases, the principal merchants, trade was stopped, and the revenue of Ireland was fearfully diminished.

This last circumstance gave a new pre-
tence to Tyrconnell's enemies at court, and

they represented, in strong language, the ruin he was bringing on the king's affairs, and the necessity of appointing a wiser and more experienced statesman in his place. It was necessary to do something to avert the impending storm, and Tyrconnell demanded and obtained permission to repair to the king, who was now in his progress at Chester. He deputed the government, during his absence, to chancellor Fitton and lord Clamrickard, and, when he left them, he reminded them, as catholics, how entirely they had got the power into their own hands, and, with indecent coarseness, prayed God to damn them if they ever parted with it. He carried with him chief baron Rice, whose representations of the flourishing condition of Ireland so completely satisfied the king, that he continued Tyrconnell in the government. Among the addresses sent from Ireland to Chester was one from the university of Dublin, declaring, that while they retained their religion, they would not depart from their loyalty. James returned answer, that he had no doubt of the loyalty of any of the church of England; yet he gave Tyrconnell orders to dismiss all the protestant officers who still remained in the army.

Tyrconnell had hardly returned, when a new danger arose from a different quarter. One Sheridan, a bigoted zealot, who had married a niece of father Petre, and therefore reckoned on his influence at court, held the offices of secretary of state and commissioner of the customs. He had for some time carried on, secretly, a lucrative trade in the sale of employments; but being now restrained by the lord deputy, he resolved, in revenge, to effect his ruin. Sheridan was joined in his hatred of Tyrconnell by two ecclesiastics, one of whom was the lord deputy's chaplain, and the other the popish primate, and these three began to plot against him. It appears that the earl had given some offence to the more zealous clergy by occasionally speaking disrespectfully of religion. It was said, among other things, that when the army was in camp on the curragh of Kildare, Tyrconnell, being at play in his tent, a priest came to him to know if his excellency would go to mass; to which he replied, no, he would send such a one (pointing to one of his attendants) to stand in his place, and that would do as well. Father Petre was easily persuaded to favour the designs of the conspirators, not only because he was bigoted in his religious

principles, but because, as the chief of the pope's faction, who looked with jealousy on Tyrconnell because he was supported by the French faction, and with apprehension lest his senseless violence might defeat their favourite aim of establishing the papacy. The lord deputy received some intimation of these proceedings, and having consulted with his two confidential advisers, Rice and Nagle, by their advice he sent another priest, on whose devotion he could count, to form an intimacy with Sheridan. This man, pretending to be influenced by the same feeling against Tyrconnell, was soon admitted into their confidence, and betrayed all their secrets. Tyrconnell caused their letters to be seized, and, having made himself acquainted with their contents, wrote by the same post to the English ministers, acquainting them with Sheridan's character, and with his briberies, and the other practices which had brought him into disgrace.

In this instance, the influence of Sunderland overcame that of father Petre; Tyrconnell was justified, and Sheridan, deserted even by those on whom he reckoned most for support, was dismissed from his employments. The deputy, not content with this triumph, determined to avenge himself upon the popish primate, and he revived some old charges of insufficiency, and persuaded the king to petition the pope to appoint him a coadjutor. But father Petre saw the blow that was thus aimed at his faction, and he not only procured a flat denial from the pope, but he retaliated on Tyrconnell by constantly possessing the king's mind with the dangers likely to arise to the catholic cause by the earl's mismanagement. He spoke of him with the utmost contempt, as a man whose only merit consisted in turning protestants out of their places, which he had done with so little discretion and caution, that he had been the cause of public calamity and general discontent. One of the petty struggles had commenced between the two factions at court, which threatened for a moment to be fatal to Tyrconnell. The pope's party were anxious for the promotion of the earl of Castlemaine, who had given them great satisfaction in his recent embassy to the pope, and who was supported by his holiness's strong recommendations to the king. Father Petre succeeded in persuading the king that no success would attend his endeavours until protestants were dismissed from all offices at court; and Jeffreys, having given some

offence, it was secretly resolved, about the middle of December, 1687, that he should be dismissed from the chancellorship, that three lords of the treasury should be made lords commissioners of the broad seal, and that lord Castlemaine should be appointed lord treasurer. But French influence again obtained the superiority, and before the end of the month the whole plan was relinquished, and Jeffreys stood higher in favour than ever. Still lord Castlemaine remained without appointment, and father Petre's faction, taking advantage of the quarrel between Tyrconnell and Sheridan, and representing the danger with which the catholic church was threatened by such disunion, urged the king to dismiss the present deputy, and appoint Castlemaine to the government of Ireland. It was represented, that the only result of Tyrconnell's administration had been to drive away protestants, destroy trade, and diminish the revenue, while in all this time he had made few proselytes, and had done nothing towards establishing the catholic religion on a firm foundation.

This intrigue gave Tyrconnell more alarm than any that had threatened him before. He saw the difficulty in giving an effectual denial to these allegations of the bigoted party, and he closeted himself again with Rice and Nagle to consult on the best means of averting the storm. It was deemed necessary to hit upon some brilliant measure that would convince the king of the zeal and abilities of his present deputy, and it was proposed to convene an Irish parliament, which at the present juncture, with popish sheriffs and popish corporations, must be entirely devoted to the government, and to bring forward at once a bill which would overthrow the acts of settlement, and place the greater part of the lands in Ireland at the king's disposal. This was to be done in a crafty manner, and under the plausible pretext of relieving the distressed and injured Irish. It was determined that Rice should be sent over to propose this design to the king, and lay it before the English council. As soon, however, as the design was reported abroad, the lord chief justice Nugent, in spite of the reluctance of the deputy and his two secret advisers, obtruded himself as his colleague. The two agents embarked at Dublin, on St. Patrick's day, the 17th of March, 1688, choosing that day as an intimation to the Irish that the object of their mission was the salvation of the nation. They found father Petre and his faction at

first hostile to their design, which they looked upon as a mere trick of their opponents; but Rice used so many arguments to persuade them of its necessity, alleging that it was the only means of establishing the power of the pope, and that the protestants would only be converted by the fear of losing their lands, that they were at last gained over to look upon it with favour. Sunderland is said to have been won over by the prospect of an enormous bribe, and the plan is understood to have been determined upon in the king's closet; though Petre, still jealous of Tyrconnell, did not enter into it with zeal. He represented the unfitness of Tyrconnell, who already showed so little capacity for governing, to manage an Irish parliament, and the consequent necessity of first exchanging him for lord Castlemaine. The difference on this subject was perhaps a great cause of the overthrow of Tyrconnell's design, which, however, was approved by the king and by his directions reduced to writing.

At the first meeting of the council, James introduced this Irish scheme before the board, and declared warmly against the iniquity of the acts of settlement. When, however, the paper was read, it was received with so much indignation, that neither Petre nor Sunderland dared to speak in its defence; and it was even proposed to commit the two Irish agents to custody, or to command their immediate return. It was finally agreed, at the desire of the king's two favourite counsellors, that Rice and Nugent should be brought before the council at its next meeting; and that the council should hear what they had to say in defence of Tyrconnell's measure. The report of what had taken place was soon spread through London, and was the cause of tumults in the streets. Rice and Nugent were mobbed as they passed along in their coach, and boys, with potatoes stuck on the ends of long sticks, ran before them, crying, "make room for the Irish ambassadors." It was said that these riots were excited by paid agents of the papal party, who wanted to throw discredit on Tyrconnell, and to alarm the king.

During the whole of these indiscreet transactions, it appears that the English catholics, who formed the privy council, were influenced by the fear that the outrageous proceedings in Ireland would end by rousing the spirit of the nation, and expose them to the fury of the English protestants. It was with this feeling that

they opposed Tyrconnell's project. The opposition at the council board was led by lord Bellasis, who had always been hostile to Tyrconnell, and lord Powis. When the two agents were brought before the privy council, Rice made an artful discourse, in which he gave plausible answers to most of the objections urged by these two noblemen; but the weakness and folly of Nugent overthrew all that Rice had done, and made their project contemptible. Bellasis and Powis could hardly contain their exultation within the respect due to the royal presence. They treated the lord deputy's scheme with the utmost derision, and the former nobleman bid the agents, "make haste to the fool their master, and bid him, next message he sent, to employ wiser men, and upon a more honest errand." Powis added, "That the king had better use to make of his catholic subjects in England, than to sacrifice them for reprisal to the protestants of Ireland in lieu of their estates there."

This miscarriage was a great blow to Tyrconnell, as it was a subject of rejoicing to the party of lord Castlemaine. Sunderland, upon whom the former placed his great dependence, declared at a subsequent period that he was the main cause of the overthrow of this scheme, and that he rejected a bribe of forty thousand pounds offered him to purchase his support. Tyrconnell and the Irish party suddenly fell into despondency; they feared that the king might be overruled by prudent advisers, and they saw also that he was advancing in years, and that his death might again place over them a protestant monarch. From the first of these apprehensions the news of the committal of the bishops to the tower came to relieve them; and the intelligence of the birth of the prince of Wales delivered them from the second. Their joy on this last occasion was unbounded, and they expressed it in every kind of senseless insolence and outrage. "This news," a contemporary witness tells us, "gave them so victorious an ascendant over the English, that they were now become the scorn and contempt of those individual persons who had been their slaves and vassals, insomuch that the meanest labourer would now, upon the least provocation, threaten to hang his master. One pleasant instance to this purpose I cannot omit, the author being an ear-witness of it. A labourer came to his master very soberly, and told him he owed him a crow, and bid him give it him presently. The

gentleman laughed at him, for he owed him not a penny. Upon which the fellow growing angry, the gentleman called him a rascal, and offered to beat him; but the servant was not only too quick, but too strong for the master, whom he was very fairly about to cudgel; but company interposing diverted him from his intention. But the jest still remains, which he spake in Irish, but being interpreted runs in English thus, 'You English churl (with an oath by his maker and St. Patrick), I will hang thee with these hands, as well as thou wast ever hanged in thy life.' But the poor gentleman was afraid that he would have given him such a hanging as is never used but once." The popish lord mayor of Dublin displayed his triumph in a ludicrous instance of severity, for he committed the officers of the cathedral church to prison because "their bells did not ring merrily enough!"

It would be almost impossible to draw an exaggerated picture of the gloomy condition to which Ireland was now reduced. It presented a state of anarchy and lawlessness such as had seldom been witnessed. The protestants were everywhere dragged into courts on false charges of old debts, and found there that as protestants they could obtain no justice. They were plundered of their cattle and goods, at first under false pretences, and then under no pretext at all. If they offered to make complaint, they were tormented with false prosecutions, which they were glad to compromise in any manner in their power. Meanwhile, in England, the king's folly was driving him headlong to his own ruin. It is said that, while the intentions of the prince of Orange were yet a secret to king James, Tyrconnell received intelligence of them from Amsterdam, and sent it to the king, but it was received with derision. When the danger of an invasion became more certain, the lord deputy received orders to send four thousand Irish troops over to England. The agitation in Ireland was now extreme. English and Irish rushed in crowds to Dublin, impatient for intelligence, and eager to confirm their hopes or allay their fears. The papists affected to look upon the prince of Orange with contempt, yet when they heard of his landing they could not conceal their despondency, and Tyrconnell had the pusillanimity and meanness to make his court to the very protestants whom he had just been persecuting. Term was just beginning in Dublin, and the self-confident chief justice Nugent,

more courageous than his patron the lord deputy, gave a charge to the grand jury, in which he applauded and extolled the magnanimous and heroic actions of the great and just king James, and threw out the coarsest reproaches against the prince of Orange. He charged them to make a diligent inquiry after any who were suspected of adhering to his interest, concluding that the states of Holland were weary of the prince, and that they had sent him over to be dressed as Monmouth was, "but that was too good for him;" he said "that *he doubted not before a month was past to hear that the rebels were hung up all over England in bunches like ropes of onions.*"

This tone of exultation did not last long, for advices were brought every day of the prince's progress, and it was soon known that James was deserted by his subjects, and had sought safety in flight. The Irish catholics were now in the utmost consternation. Tyrconnell began to flatter the protestants, to boast of his equal and impartial government, and to pray that they would make the most favourable representation of his conduct. He even spoke of his willingness to submit to the new order of things. The spirit of the protestants was as suddenly elevated with the prospect of their triumph. Some of them proposed to seize upon the castle of Dublin, and declare at once for the prince of Orange; but others, more cautious, represented the uncertainty in which they yet stood as to the final turn of affairs in England, and the opportunity of carrying into effect this plan, which might have had such a decisive effect on subsequent events, was thus lost.

Tyrconnell was confused with the conflicting reports which at first arrived from England, and he adopted a policy of temporizing with the protestants until time should show which party finally obtained the superiority. The leading men among the Irish protestants were satisfied with his professions, and waited patiently the event, but the population in general was filled with the utmost alarm, and was agitated with the most ridiculous reports, which were spread abroad by fear or malevolence. In the midst of this alarm, a sudden panic seized the whole body of the Irish protestants. It was about the beginning of December, while things were still wrapped in uncertainty, that a letter was received by lord Mount Alexander in the north, informing him that there was a conspiracy among the papists to

rise against the protestants on Sunday the ninth of December, and cut them all off by a general massacre not less savage than that of 1641. The letter was sent to Dublin, and copies of it were speedily dispatched to all parts of the island, spreading consternation among the protestants, who were the more readily led to believe in the impending danger from the insolent tone which their Irish neighbours had lately assumed. The letter arrived at Dublin on the Friday before the day designated for that of the massacre, and during the night and the intervening Saturday the protestant inhabitants of the capital deserted their houses and hastened on ship-board, and they were joined by multitudes who flocked in from the neighbouring country. It happened that the harbour was full of shipping outward bound, and several thousand people are said to have been carried over to the Isle of Man and to the opposite coasts of Great Britain. Tyrconnell, when he learnt the cause of this sudden disorder, exerted himself to restore confidence to the fugitives, and gave his assurance that the report of a massacre was without foundation, and that the protestants should be protected, but in vain. "It is not easy," says one who was present in Ireland, "to set forth the strange effects and consequences which attended that sudden alarm in the city of an intended universal massacre. There you might see thousands of people deserting their houses and all their substance in the world, and running to the ships with scarce any clothes upon their backs. Never was seen such a consternation as at this time; never such a confusion and distraction. All the bloody massacres in the former rebellions were now reflected upon under the most ghastly and dismal representations, and those scenes of barbarity and cruelty seemed to threaten the same or worse usage, which produced the greatest horror and amazement, grief and despair, that human nature could be capable of. This fatal news which had so terrified the protestants of Dublin, as if the dissolution of all things had been at hand, arrived not to several parts of the kingdom till the very day it was to be put in execution, which being Sunday, it was brought to the people in the time of divine service in some places, which struck them with such sudden apprehensions of immediate destruction, that the doors not allowing quick passage enough, by reason of the crowd, abundance of persons made their escapes out of the windows, and in the greatest fright

and disorder that can be represented, the men leaving their hats and periwigs behind them; some of them had their cloaks torn to pieces, others were trampled under foot, and the women in a worse condition than the men. And this disturbance did not only continue for this day, but for several Sundays after, the protestants were in such a consternation and terror, that all or most of them carried fire-arms and other weapons to church with them, and the very ministers went armed into the pulpit, and sentinels stood at the church doors all the while that they were in the church."

When news arrived confirming the success of the prince of Orange in England, Tyrconnell seems at first to have been overcome by his apprehensions. He had made his preparations for flight, and most of his goods are said to have been packed up and some of his treasure carried on ship-board. In January some of the Irish lords of the council suggested that he should surrender the sword, and the whole board joined in the opinion; but the lord deputy evaded this demand on the ground that no new appointment had yet been made, and asked, "would they have him throw the sword over the wall, for there was no one to take it." The only members of the council who did not give way to their fears were Nugent and Rice, the former of whom offered to raise a regiment for king James at his own expense.

In the mean time the lord deputy granted commissions for levying forces to all who would accept of them and could raise the money to pay the fees, and in this manner the rabble which had already begun to prey upon the country, was formed into commissioned troops who plundered indiscriminately under their leaders, or winked at the depredations of others and shared in the spoil. The Irish were encouraged in taking up arms by the open exhortations of their priests, who in some cases exercised and led them in person. It was at this time, in the January of 1689, that the Irish began to collect together in large bodies, armed with skeens and half-pikes, under the name of *rapparees*, (said to be derived from the name of the latter weapon,) and overrun the country plundering and destroying. In some parts, where the protestants were sufficiently numerous and obtained arms, they associated in their own defence; and thus the country degenerated into a state of savage lawlessness.

It was in the south and west that the

protestants were most exposed to these depredations, and one of their clergymen who was conversant with the south has left us in an anonymous pamphlet printed in the same year, an account of these transactions, which will give us the best notion of the state of the country. "At first," he says, "there were only some private thefts committed by the Irish soldiers, but about this time the popish parish priests had interdicted all their parishioners, from fourteen to eighty, from coming to mass, except each of them was furnished with a skene of sixteen inches long in the blade and a large half-pike; as many of them as came unfurnished had their choice whether they would be excommunicated or pay seven shillings and sixpence for each offence. The orders which they had from the priests were, that they should be ready at an hour's warning, to go wheresoever they should have occasion to command them; and the business of the priests and their followers was, undoubtedly, to manage the protestants that were dispersed through the country, if their standing army should be drawn together, either against the north of Ireland, or if an English army should land. But the priests found another way to employ them immediately; that is, they sent them to plunder the protestants of their cattle and as much of their other goods as they could lay their hands on. They began at first to take away but some part, but in a little time they drove away whole flocks and herds, thousands of sheep, and hundreds of black cattle, in a night; great part of them they destroyed, and the rest they divided and kept as their own in the more mountainous and wilder parts of the country. And yet was there no remedy for the poor protestants; for either it was not safe to follow these robbers, so great were their numbers in many places; or if some of them were taken, they were rarely committed to prison by the justices of the peace, and then, to be sure, they would find out some way of revenge or other. Or if some few of them happened to be committed by some justice that perhaps had something more of sense and shame than others, they were befriended by some captain or other, and released out of gaol, as lusty, able men, fit for the king's service. This answered all crimes that could be objected against them."

"'Twas then," continues this writer, "a crime in a protestant to smile, or look pleasant; they would swear he was a whig in his heart, and held correspondence with the

prince of Orange's party. No man had, in two years before, improved either house or land, but they would affirm he knew that the prince of Orange intended to invade England. And as for the bishops that continued there, they affirmed that they stayed only to do mischief, and to betray king James's cause; such especially as continued in that part of the country where they intended to retreat if an English army should land before king James and the French succours, and the Irish should happen to be baffled by them, and that was into Connaught. The archbishop of Tuam and the bishop of Killaloe were the only two remaining bishops of that province, and continued there for the encouragement and preservation of the protestants, as long as they could without apparent danger of their lives. And so indeed did the others that left the kingdom. The archbishop of Tuam continued in that barbarous country even after they had plundered him, and taken away the very leaves he had kept for his table; and because he had happened, the summer before, to build up a steeple to the cathedral church of Tuam (where he intended to place six bells at his own charge), to build a small foot-bridge over a brook near his gardens, and to fall to work about some fish-ponds about his palace, the very townsmen that lived by him, and by such as resorted to him, gave out that he was certainly privy to the prince of Orange's design of coming into England, or would never have laid out so much money at that unseasonable time, when he might have expected to lose both church and palace. So acute are the malicious and revengeful, that they neither will want an opportunity, nor let slip the least pretence, of criminating the best man in the world, if they owe him a diskindness."

After describing the effect of Tyrconnell's indiscriminate commissions, and the encouragement given to outrages by the priests, this informant proceeds:—"They could dispense with their sacred and inviolable Lent fast, so that they did eat nothing but (as they call it) protestant beef and mutton. In their unusual satiety and wantonness, they pleased and sported themselves with the ruin of those poor men they had plundered. They would not kill a beef or a mutton before they had called a formal jury on him, and tried him for heresy. If they found, when their parties went out every night by turns, a hundred or eighty in

a company, that they brought in any small Irish cattle with no brand, and that they guessed by that rule belonged to an Irishman, the beasts were dismissed; but the delinquents that brought them in were called to an account, indicted, and fined in five or ten pounds, which they were to satisfy the society in stolen cattle over and above what they should bring in in their own night in which they were obliged to take their turn. But if the beasts were found to be branded, or, as they called it, to have a seal on them, and were in good case, as those that belonged to them that followed the English way of husbandry commonly were, they were then condemned for heretics, and immediately slaughtered. This may seem strange and ridiculous, but I aver it as a certain truth. A poor Englishman that I very well knew, who had but one beef, found her tied up with a rope in one of his neighbour's houses, the jury about her, and the priest of the parish, as judge, pronouncing sentence against her, which had been immediately executed, had not the owner come in at the door, and reprieved her from the axe, which was lifted up to give the blow. It would be endless here to give an account of all the stuff of this kind that I might write to my own knowledge; but there is one true story, so barbarous, that it ought not to be passed by, and that was acted in the parish church of Headford, in the county of Galway and diocese of Tuam, in Connaught. One major Haggarti made a garrison of their church, and his soldiers brought in as many of the choice sheep of a flock that belonged to one Gibbs, a protestant, and grazed near the church, as they thought they should have occasion for at that time; but they would not put them to death, they said, till they had given them a fair trial for their lives. And first a judge and jury are appointed, and one of the muttous put into the pulpit, where one of the villains pulls and hurts it till it bleats; then they cry, 'Down with the rogue; he preaches heretical doctrine.' And so, one by one, they were all condemned. From thence they carried them to the altar, on which they slaughtered them.

"So great was the havoc which these unsatiable robbers made in that miserable kingdom, (for they spared no manner of protestant, from him that had the greatest flocks and herds, to the poor man whose family, perhaps, lived on the milk of his two cows, a miserable stock in that country,)

that the lord deputy at length, partly by the daily loud complaints and importunate petitions of the despoiled, and especially by the advice of the more considerate officers of the army, who told him that if he did not suppress those unruly thieves and plunderers, 'twould occasion in some time a famine in the land, and there would not be meat left to support their army. The lord deputy, I say, was moved by these considerations to issue a proclamation, requiring all justices of the peace and other officers, both military and civil, to be aiding and assisting in the suppression of those thieves and robbers who thus infested and plundered the country; and who by this time did not only take away the poor protestants' cattle, and what they had without doors, but in many places, that is, wherever they could, broke open their houses, and took away their household goods, provisions, money, wearing apparel, and all things that were of value. These robbers had, in three several places of the kingdom (that I heard of), formed themselves into regiments and companies; each regiment consisted of ten companies, and each company of a hundred men. The three colonels had been all formerly outlawed and proclaimed rebels for robbery and theft. One of them was called Mac Gillea Gea, in the county of Leitrim and province of Connaught; the second kept in the mountains between the county of Limerick and county of Cork, in the province of Munster; and the third in the mountains of Wicklow, in the province of Leinster. So that each of them had his peculiar province; and it was an encroachment, and an occasion of a quarrel, if one of them should prey within another's territories. But they could not so engross this infernal trade to themselves, but each of them had within his precincts great numbers of interlopers. These regimented villains had a certain discipline and method of plundering. They sent out a hundred men each night by turns, to one part of the country one night, and to another part another night. By this you may judge it was not easy to suppress them; for though many of the principal officers of the army were very hearty in it, yet the private soldiers had shared so far with them that they were very loath to be instrumental, either in subduing or hindering them; nay, the very subaltern officers of the army did frequently meet and carouse with those other rapparee or merry-boy officers, as they called them-

selves. So that though many of the standing army were garrisoned near those mountains, on the passes by which these robbers made their incursions into the plain country, yet the effects of their being there were very inconsiderable, for the soldiers did not at all molest them in their roguery, except it were absolutely put upon them; then, perhaps, they took away some share of their prey, kept part of that for their own trouble, and returned some small part to the right owners, who durst not complain of these injuries, lest their throats should be cut, or their houses burnt by night over their heads, of which there have been several instances. And, indeed, the reparation that such as did complain of this kind of usage had was not worth running so great a hazard for it, being no more than a rebuke to the commander, and, perhaps, a command that things should be so no more. But some of the principal officers were as great robbers as the rabble, for they did not only, in many corporations, suffer their soldiers to take away the very meat out of the poor protestants' mouths, and to pillage their goods, but were sharers with them."

The same writer proceeds to instance the conduct of the commander of Athlone, an Irish officer of the name of Grace. "It was common with him if any of the protestants, either of the town or parts adjacent, had disobliged him, or any of his creatures, to send a file of musketeers for them, and commit them without more ado as prisoners to the castle as long as he pleased, though he had no civil power; his commission related only to military affairs. By the same authority he levied money on the protestant inhabitants, and forced the constables to collect it. He pretended it was for the king's service and the reparation of the castle, though indeed it was to put into his own pocket; and when a complaint happened to be made against him for this kind of dealings it was only made a jest of, as the tricks of a crabbed and surly old fellow. And to be sure his soldiers and dragoons did not fail to revenge his quarrel on the complainants; insomuch that many of the heads of families were forced to withdraw themselves into several parts of the country where they had friends or acquaintance; upon which he gave out that they had withdrawn themselves from their allegiance to the king, and that he was sure they intended to go over either to the lord Kingston or to the rebels of the north; and therefore he

sends out his soldiers to bring in all their goods and chattels for the king's use, that is, for his own. And his commands were so effectually executed that nothing was left behind, saving the bare walls of the houses which they plundered. There were many of this kind of governors in the kingdom, but I instance this man because I was an eye-witness to his proceedings.

"But it is not to be denied that some of the popish officers of the army, and some of the civil magistrates, seemed zealous to preserve the stock and cattle of the country from those common plunderers that made such havoc in it, which was by this time no easy task. For these freebooters began to stand in defiance of all that should oppose them; so dangerous and unruly is a rabble when they once understand their own strength and abilities. Their pretences for assembling themselves may, perhaps, be fair and specious, but the end of it may be fatal. Did our horses and our oxen know their own force, they would scorn to be wrought or ridden by creatures so many degrees more weak and feeble than themselves. This, indeed, was the case with the Irish mobile. Not all the proclamations their great lord Tyrconnell could issue, nor all the menaces the popish justices and their landlords could use to them, could keep them in any tolerable order, having their priests on their side, who did all the while encourage them to destroy all that belonged to the heretics, and who had no small share of the plunder.

"When the lord deputy found that no other means could prevail, he encouraged the protestants not only to defend their stock and houses against those robbers, but to destroy them wherever they found them actually committing their accustomed villainies; and to several of the protestants he gave protections to keep armed men in their house, some twenty, and some twelve, and smaller numbers he allowed to be kept by others, according to their quality. But the consequence hereof proved very unhappy to the protestants, who, having this encouragement from the lord deputy, behaved themselves so brisk against these rapparee men, killing several numbers of them, wounding and dispersing them, and rescuing their cattle from them, even where the villains were ten to one, that the government began to consider that if the protestants were allowed to keep those horses and arms they made so good use of, the Irish of the country would not be able to answer those ends for which

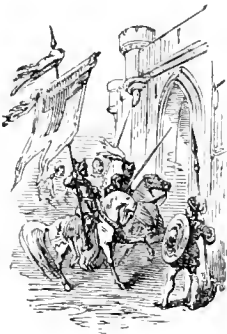
they were at first to appear in arms, that is, at least to keep the protestants under, and at home, should an army land from England, who should employ the Irish standing forces. Upon this, orders were issued through all parts of the kingdom, except those places where the protestants were actually in arms, to take away all our arms and serviceable horses. Upon the first notice of this the protestants immediately concluded that an English army was either landed in some part of the kingdom, or that the government had an account of their approaching. This encouraged the protestants in so many places to betake themselves to castles and strongholds, thinking that if they could defend themselves against flying parties and the rabble, the Irish army would be so employed by the forces from England, that there could be no formal sieges laid against them, and they should secure themselves, with their horses and arms, till they might find an opportunity of joining the English forces. But when these poor men found their mistake, they were forced to surrender, most of them on tolerable conditions, had they been performed; but the Irish, instead of observing the conditions they had promised them, sent them to gaol, tried them for high treason, and condemned them, executing some, and keeping great numbers in miserable captivity and slavery to this day; which is so well known in England that I shall say no more of it. And in other places where the poor protestants neither did nor could hold out, but gave the

soldiers that came to disarm them free admittance, these orders (you need not doubt) were effectually executed; for not only all the arms that could be found were taken away, but almost everything in many places that was made of iron, to the very spits, grates, nay, the keys and locks of doors, as useful to the king. Shammy waistcoats and breeches were called buff, and taken away as armour; nay, everything they could filch away, and no remedy at all for the sufferers. Under the notion of serviceable horses, all plough and work-horses were comprehended. If it were urged to them that the horses they took were not fit for the king's service, and consequently not comprehended in their orders from the government, it was answered that though they were not fit for troopers or dragoons, yet that they would serve for baggage-horses; and I have myself known many taken away, that when they appraised them, though they never intended to pay for them, were rated some of them at eighteen shillings, and some of them under, and great numbers at twenty shillings and thirty shillings a-piece. And thus were those poor people exposed in a naked and miserable condition to their enemies. Many of them did, indeed, conceal their arms and ammunition, but they were of no use to them, it being made penal to have them found, after a certain day, in their custody or houses."

Such facts, stated by persons who were present on the spot, furnish us with the best picture of the melancholy state of Ireland at this disastrous period.*

CHAPTER VIII.

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE MISERABLE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY; TRIALS AT WICKLOW; THE TWO HUNDRED PRISONERS OF GALWAY.



THE miserable condition to which Ireland was thus reduced may indeed be easily imagined from the foregoing statements. The open country, deserted in a great measure by its agricultural popu-

lation, lay everywhere waste, and reflecting people were alarmed with the prospect of a famine. Most of the protestant freeholders had either fled, or were crowded into prisons, charged with treasonable offences against the government. At Wicklow, alone, above a hundred protestants, many of them men of substance, were brought for trial on one day, for having resisted the order to deliver and interest in that kingdom, from the beginning of the reign of the late King James to this time: and of the sufferings of the protestants all along. By a clergyman lately escaped from thence."

* They are recorded in a pamphlet printed at London in the October of 1689, under the title, "A Short View of the Methods made use of in Ireland for the subversion and destruction of the protestant religion

up their arms and horses. Their trial could not be proceeded with, because even in a county so near Dublin as that of Wicklow a sufficient number of freeholders could not be found to form a jury. This occurred at the beginning of March, 1689, at the moment that Tyrconnell's government was apprehensive of the designs of king William, and alarmed at the riotous proceedings of the rapparees and their supporters, and the protestant lord chief justice Keating, who sat with the catholic judge Lynch in judgment on the prisoners of Wicklow, spoke to the grand jury, who were nearly all papists, in such terms as leave us no room to doubt that the descriptions given by the protestants themselves were not exaggerated. "I am glad," he said, "that I can say that the mischiefs fallen on a great part of this kingdom, and on no more than on this county, that is under the very eye of the government, I say I am glad it can be said to have arisen for the most part from a rabble of people, who have armed themselves without any direction from the government, and that with unusual weapons; I mean half pikes and skeines. Gentlemen, I must tell you plainly, it looks rather like a design to massacre and murder, than anything else. They do not belong to the army, neither are they any part of them. I am very far from laying this to the charge of any that are under command; though it is possible that some of them, under the scarcity they are in, do give their assistance or at least encouragement to these robbers; otherwise it could not be, that whole flocks and droves of cattle are daily driven away, and yet no one taken or brought to justice for it. The king is not wanting in his care, he has given directions to have the laws put in execution, that criminals may be brought in and punished; and the government has issued out many proclamations; but they are grown too familiar with them. You are to inquire into this matter, in order to bring to punishment not only them that steal, but those that receive. I am told that open markets are set up in this county of Wicklow; a fat bullock for five shillings, and a fat sheep for one shilling; but it will fall heavy on them at last. Divines say that God Almighty oftentimes makes the very crimes to become their own punishment; and I verily fear that a few months will produce a famine in this kingdom; and what succeeds, a pestilence, and the worst of all pestilences; for it is observed that a starved rot is the worst of all rots; it falls out

unhappily at this season of the year, when the cattle are breeding."

After alluding to the revolution which had taken place in England, and given a somewhat lengthy definition of treason, Keating proceeded as follows:—"The next thing that is felony, is concerning the goods of the subject, for an honest labouring man, that by the industry of his whole life has gotten a fair stock for the maintenance of himself, his wife, and children, at night goes to bed, and next morning when he arises he discovers he is a beggar and wants bread. Gentlemen, it would make every honest man's heart bleed to hear what I have heard since I came into this county; it is ill in other parts of the country, but here they spare not even the wearing clothes and habit of women and children, that they are forced to come abroad naked, without anything to cover their nakedness. So that, besides the oath you have taken, and the obligation of Christianity that lies upon you as you are Christians, I conjure you by all that is sacred, and as ever you expect eternal salvation, that you make diligent inquiry; let it never be said by any of you that it was your neighbour or your neighbour's servant did it, and you are sorry for it, but will not trouble yourselves; I tell you it is every man's business, and I beseech you look into it. If you were to do the most charitable work, as building of a bridge or chappel, or mending a highway, how many do you think of these men with half pikes and skeines would come to your assistance? not one of them, I'll engage. But if a house or town be to be plundered, they all run thither." Keating then turns his observations against the prisoners, by making what in this case was a rather specious distinction between resisting the robbers and resisting the government. "Numbers of people may meet for their own defence, if they should hear or see the country robbing and spoiling by a riotous multitude coming to burn and rob their houses; in this case they may meet and defend their goods, and apprehend the robbers, in order to bring them to justice; but after all this, they are not to contest with the government, nor do anything to the prejudice of that. I told you I would not trouble you with unnecessary matters, all are lost in the greatest of crimes and outrages that are committed daily in the country round about."

The sheriff of Wicklow had summoned a jury consisting almost entirely of papists

and men of no character, and, after three several pannels had been read, and successively challenged by the prisoners, two men only could be found capable of acting. The popish counsel wished to hinder the challenging, but they were overruled by Keating, who seems to have been now aiming at gaining favour with the protestants, and the scene, as described in the printed report of the trial, is sufficiently curious to deserve repeating:—

Sub-sheriff calls.—Will. Baker. My lord, he has a freehold.

Baker.—My lord, I have no freehold.

Keating.—You see the sub-sheriff is a fit man to be an officer; he is blind—he is indifferent.

High-sheriff calls.—Peter Ayris. *Answer.*—He is on the grand jury.

Keating.—Mr. Sheriff, why do you call such?

Sheriff.—I saw him in the court, and so I called him, my lord.

Keating.—There is already but five peremptory challenges made, so that they may challenge fifteen more peremptorily; and there is but two sworn, so that there wants ten.

Clerk of the Crown.—Sheriff, see if you can get any more.

Sheriff.—I see never a freeholder in the court.

* It appears that the moment these numerous protestants were arrested for refusing to deliver up their arms, their property was exposed to indiscriminate plunder, in which the soldiers in garrison at Wicklow took a principal part. The report of these Wicklow assizes gives the following account of an incident which occurred in court after the protestant prisoners were sent out:—

“Upon the taking these gentlemen prisoners, the soldiers and rabble plundered and spoiled all the English families in Ballinderry, Redrum, Balinaclash, &c., and the Irish women with their skeines came afterwards and stripped the women and children naked, leaving them in a most miserable and deplorable condition, having not left them bread or any food in several towns, but carried all away with them. And as an Irishman, a farmer declared to several at the assizes, in the hearing of this relator, one colonel Toole had for his share twenty-six horse-loads or more of plunder; and the lord of Louth's troop of dragoons that were quartered in Wicklow town had great quantities of woollen and linen cloth, women's clothes, pewter, and other goods in abundance. But the lord chief justice Keating coming there to the assizes, and having an account of the extreme poverty and misery the protestants thereabouts were reduced to, did encourage their petitioning, and where they could find their clothes, &c., he endeavoured to help them in the recovery of them. And Mr. Richard Lamb having ten fat bullocks taken away by colonel Toole's men, and brought to Wicklow, and there killed and eaten by the soldiers, he preferred a petition to the court, colonel Toole being present on the bench.

Keating.—Colonel Toole, you heard the petition read, do you know anything of these oxen Mr. Lamb had taken from him by your soldiers?

Colonel Toole.—My lord, I will tell you how it was; Mr. Lamb had sold the bullocks to Mr. Price, and as

Councillor Fitzpatrick.—My lord, the sheriff ought to be punished for his neglect.

Baron Lynch.—Sir, why did you not take care to return a jury of freeholders? You shall be fined for it.

Sheriff.—My lord, I have returned all the freeholders there is in the county. I sent yesterday above twenty miles for one gentleman here. They are all gone out of the country. I hope you do not expect I should go to the north, or Isle of Man, or England, or Scotland, among the rebels, to summon them.

Keating.—I do really believe you, Mr. Sheriff, you have done like an honest man. Mr. Fitzpatrick, what do you say in this case?

Fitzpatrick.—My lord, I cannot tell what to say.

It was finally agreed that most of the prisoners should be allowed to give bail, and that the case should stand over; and the court proceeded to cases of a different character. In spite of the innumerable outrages which, according to Keating's confession, had been committed in Wicklow, and although so many were brought up for refusing to part with the arms which were their only protection against the violence of the plunderers,* only three persons concerned in such outrages had been committed, one of whom was a Cavenagh, a name long

they were driving them to Balinderry, the soldiers met them and took them away.

Keating.—But Mr. Lamb was at home at his own house, and not at Balinderry; the bullocks were to be paid for upon Mr. Lamb's delivering them to Mr. Price at Balinderry; your soldiers took them away from his servants several miles from Balinderry; I see no reason why Mr. Lamb should not be paid for them.

Colonel Toole.—My lord, colonel Sheldon came down soon after with the king's army, and I advised with him, and he ordered they should be killed for the army, which was done accordingly.

Keating.—Pray colonel Toole, however, Mr. Lamb ought to be paid for them; he was not concerned with Balinderry, but kept his own house.

Councillor Fitzpatrick.—My lord, his house was a garrison too.

Mr. Hancock (the counsel for the prisoners.)—For shame, Mr. Fitzpatrick! a thatched cabin a garrison! I find you are for making all protestants rebels that live peaceably at home in their own houses.

Colonel Toole.—My lord, I have no more to say to the matter.

Clerk of the Crown, calling over the gentlemen of the county, called one — Savil, gent.

Savil.—Here I am, my lord, God knows, a poor old gentleman, being robbed of all, and not a penny left me to buy a pint of drink.

Keating.—Pray, sir, when were you robbed?

Savil.—The last Wednesday they came and took away what little they had left untaken before, my wife and children's clothes, robbing me of all.

Keating.—Pray, sir, what value may your loss be?

Savil.—Truly, my lord, I have not yet computed my loss, but they have taken away all. I desire your lordship will discharge me from attending the court, for I have not wherewithall to subsist while I am here.

Keating.—Sir, I am sorry for you; I discharge you.”

celebrated among Wicklow plunderers. We will quote another passage from these trials, as a curious picture of the manner in which they were conducted, as well as of the state of the country. The evidence against Cavenagh had stated that when captured he was armed with a skeine, on which lord chief justice Keating demanded of him—

Keating.—Sir, how durst you carry such an unlawful weapon?

Cavenagh.—My lord, I am a butcher; it was a outhers' knife.

Keating.—Aye, I do not question but thou canst butcher upon occasion!

One Hicky spoke.—My lord, he is no butcher, but one of the greatest rogues in the country round us. I have been in pursuit of him several times.

Cavenagh.—He is a murderer, my lord, do not believe him.

Evidence.—My lord, it was near ten inches long, thick at the back, and sharp point, every way a skeine.

Keating.—Is that your butcher's knife? you are a great villain, for carrying such a weapon!

Cavenagh.—I was ordered to have a skeine, my lord.

Keating.—Pray, sir, who ordered you?

Cavenagh.—The priest of the parish.

Keating.—A priest, sir? (*turning to his brother judge.*) Do you hear that, brother?

Baron Lynch.—What priest, sir? What priest? What is your priest's name?

Keating.—Hold, brother. Come, sir, I shall not ask your priest's name; I believe you will have occasion to see your priest soon, to do you a better office than to advise you to carry skeines. (*And looking towards colonel Toole and two priests on the bench next sheriff Byrne.*) A priest, gentlemen; a priest is a minister, and a minister of the Gospel; his doctrine ought to be peace, for the Gospel is a doctrine of peace. When our Saviour came into the world, peace was proclaimed; and when he went out of the world, he left it for a legacy to his disciples, "My peace be with you." And pray, sir, tell your priest so from me, when you see him. It is not for priests to arm or animate such villains as you are for mischief. I shall not ask your priest's name.

Clancy, an Irish gent.—My lord, he belies the priest; he is a rogue.

Cavenagh.—I do not. The priests of every parish did give orders to get half pikes and skeines; and they were getting together in companies in every parish.

Keating.—Who were they that were getting together? such fellows as you?

Cavenagh.—No, my lord, better men than I; a great many that are here in court.

The result was that Cavenagh, the boldest of the prisoners, was acquitted, and the other two found guilty, which drew from justice Keating the severe reflection on the jury, "Gentlemen, you have acquitted the greater villain; at your door let it lie!" And in pronouncing judgment, he said, "It is a great misfortune and sin to be guilty of such crimes at any time; but yours is so much

the worse, because it falls in a time when there are such general and vast depredations in the country, that many honest men go to bed possessed of considerable stocks of black and white cattle (gotten by great labour and pains, the industry of their whole lives,) and in the morning when they arise, not anything left them; but turned out of all, to go a begging, all being taken away by rebels, by thieves and robbers, the sons of violence, that make everything they lay their hands on their own; on this side the Cape of Good Hope (where are the most brutish and barbarous people we read of) there is none like the people of this country; nor so great a desolation as in this kingdom, at this day, anywhere to be found, and particularly in this county. It is come to that pass, that a man that loses the better part of his substance, chooses rather to let that and what he has besides go, than come to give evidence. And why? Because he is certain to have his house burnt and his throat cut, if he appears against them." This was strong language for an officer of the crown in Keating's position.

In such a state of things it is not to be wondered at, if the protestants of any substance, who could not fly from the country (for an embargo was now laid upon the shipping), sought protection in Dublin, or withdrew to the north, where their brethren of Ulster were rising in self-defence. In the south, from whence the distance was greater and escape more difficult, their sufferings were in many instances more severe, and many were executed as rebels and traitors in consequence of their resistance to the order for disarming them. One or two ineffectual attempts appear to have been made to unite the protestant inhabitants in Munster, and the adventures of a party of them, known as the prisoners of Galway, made much noise at the time, and deserves to be related in detail, as helping to complete our picture of the time. Alarmed by the fate which seemed to threaten them, and some of them stripped of their property and thirsting for vengeance for the outrages to which their families had been subjected, about a hundred gentlemen from the neighbourhood of Cork and other parts of Munster met at Mallow, well horsed and armed, at the beginning of March, 1689, their design being, as far as we can understand it, to co-operate with such of their friends as had seized upon some of the little forts, to hold them against the catholics. But they had no

sooner reached Mallow, than they received intelligence that those on whom they depended had surrendered, and, as they had already compromised themselves, they determined to make an attempt to reach Sligo, which was in the hands of the protestants. Sir Thomas Southwell, with several old officers, appear to have acted as their leaders.

Accordingly, they marched from Mallow in the direction of Limerick, intending to cross the Shannon at one of its well known passes, and the evening of the first day they "baited at a widow's house about six or ten miles from Limerick, and after reposing three or four hours continued their march by moonlight." "Early next morning," one of the party tells us, "captain Mills overtook us with a party of horse. Soon after, riding near a strong castle, with a large bawn well walled in, we understood it was fortified by English, where we took an opportunity to refresh our horses. Upon which there went a rumour that my lord of Clare had taken the castle, which made the sparks of the country think them happiest that could reach us first, to share in the plunder. Having advice of it, we drew up near the gate, to receive about twenty horse, that were riding full speed to us; but when they perceived the mistake, they hung their ears, tamely suffering us to disarm and dismount them. But at the request of the garrison, who were loath to leave their families, and understanding by us the state of the country, which might well make them despair of holding out, that they might fare the better, we returned both horses and arms. Thence we marched towards Brian's Bridge; the roads being very bad, we rid scattering, the front at least a mile from the rear, which a party of dragoons perceiving, lay in ambush, and as we moved by, they made about twelve shots at us altogether, which by God's providence did no hurt, most of us that were there being armed with back, breast, and head pieces. But we soon answered them in their own language, each man firing both his pistols and carbine before we stirred out of the place, which proved fatal to some of them, two being killed and a third wounded; which made the rest imagine we were angry, and rudely, without begging our pardon, they run away. But, to little purpose, we imprudently hunted them for two or three hours; their horses being fresh, they got clear off, only one of our bullets happening to overtake the cornet's horse, gave his master an opportunity

to exercise his feet for three or four miles with us."

This day they reached the Shannon, and crossed over Brian's Bridge, with only some slight opposition on the Clare side. They were now in the county of Clare, and directed their course to the small episcopal town of Killaloe, which was then occupied by a company of Irish foot, who held the protestant bishop in a sort of confinement. "When they perceived us coming near," says the narrator just quoted, "they would fain have fortified themselves in the cathedral, but the poor old bishop refused the key, for which I fear he has sufficiently suffered. Then they bethought themselves to send a messenger to know what we would be at. Our answer was, that we desired to hurt none that desired to be peaceable, which they made a promise to be, whereupon we did resolve to make that our stage for that night, so that every man's business was only to find the best quarters he could for himself and his horse. It was my luck to hit where I met a friend, and yet a papist, who was extremely importunate that I should waive the thoughts of going any further on my design. . . . Then, finding how I was bent, he charged me not to offer to stay there that night, for that, notwithstanding his promise, the captain had sent an express to Limerick, and that he did not question but about midnight they would be upon us. Which when I acquainted sir Thomas Southwell with, we resolved upon a further march. While some were getting ready, others took occasion to disarm a guard that had the bishop's horses in their custody, which trouble we eased them of. Mr. Hawkins, the clergyman's brother, and some of the bishop's servants went along with us. The arms, according to our promise, we returned, and, taking the bishop's blessing, we went that night to Mr. Purdon's, near the Shannon side. As soon as we alighted, I advised sir Thomas to procure a trusty servant of the house to go to Killaloe to give us an account if there should any follow us thence, and then Will. Southwell and I stole to bed, but as soon as we had the benefit of the moon, we made ready to move forward, fearing that our enemies should break Scariff Bridge, there being a company of them in Tomgrany Castle."

The fugitives were thus proceeding direct north, and they presented a somewhat formidable array, for their number had now increased to between two or three hundred. But a march of several days and nights

incessantly, over difficult roads, and with a very inadequate share of rest and food, had reduced both men and horses to such a condition that it was all they could do to drag themselves along. To add to their distress, the alarm of their approach had gone before them, and the high sheriff of Galway, James Power, had raised the county, and, hovering on the hills which lay between Clare and Galway, he had sent out treacherous guides to lead them to the worst passes. One of the party, who has left rather an amusing account of their adventures, which was printed at Cork in 1691, tells us how, after leaving Mr. Purdon's house, they "travelled all night, hungry and thirsty, cold and sleepy, over the most barbarous mountains, deep ways, and uncouth woods that ever I beheld before; having all night our ears filled with the ominous noise of a howling dog, which continually ran up and down our ranks howling without ceasing. But when the morning came, it produced many sad symptoms of a noxious day; for besides the howling dog, our road was crossed by many hares, one of which was in a manner all white. And also several of our company, as well as myself, who were never subject to bleeding, had some drops of blood fall from their nostrils. These ominous signs prognosticated the consequence of our ill-managed design.

"This was our condition," he continues, "when, on the side of a barren mountain, those who were awake perceived themselves descending into a spacious plain; which was not long considered, ere we beheld several parties of horse and foot gazing from the champaign country upon us, and scouring from one place to another, as though they bore hasty intelligence of our arrival. As we drew nigher, their numbers increased. At length we perceived them to be the armed rabble, who were provided with pikes, skeines, &c., and in that manner in great numbers they followed us aloof off. Nor could we by fair persuasions entreat them to retire, until at length we perceived a troop of horse approaching to meet us; and then we truly supposed that the country had intelligence of our coming, and were drawn together to oppose us. This did not in the least daunt us; for instead of avoiding them, we went at least half a mile out of the road to meet them. But before we were come within two furlongs of them, the troop of horse was increased to several troops, and we were likewise closely followed by the rabble, who by this time were four or five

hundred; yet some few of our rear would now and then make them all fly like lightning at the dreadful sound of a small pistol.

"Our guide most treacherously led us into a large bog, through which was but one ugly, deep, narrow passage, where our adversaries had placed themselves with great advantage to receive us. Whilst in this bog we put ourselves into some disorderly ranks, we saw several ambushes of musketeers ready to give us a blow, before we could attack the horse, and infinite parties both of foot and horse on all sides the country tumbling down upon us; so that before we could resolve how to order our business, we found ourselves on all sides surrounded with armed men. Whereupon captain Bartholomew Purdon, with his pistol in one hand, and sword in the other, bravely spurred towards the party of horse, and meeting with captain Burke, who was chief thereof, asked him if he would exchange a pistol; which he refused, having other business in hand. For a servant of sir Thomas Southwell's likewise rode to the party, and told the officers that those he came from were a company of gentlemen, who having lost their substance at home, were now travelling for their lives' preservation, without designing prejudice to any; and therefore desired that they might not be opposed."

The high sheriff now came forward, and after some bickering and treating, the protestant gentlemen, conscious that there was no hope of escape, agreed to surrender their arms, on conditions which were assured to them by the Irish. They were, that the swords and pistols of the gentlemen, with their horses, should be restored, that nags should be provided for their servants, and that without any other hurt they should all be furnished with passes and envoys to any part of the kingdom they chose except the north. Satisfied with these favourable conditions, they suffered themselves to be stripped of their arms and plundered, and then, when entirely in the power of their enemies, they began to perceive that it was not the intention of the latter to fulfil the conditions. The same night (it was the sixth of March, 1689,) they were conducted to Loughrea, where the Irish forces in this part were quartered. After being detained at this place about a week, exposed to all sorts of privations and insults, they were dragged to Galway, and "were all conveyed into the county court, and delivered up to the high sheriff, who for a good handful of

money suffered as many as he thought gentlemen to be conducted to several private quarters in the town, and the other poor abject creatures to take their lodging on the cold ground. Here we remained some time without knowing what they intended to do with us, until judge Martin came to town to hold an assizes, with a pipe before him instead of a trumpet; and by this time we understood that king James was landed and arrived in Cork. Two days afterwards, the coming of some friends confirmed the truth of king James's arrival, one of whom had obtained a reprieve from him for our lives, if we were found guilty of treason by their law, which they intended to make us, right or wrong."

On the sixteenth of March, they were accordingly brought to trial, and, having feed counsel in their defence, they declared their resolution of putting in the plea of *not guilty*: but judges and counsel united in persuading them to confess their guilt and throw themselves on the king's mercy, as the only means of saving their lives. They accordingly submitted, and the next day they heard themselves sentenced as traitors to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. From the court they "were carried to three apartments, some to a strong public house, with a continual guard at the door; others to the marshalsea; and the rest to a wild and cold castle, worse than the common gaol." Thus they were kept in a state of continual apprehension, reprieved from time to time, yet closely guarded and watched, and reminded that their sentence was continually impending over them. Frequent reports of the successes of the protestants in the north, enraged the rabble of Galway, and the prisoners were as often exposed to their threats and insults. One or two unsuccessful efforts were made to effect their exchange for catholic prisoners in England or in Ulster.

In this manner the time dragged slowly on till the end of the year 1689, when our narrator proceeds to tell us, "One morning, as I sat copying a small landscape (to keep myself from idleness and to divert the tedious hours,) sir Thomas Southwell's man came hastily to me. Before he spoke, I could perceive by his ghastly looks that he had some fatal tale to tell me. And I remembered an ominous dream I had a night or two before; for I dreamt that I had a marble coat most delicately carved with curious foliage; and I told my dream the

next day to my lord Rounsell, the lady Derick, and some others, who lodged in the the same house, and I likewise told them that I did believe it either signified imprisonment or death unto me, for I supposed that the marble coat represented either a prison or a tomb. Whilst I considered this dream, and the man's pale, affrighted visage, he came close unto me, and speaking or rather whispering in a quivering tone, scarcely intelligible, 'Have you heard the news?' said he. 'What news?' said I. Then he told me that the earl of Clanrickard sent his major this morning unto us, who having called sir Thomas and the rest of us together, 'gentlemen,' said he, 'You could not be satisfied with his majesty's mercy which he hath hitherto afforded you in sparing your lives, but now, as we understand, you have correspondence with the northern rebels, and plot with his enemies; therefore I am sent to bid you all prepare for death, which you have now the second time deserved.' To this purpose was the ghastly speech he made; and I confess I was surprised with a chillness all over my body at the rehearsal thereof. And before I had time to consider it, a friend came into the room in most frantic gestures, crying and tearing. I must confess it spoiled my painting; I laid down my pallet and pencils, and endeavoured to appease my friend, but in vain, for my friend would not be comforted. We looked up towards heaven; and so taking my pallet, &c., I sat down to work again, but I found that was likewise in vain; for though my heart was as quiet as I could expect at such a dreadful warning, yet my hand did so shake, that I found I could not finish what I was about at that time. Wherefore setting my work aside, I committed myself to Almighty God, and so went down amongst the family, whom I found in a hurry, drowning themselves in sorrow and tears. And we were assured that even some of the papists' wives of the town miscarried that night, so much were they concerned for us, and affrighted at the news. About an hour after I heard this, the mayor, with a file of soldiers, came to fetch Mr. John Lundy (my comrade) and me away to the house where the rest were confined; in the midst of whom we walked through the streets, assuming the cheerfullest countenance our fears would let us, whilst we beheld several of the protestant merchants and others of our acquaintance peeping out of the windows, with sorrow and tears plainly to be perceived in

their faces, seeming to bid us farewell for ever. And soon after, to make the matter worse, all the protestant men were turned out of town in Ere-Connaught, where there were a few cabins to entertain them. At last we came to the confinement, and found our poor companions in a woeful consternation; some bewailing their deplorable condition, others their former mis-spent time, and few or none without some visible symptoms of the apprehensions of a sad consequence. After we had remained amongst the thickest of them about an hour, consulting I know not what, we went to public prayer; and whereas formerly we had but few at that exercise, now not one of the company staid from it, but all unanimously kneeled down to supplicate for mercy from Him who now, we knew, was only able to deliver us. Some time afterwards I was sent for to write a petition to the lord Clanrickard; the substance of which was, to desire him to give us longer time to prepare ourselves for death, and in that time to admit us to send somebody to his majesty, to lay our innocence at his royal feet. He answered, that longer time to repent he gave us, but as for sending to his majesty, he would not permit it."

In this fearful state of suspense and uncertainty, hourly terrified with rumours and menaces,* they were allowed to remain a few days, and then they were informed that "all that had past was only a frolic of the lord Clanrickard's, to frighten us (as he said) into better manners and greater sobriety." The more favoured of the prisoners were then restored to their former lodgings; sir Thomas Southwell was set at liberty by an order from the king; and new attempts were made to exchange the rest for catholic prisoners in the north, where affairs were taking a more threatening character. Offers were next made to the Galway prisoners to enter the French service, and then part were sent on parole into Munster to endeavour to obtain their ransom; but in spite of their protestations, they were again seized, and they were finally

* There is an amusing, and sometimes an affecting, *naivete* in this narrative, which bespeaks the character of the man and of the times. "The next day," he says, "being Saturday, we kept as a preparation for the blessed Sacrament, which we designed to receive on Sunday, that we might be the fitter to die on Monday or Tuesday next; which we were told were the days appointed for our execution. Saturday morning several beams were carried along under our windows; which they said were to make gallowses for us; and we were so strictly guarded with soldiers with their lighted matches both within doors and

sent to Dublin, where they were joined by their comrades whom they had left in Galway. When they had remained in Dublin about a month, in the same state of uncertainty which they had experienced so long at Galway, news arrived that king William had landed in the north, and king James immediately marched with the troops in Dublin to the camp at Dundalk. "Whereupon the commanders he left behind began to harass us again, and at length put us all into the round church of Dublin, and about four score other prisoners of war amongst us, so that in that little church we were near three hundred men."

"But this," continues our narrative, "being in the month of May, and the weather extreme hot, the breaths of so many men penned up in one room almost stifled one another, so that we got seven or eight great lights taken down to give air to breathe in. There was likewise a grave or vault fallen in, out of which came a putrefied earthy smell, rank enough to strike one of a weak constitution into one of the graves we trod on; yet it pleased God that not one of us as much as sickened whilst we remained in the church. And here I cannot but praise the great charity of the poor protestants of Dublin, who daily sent in such treats unto us, that we rather feasted like princes, than eat and drank like prisoners. And they were not only so kind as to send us necessities, but also came themselves to comfort us; and none came empty-handed. The quakers were no less charitable than those of our own persuasion. For those of Cork gave our agent twenty guineas for us at one time. And whilst we were in the round church, Amos Strettle, an honest charitable man, brought me thirty pounds, which the quakers of Dublin sent us, and ordered me to give every man an equal share thereof; which I did. Some of us who could climb had great delight in looking out of the windows, which had a prospect to the sea, where we could daily behold the English ships showing themselves to the town. The first of June (as we without, that it was impossible for any of us to make our escapes. Now you might see every corner of the rooms filled up with somebody on their knees:

And those who never pray'd before,
Call now upon the heavenly power.

"And I remember I could not forbear smiling, to see one of our company very devoutly upon his knees, *reading the order for matrimony*, with as much zeal as though it were a prayer fitting his condition. . . . Never was a more woeful house; for, go where you would, you could hear nothing but sighs and lamentations, sobs, prayers, and doleful deploration."

picked it out of some of the silly souls that guarded us) we knew the armies were engaged at the Boyne, but could learn nothing of the consequences that day. So the night came on, and we all went to our pew-chambers; but had not well settled ourselves to sleep, when we were surprised with the noise of many trumpets, and the trampling of innumerable horses, which all night long marched hastily by us. We were of several opinions, nor could we tell what to conclude, though many of us guessed the truth. But we were likewise in a deep apprehension of some present and sudden danger; for our guards were very busy with their lighted matches, and whispering to one another, the officers running up and down to the sentries, priming, trying, and charging their pieces; and truly we thought they intended to kill us that night. But in the morning very early we looked out of the windows, and there we saw the horse that had been marching by us all night grazing (with their furniture on) in the college meadows. And we likewise saw several

other parties coming by, and knew them, and plainly perceived by the consternation, bloody, dirty, and hasty disorder they were in, that they were certainly routed; but their fears would not let them stay above an hour or two; for then they drew up, and with flying colours marched towards Limerick. If you had seen us, our faces would have shown you the nature of our joy; but a pen cannot express it. To conclude, about two or three of the clock in the afternoon, when the affrighted army had got pretty clear from the town, then the company that guarded us went sneaking away and left us to ourselves. So after eighteen months bondage amongst the Irish Egyptians, the great king William (a second Moses) by the assistance of Almighty God set us at liberty."

Thus ended the misfortunes of the prisoners of Galway. Such episodes are the most valuable illustrations of history, because they make us acquainted with the sentiments and condition of the people; but we must now return to the course of events.

CHAPTER IX.

INSURRECTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS AMONG THE PROTESTANTS IN THE NORTH; LONDONDERRY AND THE ENNISKILLENNERS.



WHILE in the south the protestants were weak in numbers, in the northern part of the island they were more numerous than their adversaries, and the alarming reports which arrived daily put them on their guard. Two of the northern towns, Londonderry and Enniskillen, distinguished themselves by their early resistance to king James's government. Enniskillen, a small town, was the only borough in the county of Fermanagh, the ancient territory of the turbulent sept of the Maguires; it is situated on an island in the narrow part of Lough Erne, and was entirely inhabited by resolute protestants. Londonderry, situated on the west side of Lough Foyle and by it communicating with the sea, was a much larger

place, and was surrounded with a strong wall strengthened with bastions, but its fortifications were not capable of sustaining a siege from a regular army. It had been garrisoned with a regiment composed in a great measure of protestants, under the command of lord Mountjoy, himself a staunch protestant, but, on the first alarm of the expedition of the prince of Orange, when troops were sent from Ireland to assist king James, Tyrconnell, who was not remarkable for his foresight, withdrew the garrison from Londonderry and recalled it to Dublin. The lord deputy soon saw his error in thus leaving James's interests in the north unprotected, and he determined to correct it.

The protestants of Ulster had already begun to hold consultations for joining together in self-defence. Parties arose in the counties of Down, Donegal, Tyrone, Armagh, and Monaghan, under the direction

of such men as lord Mount-Alexander, lord Blaney, sir Arthur Rawdon, Skeffington, and others. It was to the earl of Mount-Alexander, as we have said before, a zealous protestant nobleman who was considered as the chief of the northern league, that the letter was addressed giving information of the pretended design of a general massacre to be begun on the ninth of December, 1688. On the first of December, just a week before the copy of this threatening letter was published in Enniskillen, the provost of that town received orders from Dublin to provide for two foot companies which were to be quartered upon them. When, therefore, the design of the massacre was noised abroad, the Enniskilleners coupled it with the threat to burthen them with a garrison, and, remembering that this town had afforded a safe asylum to the fugitives in the massacre of forty-one, they resolved to resist, although ill provided with arms and ammunition.

In the mean time Tyrconnell sent the earl of Antrim's regiment, consisting entirely of papists, Irishmen, and Highlanders, to form a garrison at Londonderry. The intelligence of the pretended design of a general massacre was conveyed to George Phillips, Esq., at the little town of Newtown-Limavady, on the 6th of December, the same day that lord Antrim's soldiers, about twelve hundred wild-looking and ill-disciplined men, followed by a crowd of women and children, entered that town on their way to Londonderry. The inhabitants were seized with a sudden terror, and took them for the savage instruments of Irish ferocity. A copy of the letter to lord Mount-Alexander was forwarded the same day to the magistrates of Londonderry, and next morning a messenger was dispatched with the further intelligence of the arrival of these suspicious-looking visitors, and a strong representation to the citizens to put themselves on their guard. When he arrived there, he found the people of Londonderry in the utmost alarm, assembling in groups about the streets, discussing the threatening intelligence which had just been published, and their apprehensions were increased by the certain information that some companies of lord Antrim's soldiers were already approaching the city. In an instant the whole city was in an uproar, and it was proposed to close the gates against the intruders. One of the aldermen, named Tomkins, consulted with one of the principal nonconformist ministers, who warmly approved of imme-

diately resistance, and dispatched messengers to the neighbouring parishes to urge them to assemble and hurry to the assistance of the citizens; but when Tomkins took with him another alderman named Norman, and proceeding to ask the advice of the bishop, found him totally adverse to it, they seemed to have dropped this design, and the magistrates and chief citizens, much against the will of many of them, were preparing to receive the popish garrison without resistance.

But the nonconformist minister already mentioned, whose name was Gordon, had in the meanwhile hurried forth and preached resistance to the people in the streets. Some young men of Londonderry, who were active in the tumult, spread the same spirit. At this moment it was announced that the soldiers had arrived at the gates. In fact three companies, under the command of a lieutenant and ensign, having arrived at the water-side, the officers ferried over to exhibit their authority to the magistrates. It is said that the latter wished to gain time, and recommended that the soldiers should be quartered outside until next day, but the latter without further ceremony passed the water, landed outside the walls, and were already at the gates, when eight or nine young men, bolder than the rest, drew their swords, and having seized the keys of the city, drew up the bridge and locked the gate. Other young men joined them, and, having closed the three other gates of the city, and placed guards at each, they repaired to the market-place to exhort and encourage their fellow-citizens.

Some of the graver citizens were alarmed at this daring act, and apprehensive of the consequences. The deputy-mayor and sheriffs, who were catholics, with the two officers and some other persons of influence, proceeded to the market-place and endeavoured to persuade the citizens assembled there to return to their obedience. But they had by this time all caught the enthusiasm of the first authors of the revolt, and, refusing to listen to the threats or promises of the magistrates, a party of them hastened to the magazine. One of the sentinels, who was reputed to be a papist, fired upon the assailants, and wounded the leader of the riot; upon which the sentinel was disarmed and thrown into the city dungeon, and the mob became more exasperated and more resolute. They would not even listen to the exhortations of the bishop,

who also had repaired to the market-place, and remonstrated in vain against this open provocation of the government then in existence. In the meantime the soldiers waited impatiently outside the walls, until, warned by the repeated threats of the citizens to fire upon them, they passed the water again to rejoin their companions.

So far the multitude had acted upon the impulse of the moment, without the encouragement or support of any person of weight in the place; but in the afternoon David Cairnes, esq., a protestant gentleman of the neighbourhood, having been informed of what had taken place, came into Londonderry to encourage the insurgents. Having visited the walls, and the guards which had been placed there by the populace, he encouraged the latter by loudly proclaiming his approval of their conduct, and then visited such of the magistrates and citizens of note as were known to be the most zealous advocates of the protestant cause. Alderman Norman and several others who secretly rejoiced in what had taken place, now joined openly in the movement, and a meeting was held at the guard-house, at which it was resolved to send messengers to the principal gentry of the country around, to state their determination of taking up arms in self-defence, and to request their concurrence and assistance. The answers were generally of a satisfactory character, and as the fear of a general massacre still hung over their heads, any measure of resistance was considered to be justifiable. That night the city of Londonderry was fortified as well as possible in the hurry of the moment in open rebellion against the authority of king James, and next day the magazine was opened, and such arms and ammunition as were found in it taken out for the use of the citizens, who now seemed all inspired with the same spirit, and declared for a resolute defence.

On the eighth, the bishop, alarmed at the proceedings of the citizens, left the town, and retired to Raphoe. Their courage, however, was raised by the arrival of several bodies of protestants from the country; some were led merely by their zeal for the cause, others provoked at the rudeness of the Irish soldiers who still lay at Newtown-Limavady and before Londonderry, and more were alarmed with the apprehensions of massacre; all looked upon Londonderry as their only place of refuge, and applauded the spirit shown by its citizens. The latter now proceeded

to form themselves into companies, and to expel the papists from the town. The next day, instead of the anticipated news of plunder and massacre, the post from England brought intelligence of the successful progress of the prince of Orange, and the particulars of the desertion of king James by prince George of Denmark, and the duke of Ormond, which excited so much enthusiasm among the citizens of Londonderry, that they fired off in triumph two of their largest guns from the walls. The Irish companies encamped before the town, alarmed at this display and at the appearance of various small parties of horse and foot on the heights in the neighbourhood, judged it prudent to make a precipitate retreat.

The earl of Antrim had lodged the preceding night in the house of Mr. Phillips at Newtown-Limavady, and on the morning of the ninth he took his host with him in his coach towards Londonderry. At the distance of about a mile from the city they met the Irish companies in retreat, and received from them the first distinct intelligence of what had taken place, but disfigured with extraordinary exaggerations. Mr. Phillips was sent forward alone, to ascertain the true state of things; he found the city gates closed, and as coming from the earl of Antrim he was not admitted without difficulty. He saw the citizens armed, and prepared for a vigorous defence, under the direction of Mr. Cairnes, who acted as governor, and he then without any hesitation declared his willingness to join with them, if they would but act so that some colour of force might be put upon him in what he did, and he was accordingly, in a public assembly of the citizens, threatened with confinement if he refused to concur with them. Upon this he wrote a letter to the earl of Antrim, informing him that he was forcibly detained by the citizens, and advising him to give up the project of compelling them to receive a garrison; and the citizens of Londonderry, glad to have secured the fellowship of a man of high character and great weight in the country, unanimously chose Phillips, of Newtown-Limavady, their governor. Next day, Mr. Cairnes, their first governor, was despatched as their agent to England. The earl of Antrim retired to Coleraine, and after his departure, governor Phillips repaired to Newtown-Limavady, and proved to the citizens that he was not unworthy of their choice, by raising for the service of the city, a body of between three and four hundred

horse, and two hundred horse were at the same time raised for them by William Hamilton of Moyah. Companies of horse and foot were also raised by other gentlemen.

The example of Londonderry had meanwhile encouraged the Enniskilleners, who, as we have stated, were also threatened with a garrison. On Thursday, the 13th of December, intelligence was first brought to Enniskillen that the two companies which were to be quartered in that town were actually on their march. Next day, news arrived that they had reached Clones; on Saturday, the 15th, they were at Maguire's Bridge; and at ten o'clock on Sunday morning, while the Enniskilleners were in church, they were suddenly disturbed at their devotions by the alarming intelligence that the two companies, followed by a numerous rabble of disorderly Irish, had reached the village of Lismella, distant only about four miles. The protestants of Enniskillen rushed from church, armed in haste, and prepared to meet their enemies. During the last two days, the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, as at Londonderry, had come into the town with small bodies of horse and foot, declaring their resolution to stand together in the common cause, so that when they were now drawn out, they amounted to about two hundred foot and a hundred and fifty horse, and with this force they determined to march out and meet the Irish companies on the road. One of the chief men of the vicinity, Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., at the same time drew up at about a mile from the town with a hundred horse, ready to give his assistance if necessary. But the Irish companies no sooner saw the Enniskilleners approaching in good order towards them than, without waiting to parley, they took to their heels, and never ceased running till they reached their previous quarters at Maguire's Bridge, and their officers, who are said to have been disturbed at their dinner by the alarm, followed the example of their men, and had some difficulty in keeping pace with them. They remained that night at Maguire's

Bridge, and next morning continued their retreat to Cavan.

Thus were secured two very important points of support for the protestants of the north. The people of Enniskillen had already, on the 15th of December, sent their messengers to the citizens of Londonderry to demand their alliance and support. On the 18th, they held a public meeting, at which they determined to continue firm in the course they had adopted, and they chose for their governor the same Gustavus Hamilton* who had already exhibited so much zeal in their cause. Hamilton immediately caused two foot companies to be raised in and about the town, and, having raised a good troop of horse and a foot company out of his own tenantry, he took up his residence in the castle as protestant governor of Enniskillen: On the 20th, messengers were sent from Enniskillen to Londonderry, to give a full account of what had been done in the former place, and to propose a strict league of friendship between them.

At this moment Londonderry was threatened with a new attack. Tyrconnell was disconcerted and enraged at the sudden spirit of resistance which had shown itself in the north, and he prepared to suppress it, but he found it necessary to act at first with caution, and with a show of conciliation. Lord Mountjoy, and Lundy, his lieutenant-general, were immediately dispatched with six companies to reduce the rebellious city to obedience. They marched into Ulster, and when lord Mountjoy reached Armagh, he dispatched a messenger to Londonderry, to desire the citizens would send commissioners to treat with him at Raphoe. Mountjoy, as a protestant nobleman and their former governor, was not unacceptable to them, but they objected to the papists in his army, and no representations could prevail upon them to admit them. After several conferences, lord Mountjoy, who had been, it appears, entrusted with the fullest powers to treat, was admitted on condition that a free and general pardon should be granted

* "A gentleman that was a justice of the peace in the county of Fermanagh, of which Enniskillen is the county town. His father Lodowick was brother to the late lord of Glenawly in Ireland, both sons of Archibald Hamilton, archbishop of Cashell in Ireland, had been both colonels under Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, and both raised to the dignity of lords in that kingdom. The lord Lodowick married his lady (who is mother to our governor) in Sweden, she was a great fortune to him, and 'tis said she is nearly related to the crown of Denmark

and Swedland; but he, desirous to live in his native country near his brother the lord Glenawly, upon his return was unfortunately killed at sea, leaving our governor and a younger son behind him. Our governor had been for several years cornet to the troop that belonged to his uncle the lord Glenawly, but was disbanded by the lord Tyrconnell, when the rest of the protestant officers were turned out of the army in Ireland, and after that he lived constantly at home on his own private estate."—Andrew Hamilton's *Actions of the Enniskilling men*, p. 4.

to the citizens within fifteen days; that two companies only, who were to be all protestants, should be admitted at first, and that whatever companies should subsequently be admitted should consist of one-half protestants at least; that until the delivery of the pardon the guards and watches should remain in the hands of the citizens; that if at any time before the first day of March following lord Mountjoy's regiment should be removed from Londonderry, he should restore the guards and watches to the custody of the citizens; that every inhabitant should be free to depart or remain at will; and that no soldier of the earl of Antrim's regiment should be quartered within the city or its liberties.

This capitulation was in every respect a triumph on the part of the citizens. No sooner were the articles agreed to, than Mountjoy dispatched colonel Lundy to Strabane to countermand the advance of the four catholic companies, which were quartered at that place, and at Newtown-Stewart, and Raphoe, until they had been reformed according to the agreement, and some of the city officers were commissioned to see that at least one-half the papists should be dismissed, and protestants of that country recruited in their stead. Phillips immediately resigned the governorship of the city to lord Mountjoy, who now joined heartily with the citizens, and assisted them in placing Londonderry in a proper state of defence. The carriages of the guns, which had been of no use, were repaired, the arms put in good condition, money subscribed by the citizens, and ammunition prepared from Scotland and elsewhere, and messengers dispatched to Cairnes, the agent in London, to urge him to procure supplies from the new government in England.

Tyrconnell was, as might be expected, highly displeased at lord Mountjoy's proceedings, and alarmed at the increasing strength of the protestants. He summoned Mountjoy to Dublin, under the pretence that he wished to consult with him, and when, contrary to the advice of his friends in the north, that nobleman obeyed the summons, he persuaded him to accompany the catholic lord chief baron Rice to Paris, for the purpose, as he pretended, of obtaining the king's authority to treat with the prince of Orange. This was soon found to be nothing more than a treacherous plot; the two messengers had no sooner arrived in Paris, than lord Mountjoy, against whom it

would probably have been unsafe to proceed rigorously in Ireland, was thrown into the Bastille, and his companion Rice proceeded to negotiate on matters of a very different character from the pretended objects of his mission.

Londonderry was left under the command of Lundy, in whom from the first the citizens appear to have placed little confidence. By his means the other four companies were at length admitted into the town, but they had been so "well purged of papists," to use the phrase of the contemporary narrator of these transactions, that they were no longer to be feared, and the citizens had now formed out of their own body six companies. The readiness with which the northerns thus armed themselves alarmed Tyrconnell, for his own haste to dismiss protestants from the army furnished them with abundance of officers who were in general far more skilful and experienced than his own. A proclamation was therefore dispatched from Dublin to be circulated in Ulster, forbidding the protestants assembling in troops and companies, but it was everywhere disregarded, for the British of the north saw by the example of their brethren in other parts that their only hope of safety consisted in standing upon their own defence. At the beginning of January they began to act more openly, encouraged by the activity of sir Arthur Rawdon of Moira. Sir Arthur with some other of the leading protestants of the north formed a bold project for the disarming of the regiment of sir Thomas Newcomen, which consisted partly of protestants, and was quartered at Belfast and Lisburn, and for surprising Carickfergus. This design failed through some mismanagement on the part of those who were to put it into execution; but some of the protestant officers and soldiers of Newcomen's regiment having deserted, and other signs of disaffection showing themselves, it was thought advisable to withdraw it.

As Tyrconnell now publicly announced his intention of sending an army to Ulster to reduce by force the rebellious spirit which had shown itself there, the northern counties formed themselves into defensive associations, and the protestants occupied themselves actively in raising troops and garrisoning their towns, and in various places they proclaimed publicly the prince of Orange. The declaration of the association of Antrim, one of the first which declared itself, will show best the principles by which

they all professed to be guided. "It being notoriously known," says this document, "not only to the protestant inhabitants of the northern counties, but to those throughout this whole kingdom of Ireland, that the peace and quiet of this nation is now in great and imminent danger; and that it is absolutely necessary for all protestants to agree within their several counties upon some speedy and effectual methods for their own defence, and for securing (as much as in them lies) the protestant religion, their lives, liberties, and properties, and the peace of this kingdom; which are so much endeavoured to be disturbed by popish and illegal counsellors and their abettors. And inasmuch as union and dispatch are necessary for effecting the same, we the nobility and gentry of the county of Antrim do associate together, firmly resolving to adhere to the laws of this kingdom and the protestant religion, and to act in subordination to the government of England and the promoting of a free parliament. And we do declare, if we be forced to take up arms, as it will be contrary to our inclination, so it shall be only defensive, not in the least to invade the lives, liberties, or estates of any of our fellow-subjects, no not of the popish persuasion, whilst they demean themselves peaceably with us. The reasons which induce us to put ourselves in some necessary posture of defence, are so obvious and urgent upon us, when we consider of the great levies daily made of popish soldiers, and at this time especially when the king is retired, and their arming can in no wise be serviceable to his majesty's interest; it were inconsistent with common prudence, not to suspect their designs to be such as will tend, if not to the destruction, yet to the great endangering of the lives, liberties, and properties of the protestant subjects of this kingdom, if not prevented. And we do declare, though at present we will admit none but protestants into our association, yet we will to our power protect even papists from violence, whilst their behaviour amongst us is peaceable and quiet. And we doubt not but all good protestants in this kingdom will in their several stations join with us in the same public defence; and that God will bless these our just, innocent, and necessary undertakings, for our lives, laws, and religion. And whereas it will be necessary for the more effectual and successful carrying on these mutual endeavours for the preservation of our religion and properties, and to

avoid confusion and distraction, which in such cases may otherwise happen, to appoint some eminent person or persons to whose conduct we may entirely submit ourselves in this our undertaking; we do therefore by these presents unanimously elect and appoint the right honourable Hugh earl of Mount Alexander and the honourable Clotworthy Skeffington, Esq., or either of them, jointly or severally, as they shall think fit, to be our commander or commanders-in-chief of all the forces in the said county of Antrim; and do hereby oblige ourselves to serve under their or either of their commands, in such manner, place, and station, as they or one of them in their discretion and judgment shall direct; and that we will from time to time observe and obey all such orders and methods for the better carrying on this enterprize, and procuring of horse and foot, and such numbers of men, arms, and ammunition, as our county council of five shall think fit, and that with all expedition, immediately to be arrayed and formed into troops and companies, and to be disposed of from time to time according to their or either of their orders, they or one of them acting with the advice and consent of the said county council of five, or the major part thereof."

The movement extended to the north of Connaught, and the protestants of Sligo, under lord Kingston, secured their county town, and drew up and signed the following similar declaration on the fourth of January: "We the protestants of the county of Sligo, at present assembled for our common safety, do hereby declare the occasions and motives of this our association, and what is intended by it. 1. We resolve to adhere to the laws of the land and the protestant religion. 2. We shall, as we ought, unite ourselves accordingly with England, and hold to the lawful government thereof, and to a free parliament. 3. We declare, that our taking up arms is only defensive, and not in the least to invade the lives, liberties, or estates, of any of our fellow-subjects, whether Roman catholics or others, while they demean themselves in peaceable manner to us. 4. Our reasons for thus doing are so urgent, that we could no longer with prudence forbear putting ourselves in some necessary posture of defence. For the Roman catholics arming in such vast numbers throughout all the kingdom, do give us just apprehensions of ill designs in them; they pretending the king's commission for what they do, whereas we are assured that the king has commanded all

Roman catholics to lay down their arms which we conceive should as well extend to Ireland as England. And therefore we doubt that the leaders of this Irish army do act from their own heads, upon designs of their own, which we may justly fear will be prejudicial to the lives, liberties, and properties of the protestant subjects of this kingdom, if not prevented. Lastly, we declare that, as we will assault none that molest not us, so we will to our powers protect all from violence, even Roman catholics themselves, whilst they behave themselves peaceably and neighbourly amongst us (though we will admit none but protestants into our association,) until we be ascertained from the lawful authority and government of England what further orders we are to obey. And we doubt not but that all good protestants in this kingdom will, where they are able, join with us in the same public defence, and that God will bless this so just, innocent, and necessary undertaking, for our lives, laws, and religion. And whereas it will be necessary, for the more effectual and successful carrying on of these our mutual endeavours, for the preservation of our laws, religion, and country, and the security of our lives and properties, and to avoid confusions and distractions, which in such cases might otherwise happen, to appoint some eminent person or persons to whose conduct we may entirely submit ourselves in this our undertaking; we do therefore by these presents unanimously nominate, elect, and appoint the right honourable Robert lord baren of Kingston and the honourable Chidley Coote, Esq., or either or both of them, jointly and severally, as they shall think fit, to be commander or commanders-in-chief of all the forces in the said county of Sligo; and do hereby oblige ourselves to serve under his or their command, in such manner, and in such place and station, as they or one of them in their discretion and judgment shall direct. And that we will procure such horse and foot, and such a number of men, arms, and ammunition, as we or any of us can possibly provide, and that with all expedition, immediately to be arrayed and formed into troops and companies, and to be disposed of from time to time according to their or either of their orders."

The next step of the northern protestants was to form a general league of association, and it was agreed that the county councils should meet together at Hillsborough and form one general council, which was to con-

sult upon the general interests of the protestants. Tyreconnell seems at first to have been paralyzed with the rapidity and extent of this movement, and they were left during the months of January and February to collect their troops and mature their plans almost unmolested. One of the first acts of the general council was to draw up an address to the prince of Orange, stating their condition and sentiments, and praying for speedy assistance. This address was carried to England by captain Leighton, who sailed from Belfast on the 10th of January, and and on the 10th of February he returned, bearing the answer of the prince, which was addressed to the earl of Mount Alexander, as the acknowledged head of the Ulster league, and couched in the following terms:—"Having received an account from captain Leighton of what he was entrusted to represent to us in relation to the condition of the protestants in Ireland, we have directed him to assure you in our name, how sensibly we are affected with the hazards you are exposed to, by the illegal powers the papists have of late usurped in that kingdom, and that we are resolved to employ the most speedy and effectual means in our power for rescuing you from the oppressions and terrors you lie under; that in the mean time we do well approve of the endeavours we understand you are using to put yourselves into a posture of defence, that you may not be surprised, wherein you may expect all the encouragements and assistance that can be given you from hence. And because we are persuaded that there are even of the Romish communion many who are desirous to live peaceably, and do not approve of the violent and arbitrary proceedings of some who pretend to be in authority; and we think it just to make distinctions of persons, according to their behaviour and deserts; we do hereby authorize you to promise in our name, to all such who shall demean themselves hereafter peaceably and inoffensively, our protection and exemption from those pains and forfeitures which those only shall incur who are the maintainers and abettors of the said illegal authority, assumed and continued contrary to law, or who shall act anything to the prejudice of the protestant interest, or the disturbance of the public peace in that kingdom. And for further particulars we refer you to the report you shall receive from captain Leighton (who hath acquitted himself with fidelity and diligence in your

concerns) of the sincerity of our intentions towards you. And so we recommend you to the protection of Almighty God." Thus encouraged the spirits of the northern protestants were raised high, and, when William and Mary were raised to the crown, they boldly proclaimed them in the north-eastern towns of Ulster.

As yet, however, William was too much occupied with affairs in England to give any substantial assistance to the protestant interests in Ireland; and, deceived by Tyrconnell's temporizing conduct, he attempted to gain him over by private negotiation. Richard Hamilton, a popish general and the personal friend of Tyrconnell, had been sent over to England with the troops drawn from Ireland for the assistance of king James, and he was now a prisoner in William's power. He was recommended as a man of honour, and one who could influence James's lord deputy; and he accepted the commission to repair to Dublin and confer privately with him, expressed the utmost confidence of persuading him to resign his government, and gave his word to return if he proved unsuccessful. When Hamilton arrived in Dublin, instead of executing his commission, he gave Tyrconnell all the information he had collected relating to the state of England, which he represented as favourable to the cause of king James, recommended him to maintain his station, and remained in Ireland, where he was placed at the head of the army destined for the reduction of Ulster. Although Tyrconnell was thus encouraged in his resolution of supporting the cause of king James, he still found it necessary to dissemble, and he gave his assurance to the protestant lords of his willingness to submit to the prince of Orange as soon as circumstances would permit. The ostensible mission entrusted to lord Mountjoy and chief baron Rice, when they were sent to France, was to represent to king James the necessity of yielding to the times, and the impossibility of supporting his interests in Ireland; and he promised Mountjoy that he would make no more levies, give out no more commissions or arms, nor send any more troops into Ulster. The lord deputy is even said to have intimated, that if the king should refuse to surrender Ireland, he should regard the refusal as made under compulsion in France, and consider himself sufficiently authorized in resigning his authority.

While Tyrconnell's envoys were on their way to Paris, an agent of king James landed

in Ireland, and conveyed to the lord deputy the welcome intelligence that the ex-king was hastening his preparations for sailing to the relief of his catholic subjects; that he might be confidently expected soon to appear among them in person; and that he would bring with him a powerful armament. The catholics now set no bounds to their exultation, and Tyrconnell gave way to all the indiscreet violence of his temper. He denied the promises he had made to lord Mountjoy; his soldiers were sent to deprive the protestants of their remaining arms and horses in every place which remained subject to his power, and they were subjected to greater outrages than ever.

Intelligence of these events struck alarm into the northern protestants, whose efforts had not always been crowned with success. Another attempt to surprise Carrickfergus, ordered by the council at Hillsborough, had failed in the February of 1689. Towards the end of the same month, the Irish army under general Richard Hamilton, marched into Ulster, after a proclamation had been issued commanding the northern protestants to lay down their arms and dissolve their assemblies. The latter had not yet learnt to act with the unity and rapidity necessary to secure a successful resistance, and Lundy, who in spite of his warm protestations of his determination to live and die with them, was suspected of a secret attachment to king James, did not give them the support he promised, and on which they calculated. On the 11th of March, the Irish army came before Newry, which sir Arthur Rawdon was obliged to abandon, with the small forces under his command, and he retired gradually towards Dromore. They were here overtaken by the enemy, and after losing a few men, were obliged to convert their retreat into a flight, till they came to Hillsborough, which was also abandoned, and the provisions and ammunitions collected there, with the papers of the central council, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The rapid advance of the Irish army spread consternation among the ill-armed levies of the protestants, many of which separated and dispersed themselves, while some of their leaders sought refuge in England and others fled to Londonderry. But many of the more resolute rallied round lord Mount Alexander, sir Arthur Rawdon, and some other leaders, whose spirit and example kept together about four thousand men, and with these they marched to occupy Coleraine and

thus prevent the enemy from crossing the river Bann. The latter, imagining that all resistance was at an end, gave themselves up to riot and plundering, and thus gave time to the protestants to recover their courage and fortify themselves in Coleraine.

Here they were joined by their friends from other parts, some of whom had skirmished successfully with the Irish. Lord Blaney had the command of the force of the counties of Armagh and Monaghan, amounting to about eighteen hundred men, "indifferently well armed." With these he had held in check the Irish garrison of Charlemont, and a party of his troops had defeated, with considerable slaughter, a body of Irish at Glasslough. The terror inspired by the approach of the Irish army, reduced his numbers to about three hundred horse, and the same number of foot, with which he left Armagh on the 15th of March, to make his way to Coleraine. Information of his motions was carried to the enemy, and the garrisons of Charlemont and Mountjoy, marched to intercept him, by seizing the bridge at a place named Artrea, on the road between Dungannon and Money more. Lord Blaney, however, succeeded in reaching the bridge before them, and although they were much superior to him in numbers, he attacked them and put them to flight with considerable slaughter. He carried to Coleraine the news of his own victory, which served to animate the confederates.

The Enniskilleners, meanwhile, still stood foremost in courage and resolution. On the eleventh of March they proclaimed king William and queen Mary, and they kept their troops constantly on foot, training and watching the army, thus keeping open the communication between Sligo and Londonderry. About the middle of March, on the retreat of the protestants before the Irish army to Coleraine, the governor of Enniskillen received orders from the governor of Londonderry, colonel Lundy, to desert the town, and retire upon Londonderry and the Lagan; but the Enniskilleners, unmoved by the desponding tone of Lundy's despatches, determined to maintain their position, not only because they were unwilling to abandon their native town, but because they judged, with more foresight, that they would do better service to their northern friends by defending a post which hindered the advance of an army from Connaught. On the twentieth of March Andrew Hamilton, the contemporary historian of the actions of the

Enniskillen men, tells us "all the protestants in the county of Cavan, in pitiful stormy weather and in great disorder, came running to Enniskillen and the villages about, to the no small surprise of us all, about three or four troops of horse coming before, followed with about as many foot companies, and then the whole inhabitants with their women and children, to their middle in clay and dirt, with pitiful lamentations, and little or no provision to sustain them. Our governor ordered them free quarter for man and horse in the town and country about; many of them were indifferently well armed, and we were joyful that they were come to us, being in hopes that they would join with us in the defence of our country. But upon inquiring into the reasons of their leaving their country as they did (where they had several good strengths that might for some time have been defended,) their officers told us that they had orders from colonel Lundy for so doing, and did endeavour (though to no purpose) to persuade our governor to do the same with Enniskillen. But that which hastened them away in so great disorder, was the lord Gillmoy's coming with a part of the Irish army into the county of Cavan, and surprising a house that belonged to Mr. Dixy, dean of Kilmore, and made prisoner the dean's eldest son (who was captain of a troop of horse), Edward Charleton his cornet, and about eight or ten of his troopers; upon news of which all the garrisons about broke up, some setting fire to their own houses, and the whole country fled to us without knowing who or what number of men were come against them."

Lord Gillmoy had become a terror to the protestants by his severities, and his name alone was sufficient to excite their alarm. Encouraged by their apparent pusillanimity, he advanced and stationed himself at Belurbet, as a point from whence to proceed against Enniskillen, although his operations were carried on in a style of rudeness which reminds us of the barbarous warfare of the Irish in the rebellion of forty-one. He began by laying siege to Crom, a castle on the banks of the lower Lough Erne, about sixteen miles from Enniskillen. "This place," says the Enniskillen historian, Andrew Hamilton, "was under our protection, and has been ever since our frontier garrison towards Dublin, and his lordship thinking to frighten that garrison to a compliance with his demands, sent two cannons made of tin,

near a yard long in the chase, and about eight inches wide, strongly bound about with small cord, and covered with a sort of buckram, near the colour of a cannon. These two mock cannons he drew towards Crom with eight horses apiece, making a great noise as if they were drawn with much difficulty. As soon as they came before Crom, he threatened to batter the castle with these two great battering guns, and had the vanity to fire one of them, which burst, and had like (as 'twas said) to have spoiled the gunner. But those within the castle, depending upon aid from Enniskillen, refused to surrender, and fired out at them from the castle, killing several. Gillmoy continues the siege, and on Friday the 22nd of March, sent a letter to the governor of Enniskillen in the nature of a summons, acquainting him that king James was come to Dublin, and that he was come with an army to reduce that country to his obedience, and that by his commission he had power to grant them better conditions than they might ever expect from him afterwards, if they were reduced by force. Upon receipt of this summons, our governor called his officers together to consult what was fit to be done, and all of them did unanimously conclude not to desert Enniskillen, nor to submit to any but to king William and queen Mary, whom they had now proclaimed; and accordingly returned lord Gillmoy an answer, that they owed allegiance to none but them, nor would they submit to any but to their majesties or those commissioned by them, and so did prepare themselves the best they could to defend the town, and to use what means they could to relieve Crom."

"On Saturday, the 23rd of March," continues Hamilton, "early in the morning, many of the county of Cavan men left Enniskillen, and marched towards Derry, in obedience (as they said), to colonel Lundy's orders. And the same day in the afternoon, our governor drew out all the horse and foot he had under his command, to the common hill near Enniskillen, keeping them all day at their arms, expecting every hour to hear that the lord Gillmoy was on his march towards us, and resolved to give him battle before he came near the town; for ever since we took up Enniskillen, we judged it advisable rather to fight the enemy at a distance from it, than to let them lay siege to it, and we have hitherto done accordingly. But seeing no enemy appear all that day, and our scouts returning

and bringing us word that Gillmoy came only the length of Lisnaskea, a village ten miles distant from the town, and that upon the news of our drawing out against him, he retreated back with his men to the siege of Crom. Our governor therefore, in the night, sent a detachment of about two hundred of his best armed men, some by land, and some in boats, towards Crom, hoping they might get into the castle in the night; but it being day before they got there, the enemy used all the endeavours they could to keep our boats from landing at the castle, firing many volleys at them, but being bad marksmen, killed only one old boatman, and did our men no further harm, but our men shot several of them dead from the boats, landed at the castle, and having joined those that were within, they sallied out together, and beat them from their trenches; killed between thirty and forty of them, got the fire-arms of those that they killed, took their two mock cannon (one of which was left at Crom, and the other brought to the castle of Enniskillen), got two suits of armour, and several other things of value, and immediately after this the lord Gillmoy quitted the thoughts of any further siege against Crom, and retreated to Belturbet."

On the retreat to Belturbet, occurred one of those acts of deliberate barbarity which threw disgrace on the name of lord Gillmoy, and were but too frequent in the Irish wars. "At this time one Brien mac Knagher Maguire (who had been a captain in the Irish army), was a prisoner with us at Crom. Him the lord Gillmoy had a desire to release, and the next day he sent an express to captain Crighton (the proprietor of the castle of Crom, and governor thereof), proposing to exchange captain Dixie—the son of the dean of Kilmore already mentioned—"for this captain Maguire, and desiring, if the change were approved of, that captain Maguire might be sent to him, promising upon his honour to return us captain Dixie for him. The exchange was very acceptable to the governor, and all that were in the castle of Crom, but yet they would conclude nothing until they had the consent of the governor of Enniskillen, and the other officers that were there, and so sent an express from Crom to Enniskillen for their resolution. The messenger was immediately sent back by captain Crighton, with orders from the governor to go on with the exchange. Accordingly captain Crighton sent Maguire to the lord Gillmoy, desiring

that captain Dixie might be returned to him, according to his promise under his hand, which letter is in the hands of the governor of Enniskillen. But the lord Gillmoy, as soon as he had Maguire in his hands, called a council of war on captain Dixie and his cornet, Mr. Charleton, where they were both found guilty, and sentence of death passed upon them, for levying men by the prince of Orange's commission, which was found in their pockets; and immediately they were desired to prepare to die against the next day; but in the mean time great endeavours were used, and promises made them of life and preferment, if they would turn papists and adhere to king James. But they, though both young men, resolutely rejected the offer, and preferred their religion to the saving of their lives. And here I cannot but remember Maguire's carriage, who (as it was reported) showed an extraordinary concern for the lord Gillmoy's breach of faith; he went to him and told him, that his putting Mr. Dixie to death (after his promise under his hand to return him), would be a perpetual stain to his honour, and rather than he should do so base a thing, prayed that he might be returned a prisoner back to Crom, and that Mr. Dixie's life might be saved, for he did not desire to purchase his freedom by so great injustice. But the lord Gillmoy, deaf to anything that could be said on their behalf, caused both the young gentlemen to be hanged on Mr. Russell's sign-post in Belturbet, and, when they were dead, commanded to take their corpses into the kitchen, to cut off both their heads, and ordered them to be thrown out into the street to the soldiers to play at foot-ball with, and when the soldiers for sometime had pleased themselves with this barbarous sport, the heads were set up on the market-house in Belturbet."

The chief anxiety now was for the fate of Londonderry, to which the Irish forces were gradually approaching. On all sides the smaller garrisons were beaten or withdrawn, and fell back upon this chief post; and Lundy's orders in many instances excited great dissatisfaction. Lord Kingston received orders to abandon Sligo on the 20th of March, and made his way with little opposition to Ballyshannon. Here he remained by Lundy's command till the middle of April, when pressing orders arrived that he should march to Londonderry. But it was now too late, and finding on his way that the enemy lay in

great force between him and that city, he sent his horse to Enniskillen, while the foot returned to Ballyshannon and Donegal.

The troops under sir Arthur Rawdon and his fellow-officers, had reached Coleraine on the 15th of February, and immediately opened communications with Lundy, who, in company with Gustavus Hamilton, repaired to Coleraine on the following day. Lundy returned to Londonderry on the 18th, to the great dissatisfaction of the people of Coleraine, who were suspicious of his intentions, but Hamilton remained. Apprehensions of Lundy's treachery seem now to have been gaining ground everywhere, in spite of his professions and outward show of zeal; he had repeatedly obliged the associated protestants to abandon posts which were sufficiently tenable; and as no one suspected him of want of courage, his inactive and irresolute conduct was ascribed to other causes. Yet, under the numerous difficulties with which he was surrounded, king William was obliged to trust to this man, and on the 21st of March, captain James Hamilton arrived at Londonderry from England, bringing with him a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, and money, and a commission to Lundy to be governor of Londonderry. Lundy took the oaths privately, on board captain Hamilton's ship, but he declined taking them publicly next day, when he was requested to do it by the protestant committee in the city. Some of his officers refused to take the oath. But the mayor and aldermen and all the city officers were sworn, and the king and queen were again publicly proclaimed in presence of the bishop. The conduct of Lundy and such of his officers as declined the oath, gave rise to much alarm, and his public statement that the city was not tenable, raised suspicions that it was his intention to give it up to the Irish.

On the 27th of March Coleraine was invested by the Irish army, under general Richard Hamilton, but the protestants made a brave resistance, and the assailants were driven away with loss. It was evident, however, that troops so ill provided with every necessary as those who held Coleraine, could not long hold out, and it was found advisable to abandon it. With great difficulty the protestants effected their retreat through a country which was already overrun by the enemy, to Londonderry, where their disasters only served to discourage the citizens. Fortunately, when this discourage-

ment was greatest, the protestant agent Cairnes, arrived from London, with new instructions from king William, and assurances of speedy assistance. Cairnes was the bearer of a letter from the secretary of state, the earl of Shrewsbury, to colonel Lundy, in the following terms:—"I am commanded by the king to acquaint you that his majesty's great concern hath been for Ireland, and particularly for the province of Ulster, which he looks upon as most capable to defend itself against the common enemy. And that they might be the better enabled to do it, there are two regiments already at the sea-side, ready to embark, in order to their transportation into that province, with which will be sent a good quantity of arms and ammunition. And they will be speedily followed by so considerable a body, as (by the blessing of God) may be able to rescue the whole kingdom, and resettle the protestant interest there. His majesty does very much rely upon your fidelity and resolution, not only that you shall acquit yourself according to the character he has received of you, but that you should encourage and influence others in this difficult conjuncture to discharge their duty to their country, their religion, and their posterity, all which call upon them for a more than ordinary vigour to keep out that deluge of popery and slavery which so nearly threatens them. And you may assure them, that besides his majesty's care for their preservation, who hath a due tenderness and regard for them, (as well in consideration that they are his subjects, as that

they are now exposed for the sake of that religion which he himself professes) the whole bent of this nation inclines them to employ their utmost endeavours for their deliverance; and it was but this very morning that his majesty hath most effectually recommended the case of Ireland to the two houses of parliament. And I do not doubt but that they will thereupon immediately come to such resolutions as will shew to all the world that they espouse their interest as their own."

Cairnes found the citizens of Londonderry in a state of great despondency, which was encouraged by the governor, who had already given passes to some of his officers to depart. Cairnes urged them not to desert a cause which would so speedily prove triumphant, and the letter and tidings he brought gave new spirit to the soldiers. A council of war was called the same night, and Lundy and his officers signed a declaration—"we, the officers hereunto subscribing, pursuant to a resolution taken and agreed upon at a council of war at Londonderry, held this day, do hereby mutually promise and engage to stand by each other with our forces against the common enemy, and will not leave the kingdom nor desert the public service, until our affairs are in a settled and secure posture; and if any of us shall do the contrary, the person so leaving the kingdom, or deserting the service, without consent of a council of war, is to be deemed a coward, and disaffected to their majesties' service and the protestant interest. Dated the 10th of April, 1689."

CHAPTER X

ARRIVAL OF KING JAMES; HIS ENTRY INTO DUBLIN; JAMES'S IRISH PARLIAMENT



DURING these occurrences, important events had taken place in the south. King James, who had thrown himself into the arms of Louis XIV., and had received the cordial support of that monarch, had embarked at Brest with a convoy of fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire-ships, carrying twelve hundred Irish

soldiers in the pay of France (or according to others, double that number), and one hundred French officers; and he landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March. He brought, as a commander for his army, one of the French king's lieutenant-generals, marshal Rosen; and count D'Avaux, who had, while ambassador in Holland, so often given James warnings of the designs of his enemies, now accompanied him as ambassador from

France. Louis had supplied the deposed monarch with four hundred thousand crowns in money, and with equipage of every kind befitting his dignity, and he had offered him a body of French troops; but with a sudden and transitory flash of magnanimity James replied that he would recover his own dominions by the aid of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. When he took his leave of him, the French king said, "the best wish that I can form for your service is, that I may never see you again."

At Kinsale and at Cork, king James was received with noisy demonstrations of joy. Tyreconnell came to him at the latter place, and on the 20th of March they proceeded together towards Dublin. As they passed along the road, they were escorted and welcomed by crowds of the undisciplined rapparees, who came out from their lurking-places to testify their joy at the arrival of a catholic monarch. At Carlow, we are told, the king "was sllobbered with the kisses of the rude country Irishwomen, so that he was forced to beg to have them kept from him." At noon, on Saturday the 24th of March, king James made his public entry into the Irish capital with extraordinary pomp and show. A protestant gentleman who was present, has left us, in a contemporary printed tract, a detailed account of this ceremony. All the soldiers of the garrison of Dublin, he tells us, "were placed from St. James's gate (at his first entrance), to the castle gate, all along for about a mile of ground on both sides of the streets, which were everywhere strewed with fresh gravel. And at his first entrance into the liberty of the city, there was a stage built, covered with tapestry, and thereon two playing on Welsh harps; and below a great number of friars, with a large cross, singing; and about forty oyster-wenchers, poultry and herb women, in white, dancing, who thence ran along to the castle by his side, here and there strewing flowers. Some hung out of their balconies tapestry and cloth of arras; and others, imitating them, sewed together the coverings of Turkey-work chairs, and bandle-cloth blankets, and hung them out likewise on each side of the street. He (the king), rid along through the whole country, mostly on horseback, but chiefly through all the towns and villages. About a mile from Dublin, he called for a fresh pad-nag, which turning about to be brought him, got loose, and forced him to stay; which did in some measure vex him, so that he said to Tyrecon-

nell, 'I think you are all boderd.' But the nag being soon brought him, he mounted and marched forward, and at the utmost limits was met by the lord mayor, aldermen, common council, master wardens, and brethren of the several companies, in their formalities, the king and herald-at-arms, pursuivants, and servants of the household, and there received the sword of state (which he gave to Tyreconnell, who carried it before him through the city), and the sword and keys of the city, and there had a speech made to welcome him to that loyal city and people, by counsellor Dillon, who that morning was sworn recorder in the room of counsellor Barnwell. From thence he set forward towards the castle, preceded by five or six coaches, with six horses each, two calashes, four or five bung-carts, and one close waggon, attended by five or six French troopers. Next them followed about two hundred of the stragglers of the city that went out to meet him; and after them the afore-mentioned Barker, major to the royal regiment, bareheaded, giving orders to the soldiers to keep the middle of the street clear, and stand with their muskets shouldered; then twenty-nine horsemen, bareheaded, shouting before Mr. Fitz-James, who was alone in one of Tyreconnell's coaches with six horses. Close after him followed three officers of the guard on horseback, attended by three led horses; after them fifteen or sixteen officers of the army, closely followed by the five trumpets and kettle-drums of state in their liveries; and after them about twenty of the gentlemen at large on horseback; then the messengers and pursuivants, servants of the household; next them the herald and king-at-arms; close after them Tyreconnell, carrying the sword of state immediately before the late king James, who rid on the afore-said pad-nag, in a plain cinnamon-coloured cloth suit and black slouching hat, and a George hung over his shoulder with a blue ribbon. He was attended by the duke of Berwick, lord Granard, and the aforesaid maids running by him on his left hand, the lords Powis and Melfort on his right, with their hats on. Close after him followed a troop of dragoons, several gentlemen and officers, two troops of horse, and many attendants; after them six lords' coaches, with six horses each; then the judge Keating in scarlet; and next after him three other gentlemen's coaches, empty, with six horses each; then three coaches with two horses each; and then last of all

the confused rabble on foot. As he was riding along in this order, one Fleming, a pretended dead Scotchman, in Skinner-row, the middle of the city, suddenly rushed through the crowd, flung his hat over the king's head, crying in French with a loud voice, 'Let the king live for ever!' caught suddenly (madman-like) fast hold of the king's hand and kissed it, and so ran capering after his hat. As he marched thus along, the pipers of the several companies played the tune of 'The king enjoys his own again;' and the people shouting and crying, 'God save the king!' And if any protestants were observed not to show their zeal that way, they were immediately reviled and abused by the rude papists. And being come thus to the castle, the king alighted from his horse, and was met at the gate by the host, overshadowed with a canopy borne up by four popish bishops, and accompanied with a numerous train of friars singing, and others of that clergy; and among the rest the titular primate, with a triple crown upon his head, representing the pope; whom this unfortunate and bigoted prince no sooner saw, but he forthwith went down upon his knees to pray to the image and for a blessing from this Irish pope. And from thence he was conducted into the chapel there (made by Tyrconnell of Henry Cromwell's riding-house), where *Te Deum* was sung for his happy arrival; and thence he retired into an apartment prepared in a new house built before in the castle by Tyrconnell, and there dined and refreshed himself."

The king's presence in Ireland seemed to have completed the triumph of the catholic cause there. The only enemy in open resistance seemed to be disappearing before overpowering numbers in the north. Addresses of congratulation poured in from every side, and, in answer to that of the protestant established clergy, he assured them of his protection and redress of their grievances, while he promised to defend and enlarge the privileges of the university. Yet in face of these declarations, he had no sooner arrived in Dublin than he removed from the privy council lord Granard, chief justice Keating, and the other protestants who remained, and substituted in their places the French ambassador D'Avaux, lord Powis, the duke of Berwick, the bishop of Chester, and others of his zealous adherents.

The morning after his arrival, James called together his privy council, and issued five several proclamations. By the first, he

ordered all protestants who had lately abandoned the kingdom, to return and accept his protection, under the severest penalties, and enjoined his subjects of every persuasion to unite against the prince of Orange; the second, which was designed to check the depredations of the rapparees and others, commanded all catholics, not of the king's army, to lay up their arms in their several abodes. The third called upon the country to carry provisions to the troops engaged in the north; the fourth, raised the value of money; and by the fifth, a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin on the 7th of May. After the council broke up, the king reviewed the troops of the garrison, and appointed lieutenant-colonel Darrington colonel of the royal regiment, in the room of the duke of Ormond. On his return to the castle, he raised Tyrconnell to the dignity of a duke. The next day, intelligence arrived of the check which the Irish army had experienced in the attack on Coleraine; upon which the king ordered a large body of troops, with some of his French officers, to be despatched into Ulster. This news, however, was soon followed by certain intelligence of the hurried retreat of the protestants upon Londonderry, and the preparations for the siege of that place.

James continued for some time irresolute as to the course which he should pursue in the prosperous state of his affairs in Ireland. Some of his advisers urged him to proceed immediately to Scotland, where there were few troops attached to the new government, while all the highland clans were ready to fly to his banner. Others wished him to repair instantly to England, with all the forces he could carry over; for they represented that the country was filled with discontent, and that James's appearance in person would raise him a host of zealous adherents. But swayed, apparently, by French counsels, James determined to remain in Ireland. It was the interest of the French to protract the civil war, and their object was evidently to gain possession of Ireland. The conquest of Ulster they represented as the exploit of greatest importance towards regaining possession of the throne, a conquest easy to be effected, which would render James absolute master of Ireland, while it would give the experience to his half-disciplined troops, which was necessary to enable them to contend with William's veterans. Yielding to these arguments, James proceeded early in April to join his army before Londonderry.

in order to direct the siege of that city in person. But finding the progress of the siege not to answer to his expectations, he soon left it to the conduct of his officers, and returned to Dublin before the end of the month.

Immediately after he had landed at Kinsale, James sent back the ships which had formed his escort, to join another armament which was forming at Brest, and which was designed to convey to his aid new reinforcements. The facility with which an enemy was thus transported into the dominions of the British crown, raised no little discontent in England, to allay which, admiral Herbert was despatched from Spithead in search of the French fleet. He took with him twelve ships of the line, and nine others joined him at sea. He sailed first for the coast of France, from which he was driven by easterly winds, and then he determined wisely to make for the coast of Ireland, and watch the enemy there. On the 29th of April he descried the French fleet, consisting of about twenty-eight ships of the line, under the command of the French admiral Chateau Renaut, and on the 1st of May, after contending with contrary winds and other difficulties, he approached them as they lay in Bantry Bay. Herbert resolved at once to attack them, in spite of their superiority in numbers; but the French, conscious of this advantage, weighed anchor, formed their line, and advanced deliberately to meet him. The English advanced against their opponents more ardently, and with less regularity, of which the French admiral profited. He had the advantage of the wind during the whole engagement, which lasted the greater part of the day. As evening approached, the English retired towards the Scilly islands, and the French regained the Irish coast, each admiral claiming the victory. Although several ships were disabled, none were lost on either side. The real advantage was certainly on the side of the French; for they disembarked the troops and stores which they had brought for James's service, and then returned unmolested to France. D'Avaux hastened to James, and informed him that the English fleet had been defeated by the French; in answer to which the fallen monarch, with a brief gleam of national feeling, and perhaps some pride of his own exploits as an admiral, is said to have exclaimed, "It is the first time, then." King William was alarmed at the effect which this affair might have upon the minds

of his sailors; he, too, affected to regard it as a victory, and he went to Portsmouth, dined in the admiral's ship, bestowed a peerage on Herbert, knighted two of the captains, and distributed rewards among the mariners.

On the seventh of May James, in all the pomp of sovereignty, assembled the Irish parliament. This, at least, was anything but a free parliament; and so completely had the catholics obtained the mastery throughout the kingdom that only six protestants were returned to the house of commons, and only five protestant peers and four bishops attended in the house of lords. Sir Richard Nagle was chosen speaker of the commons. Congratulations were voted to king James, and thanks to the French monarch; and all James's speeches and papers were filled with compliments to the French and Irish, and with expressions of anger and contempt towards his English subjects, which could not fail to provoke the latter. Various acts were brought forward in the same spirit, and tended equally to alarm and irritate a large portion of James's subjects. One of these was a law for the advancement of trade, in order to benefit the Irish nation, and another asserted the independency of the Irish parliament and courts of justice of those of England. Acts like these seemed intended to effect a separation of Ireland from England, and to prepare the former for its future dependence upon France.

But there were two still more important bills in this parliament which spread a more general alarm. The first of these was the repeal of the act of settlement. It was received by the house of commons, which consisted chiefly of men who were to benefit by it, with tumultuous shouts of satisfaction. Yet it was not only disastrous to the protestants, but it caused dissatisfaction to many of the influential catholics, who had obtained portions of the forfeited estates by purchase. The popish judge, Daly, spoke so warmly against it that he incurred the censure of the commons, who insisted on his being brought to their bar and compelled to beg pardon; but the sentence was remitted in a sudden transport of joy at a false report of the surrender of Londonderry. James himself either was, or pretended to be, averse to this measure. He, perhaps, foresaw the dangerous effects which were to be apprehended from it, and he is said to have authorised the protestant bishop of Meath to

speak against it in the house of lords. But it was a favourite measure with the Irish, and was strongly recommended by the French ambassador D'Avaux, who ruled James's councils, and who so far prevailed that, when an address against the bill was presented by the purchasers under the act of settlement, James replied coldly that he could not do evil in order that good might result from it. The bill was passed hastily through both houses. In the house of lords the bishops desired permission to enter their protest against it, and they were joined by the four protestant temporal peers. James interfered, and desired that they should only enter their reasons for it, because, he said, a protest was a thing only made in rebellious times. The bill of repeal thus passed opened with a preamble which exculpated the Irish from rebelling in 1611; and it contained a clause whereby the real estates of all who dwelt in any of these kingdoms, and did not acknowledge king James, or who aided or corresponded with those who were in rebellion against him since the first day of August, 1688, were declared to be forfeited and vested in the king. In this manner it was ingeniously contrived that almost every protestant in Ireland who could write was deprived of his estates.

Another bill, still more severe, passed in this parliament, was a general act of attainder, which included in one grand proscription all persons in the service of the prince of Orange, all who had fled from Ireland and did not return in obedience to the king's proclamation, and many who were resident in Great Britain, and presumed on that account only to be adherents to the new government. All these were attainted of high treason, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unless they surrendered within certain periods there assigned. The estates even of those who were detained abroad by sickness or nonage were to be seized into the king's hands, and, in defiance of all justice, instead of being prosecuted, they were required to prove their own innocence before they could be restored. No less than two thousand four hundred and sixty-one persons, including peers, peeresses, prelates, baronets, knights, clergy, gentry, and yeomanry, were involved in this savage proscription; and their names were collected so hastily, and received with so little examination, that even Nagle, when he presented this bill to king James, declared that

"many were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame." It was framed with so much severity that the king himself was deprived of the power of pardoning after the first day of November, 1689.

It was not long before the king experienced the inconvenience of this bill, which was carefully concealed, and lay unknown in the custody of the lord chancellor. Sir Thomas Southwell, the chief of the prisoners of Galway, had received a promise of the king's pardon, and four months after the day limited for pardoning he obtained a view of the act for the instruction of his lawyer who was to draw up his warrant. Nagle was surprised and enraged at this discovery. He insisted that the king was merely a trustee for the forfeitures, and had then no power to pardon, and James could do no more than reproach his attorney-general for framing an act which intrenched on his prerogative.

These were not the only acts which marked the folly of this hasty parliament, or its devotion to popery. A supplement to the bill of attainder vested in the king the personal estates of absentees; another established liberty of conscience; a third took away the provision formerly made for ministers in corporate towns; and a fourth entitled the Romish clergy to all tythes and ecclesiastical dues payable by those of their own communion. James himself is said to have opposed successfully some measures which were too pointedly hostile to England, such as the bill for the repeal of Poyning's act; and he would not consent to establish inns of court in Ireland for the education of law students, although it was so ardently desired by the Irish catholics.

The other public acts of James's Irish government, arising from unwise councils, or forced upon him by necessity, were no better than his acts of parliament. The money he brought with him was soon expended, and his French allies were backward in furnishing more. His parliament gave him a tax of twenty pounds a month on real estates, but this was insufficient for the exigence of his situation, and he found himself obliged to levy by his own authority a similar tax upon personal estates. Some of his council remonstrated against this arbitrary proceeding, upon which he insulted them, by reminding them, that by their own declaration it was a branch of his prerogative to levy money. But finding

that even thus his wants were not supplied, he had recourse to a measure of a still more noxious character. Having seized the coining machines of a man named Moore, who had a patent of Charles II., authorising him to strike copper money in Ireland, James established a mint in Dublin and Limerick, for which brass and copper of the basest kind, such as old cannon, broken bells, and household utensils, &c., were collected, and out of these base materials money was made and circulated of so worthless a character, that what was made to pass for the nominal value of five pounds was not intrinsically worth more than fourpence. This base coinage was enforced by several successive proclamations. By the first it was made current in all payments to and from the king and the subjects, except in the duties on importation of foreign goods, and money left in trust or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; the king promised with the same ease that he had made so many promises which were never kept, that when this money should be debased, he would receive it in all payments, or make full satisfaction in gold and silver, and it was now used to pay his soldiers, and was forced on the protestant traders in great quantities. By subsequent proclamations, the nominal value was raised, and, the original restrictions being removed, it was ordered to be received in all kinds of payments, and it was even made of such vile materials as tin and pewter when brass and copper grew scarce. The inconvenience of this base money was thrown especially upon the protestants, who still formed a considerable portion of the population under James's power, and it was often intruded upon them with circumstances of insolence and cruelty, which rendered his government hateful in their memories. Old debts of a thousand pounds were discharged compulsorily with a few pieces of metal not worth more intrinsically than thirty shillings, and it was forbidden, on pain of death, to purchase gold and silver with the brass money. Thus its circulation was made compulsory, especially among the protestants, who were not allowed to relieve themselves of the quantities of this coinage forced upon them even by purchasing the staple commodities of the kingdom; for when they did so, James immediately set a value upon these commodities by proclamation, seized them at this rate, and returned his brass upon the proprietors, and then exported the merchandise to France. If the protestants

purchased corn or other provisions with the brass money, they were instantly accused of a design to supply the enemy, and on this charge they were thrown into prison, and the provisions thus purchased were seized for the king's use. Nothing, indeed, could be more miserable than the condition of the Irish protestants at this period; and the catholics themselves were in the end severe sufferers by James's base coinage, the greater part of which had, in the course of circulation, come into the hands of his own party, when he was driven from his brief power and it was suppressed by king William's proclamation.

James soon broke through all his promises of protection to the university of Dublin, nor was he warned by the disastrous consequences which had followed his attempts to trample upon the privileges of the English universities. He had already, by a new charter, converted a school, founded by the duke of Ormond at Kilkenny, into a popish seminary, when, urged on by his bigotry and his blind attachment to the priests, he determined, a few months after his arrival, to intrude catholics into Trinity college. He began by sending a mandamus to the governors of the college, ordering them to bestow a senior fellowship on the same Green who had formerly been disappointed in his application for an imaginary professorship. But the governors had taken a lesson from their brethren in England, and, in spite of all the dangers with which they were surrounded, they ventured to refuse obedience to a mandamus which was so obvious an invasion of their privileges. They pleaded their own cause before Sir Richard Nagle, urging the incapacity of Green, and the false allegations of his petition; and adding that there were "much more important reasons, drawn as well from the statutes relating to religion as from the obligation of oaths we have taken, and the interest of our religion (which we will never desert), that render it wholly impossible for us, without violating our consciences, to have any concurrence, or to be any way concerned in the admission of him."

James had little consideration for right or justice when they interfered with his own arbitrary will; and within a few days of this bold defence of their privileges the king's soldiers were sent to Trinity college, and drove out all its inmates, scholars as well as fellows. They seized upon the private and public property of its members, with the communion-plate, library, and fur-

niture, and at once converted the chapel into a magazine, and the chambers into prisons. The members of the society were placed under custody, and it was only by the urgent intercession of the bishop of Meath that they obtained their liberty, which was granted on the express condition that three of them should not meet together on pain of death. Thus did this misguided prince fulfil his solemn promise made to the fellows of Trinity college on his arrival, that he would not only protect but increase their privileges. James is said to have promised father Petre that the college should be given to the Jesuits, but in the mean time he appointed a popish ecclesiastic, of the name of Moore, to the temporary office of provost; and this man, being a lover of letters, succeeded fortunately, with the assistance of another ecclesiastic named Macarthey, in preserving the precious library of books and manuscripts from being destroyed by the popish soldiers.

If James showed so little regard for this protestant learned body, we cannot expect that he would show much consideration for the protestant clergy. Those of the established church suffered most; for the act for liberty of conscience had exempted the non-conformists from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, so that they were no longer obliged to pay tithes, while the catholics not only refused to pay tithes to the protestant ministers, but their priests, who were introduced every where, exacted them indiscriminately from persons of all sects. Yet, as in most similar cases, the effect of persecution was to increase the religious zeal of the persecuted, and the places of worship were crowded to such a degree as to give umbrage to the government, which was offended if not alarmed at this display of numbers. A proclamation was accordingly issued, confining protestants to their respective parishes, the effect of which was to exclude great numbers of them from public worship, as in many parts two or more parishes had but one church. The popish clergy were not content with this, but, assisted willingly by the magistrates, who were in general bigoted catholics, they seized upon the churches for their own use, not only in many parts of the country, but even in Dublin. When the protestants remonstrated to the king against these outrages, he could not deny his promises of protection, and even he felt that it was his policy to continue it. He in consequence published

a proclamation, confirming their churches to the protestants, and ordering those which had been taken from them to be restored. But James now found that his own priests were ready to set his power at defiance whenever it clashed with their own prejudices or interests; and where they could not openly disobey the proclamation, they evaded the order of restitution by representing that the churches taken from the protestants were places of strength which it was dangerous to leave in their hands. In other instances, they publicly declared that the king's authority in ecclesiastical affairs, was subservient to their own, and that they were not bound to give obedience to it; and though he was continually vexed and mortified by their turbulence, he was still too bigoted to make an attempt to emancipate himself from their influence. In obedience to their wishes, his only anxiety seemed to be to make Ireland a catholic kingdom; the alarm of an invasion was seized upon as an excuse for inhibiting the protestants from assembling in their churches, under pretence that they might meet for political purposes; and James's chief anxiety, when the final blow was impending over his head, was to fill the diocese of Meath with popish incumbents, and to erect a Benedictine nunnery in Dublin.

James was himself not without his private troubles and misgivings, which rendered him perhaps more peevish and arbitrary. Bridled by his spiritual advisers, he gave vent to his spleen against everybody else who ventured to contradict him. When the house of commons opposed him in a particular measure, he uttered the angry exclamation, "I see all commons are the same;" and when, on another occasion, they sent him a remonstrance against his secretary of state, lord Melfort, he replied in a tone of vexation, "I would not have come amongst you, if I had known you would not have allowed me to choose my own servants." His ill temper was increased by the continual jarring of the French and Irish factions, who had already begun to look upon each other with jealousy and hatred, and hindered the public service by deliberately obstructing each other's plans. James, who in his natural selfishness cared for no one, began gradually to regard them all with aversion, and to leave public affairs to their own course. Thus the country fell every day into worse disorder, and the national independence which the Irish boasted, was a mere lawless

state of anarchy. The French looked on without regret, for they regarded only their own interests, and they knew that the more the country became helpless and wasted in

its resources, the more it would of a necessity want their assistance, and the more surely and permanently would their power be established.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY.



Thus now return to the event which was at this time the most important in the course of Irish affairs, the siege of Londonderry. We have already seen that king William, unacquainted with Lundy's real character, had sent him a commission to command there, and that his conduct in withdrawing garrisons and posts at the approach of the enemy, had already raised a suspicion that he was secretly serving king James. As the Irish army, indeed, advanced towards Londonderry, Lundy abandoned pass after pass with very feeble resistance, or none at all, until, on the thirteenth of April, he took refuge at last in the city. At a general council of war held that day, it was resolved to march out under Lundy's orders and fight the enemy, but no steps appear to have been taken towards putting this resolution into effect. King William had not been inattentive to the dangers of his partizans in Ulster, and he had sent two regiments of foot under colonels Cunningham and Richards, with directions to obey Lundy's orders. The transports carrying these troops entered Lough Foyle, the lake which forms the communication between Londonderry and the sea, on the fifteenth of April, and colonel Cunningham immediately sent a message to

Lundy, proposing to land the two regiments, and join in attacking the enemy.*

Lundy had marched out, ostentatiously to defend the passes of the river Finn, but instead of making any effort to resist he drew off his troops in such haste and confusion that, when he arrived in Londonderry in the afternoon, and caused the gates to be shut, many of the officers and men were left outside the walls. He then wrote ambiguously and contradictorily to Cunningham, at first telling him to land, and then assuring him that the place was untenable, and referring him to a private communication by the officer who carried the letter. The latter bore orders to the two colonels not to land the men, but to come into the town themselves with some of their officers to attend a council of war. To this council only two officers of the garrison were called, and the others who asked for admittance are said to have been refused. There were present thirteen officers of the two regiments, and the town-clerk, whose assistance was necessary to frame the minutes. Lundy gave them a false account of the condition of the town, which he represented as equally weak in military stores, defences, and provisions; and, with regard to the latter, he declared that to his own knowledge there was not subsistence for ten days. The English officers knew nothing of the state of the town themselves, and, with the exception of colonel Richards, who

* The following was colonel Cunningham's letter, dated "From on board the Swallow, near Red Castle, at two in the afternoon, April the 15th, 1689."

"SIR,—Hearing you have taken the field, in order to fight the enemy, I have thought it fit for their majesties' service to let you know there are two well-disciplined regiments here on board, that may join you in two days at farthest. I am sure they will be of great use in any occasion, but especially for the encouragement of raw men, as I judge most of yours are; therefore it is my opinion that you only stop the passes at the fords of Finn, till I can join you, and afterwards, if giving battle be necessary, you will

be in a much better posture for it than before. I must ask your pardon if I am too free in my advice; according to the remote prospect I have of things, this seems most reasonable to me, but as their majesties have left the whole direction of matters to you, so you shall find that no man living will more cheerfully obey you than your most humble servant,

"JOHN CUNNINGHAM."

It appears that colonel Cunningham had been informed that Lundy had acted on the resolution of the council of war, and marched out to Clady to engage the enemy.

opposed it, they were easily persuaded to join in the following resolution: "Upon inquiry it appears that there is not provision in the garrison of Londonderry for the present garrison and the two regiments on board for above a week, or ten days at most; and it appearing that the place is not tenable against a well appointed army, therefore it is concluded upon and resolved, that it is not convenient for his majesty's service, but the contrary, to land the two regiments under colonel Cunningham and colonel Richards, their commanders, now on board in the river of Lough Foyle; that, considering the present circumstances of affairs, and the likelihood the enemy will soon possess themselves of this place, it is thought most convenient that the principal officers shall privately withdraw themselves, as well for their own preservation, as in hopes that the inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, may make terms the better with the enemy; and that this we judge most convenient for his majesty's service, as the present state of affairs now is."

The two colonels and their officers retired from the council to their ships, and several of the officers of the town followed them. After this, Lundy called a meeting of the council, at which it was resolved to send messengers to king James, who had joined his army in the north, to offer to surrender the town. Secret communications were now carried on between the town and the enemy's camp, which left no doubt of Lundy's intentions, but these and the resolutions of the council, were carefully concealed from the knowledge of the soldiers and townsmen, who only suspected from rumours spread abroad, and from the number of officers that went to the ships, that their governor meant to betray them. The soldiers and townsmen arose tumultuously, and endeavoured to hinder the flight of their officers, one of whom was shot dead, and another was severely wounded before they got into their boats. Others of the officers, who remained in the town, sent a messenger to colonel Cunningham, acquainting him with their suspicions of Lundy's treason, and offering him the government of the town if he would stay with the two regiments; but he only replied, that as his orders were to obey Lundy, he could not listen to any other authority. On the 18th the transport ships fell down to Green Castle, and next day they sailed with the two regiments for England.

It appears that the 18th of April was the

day privately fixed for delivering up the town to king James, if the project had not been divulged, and accordingly on the morning of that day he was seen slowly approaching the town at the head of his army. The town-clerk now declared openly the resolutions which had been passed at the various councils held on the preceding days, and the townspeople, seeing that they were on the point of being betrayed, rose more tumultuously than ever, and were joined by the protestant soldiery. In spite of the governor's orders to the contrary, they fired from the walls on the Irish army, as it was marching over the strand, and it was reported that an officer was killed at the king's side. From this moment, Lundy and the officers who acted with him lost all control over the garrison.

There were now two powers within the walls of Londonderry, which were acting in direct contradiction to each other. Lundy and his council went on treating for a surrender, while the soldiers and townsmen were preparing for a resolute defence. James was puzzled with this state of things, and knew not what to expect, when a messenger came to him from the council, informing him of the tumult which had arisen, and begging him to withdraw his army from the view of the town until they had appeased it, when they doubted not to be able to fulfil their engagements. In the midst of the uproar, news arrived that captain Murray, a brave officer, who had the command of one of the outposts of the town, was advancing at the head of a strong body of horse, followed by his infantry, to oppose the surrender of the town. Lundy and the council immediately sent him orders to retire out of sight of the townsmen, but he understood from the messenger the real state of affairs, and saw the soldiers and townsmen beckoning him from the walls, and he marched straight to one of the gates, which was thrown open to him by the guard. As Murray rode through the streets, he was welcomed by the eager multitude with shouts of joy; and in return he gave them encouraging words, declared he would stand by them with his life, and assist them in expelling Lundy and his council, and desired every one who was actuated by the same feelings to tie a white favour on his arm. Other officers joined in these exhortations, and the white sign soon appeared on every arm.

Lundy, informed of what had occurred in the town, summoned captain Murray to

appear immediately before the council, where they endeavoured to persuade him to sign the resolution to capitulate, which he refused; and then boldly addressing Lundy, he told him that his actions proved him a traitor to his commission, pointed out his neglect in not securing the passes by which the approach of the enemy might have been hindered, and in withdrawing necessary assistance from those who were in need of it, and he called upon him to show his loyalty by marching out at once against the Irish, and driving them away. But Lundy was not in a temper to listen to such counsels, and captain Murray returned to the soldiers, told them of the determination of their governor to betray them, and of the necessity of counteracting his designs, and brought into the town all the soldiers under his own command. He then placed his own guards at the gates, and took every measure necessary for the security of the town during the night.

After Murray's departure, the council went on deliberating on the form of surrender, and they agreed that, in accordance with the king's desire, twenty men should be sent to him to treat for terms of capitulation. Before choosing them, they were obliged to suspend their meeting by the threats of the armed multitude, and neither Lundy nor his officers dared from this time to show themselves in the streets. The former was kept in a kind of imprisonment in his own house, and next morning the garrison and town formally deposed him, and proceeded to choose a new governor in his place. Meanwhile the council met in the morning of the 19th, and nominated the twenty commissioners who were to be sent to the Irish camp, but when they presented themselves at the gate to depart, they were driven back by the threats of the townspeople. The council itself never met again; some of the officers who composed it, although they had signed the resolution to surrender, now joined the townsmen, and others made their escape. Lundy remained all day a prisoner in his house, but in the evening he stole out in disguise, with a burthen on his back, and thus ignominiously slunk out of the town.

It was now the turn of the townsmen to hold councils. Their town was not in a good state of defence, and it was inadequately stored and provisioned, but the courage of the inhabitants proved its best safeguard. They had, however, entered upon

a course surrounded with great dangers, and they had few regular soldiers, and nobody to command them. In their gratitude to captain Murray, for his timely interference, they offered him the chief command; but with the conscious modesty of a brave man, he declined the honour thus designed for him, alleging that he was better fitted to take the field, than to direct the defence of a town, but he offered to command the horse. They then called their first council of war, at which another officer, distinguished by his bravery and conduct, major Baker, was chosen, and when he, in accepting the office, begged to be allowed an assistant, they gave him for his colleague George Walker, a protestant clergyman, who, seized with military ardour, had raised a regiment himself, when the danger first seemed imminent, and had thrown himself into Londonderry, to support the protestant cause by fighting as well as preaching. Thus within a few hours a complete revolution had been effected in Londonderry, and all notions of surrender were laid aside.

On the 21st of April, hostilities commenced between the townsmen and the besiegers. The latter had been formed into a number of regiments proportioned to the number of bastions, and each regiment had its particular part of the works to defend. This raised a spirit of emulation, which contributed not a little to the success of their efforts. Murray was indefatigable in his efforts to sustain the courage of the defenders; he flew from regiment to regiment, and almost from man to man, told them of the sacredness of their cause, and the glory that awaited them; showed them that perseverance and bravery were the only things necessary to secure their success. Walker, when not at the head of his regiment, assembled the soldiers and townsmen in church, and animated them by his preaching. Their operations were not confined to the defence of the walls, but they formed volunteer companies under the more daring and enterprising of their officers; and by continual sallies by night and day, they engaged their enemies in a gallant and destructive warfare at the outposts, killing great numbers of them, and destroying their works as fast as they became formidable. James remained eleven days to witness the unsuccessful attempts of his army to make an impression on the town, and then returned to Dublin.

The dangers of the siege did not entirely

put an end to religious disputes and jealousies among the inhabitants. Within a day or two after hostilities had commenced, the governor was obliged to interfere to appease a quarrel between the conformists and the non-conformists, arising out of their rival claims to the possession of the cathedral church; and he arranged that the one party should have the use of the sacred edifice in the morning, and the other in the afternoon. But such disputes continued to produce some bitterness of feeling, and were perhaps partly the cause of the jealousy shown towards Walker, against whom was brought a charge of mismanagement of the stores, which had been placed under his charge, as well as of other petty delinquencies.

These disputes, however, appear to have had no effect in damping the ardour of the soldiers. The hostilities before the town were carried on unabated during the months of May and June, in a manner which reminds us rather of the exploits of the Homeric heroes than of modern fighting. One of the most severe of these engagements, took place on the 4th of June, and originated in an attempt of the enemy to drive the besieged from their outposts at the Windmill-hill, and the account of it, as given by one of those present (Mackenzie), who kept an exact account of the siege, will furnish the best notion of the sort of warfare which was consuming James's army before Londonderry.

"June the fourth, being Tuesday," says Mackenzie, "the enemy approached to our works at the windmill, with a great body of foot and horse. Our men ordered themselves so, that in each redoubt there were four, and in some five reliefs, so that they were in a posture of firing continually. The Irish divided their horse in three parties, and their foot in two. The first party of horse was commanded by captain Butler (the lord Mountgarret's son), and consisted most of gentlemen, who, 'tis said, had sworn to top our line. They attack our lines at the water-side, and the other parties of horse were to follow the first. The one party of the foot attacks the lines betwixt the windmill and the water, and the other (being grenadiers), the lines at the bog-side, betwixt the windmill and the town. Captains James and John Gladstones, captain Andrew Adams, captain Francis Boyd, captain Robert Wallace, captain John Maghlin, and captain William Beattie, with their men, had taken their ground next the water. The

first party of horse charged furiously, having faggots of wood carried before them; they came on with a huzza, seconded with a huge shout from the Irish camp. They came by the end of the line (it being low water) notwithstanding our firing constantly on them. Our men, viz., captain James Gladstones, captain John Gladstones, with others next to them, left their redoubts, and took to the strand with their muskets, pikes, and seythes, and fell on them with that vigour that soon spoilt the tune of their huzzas, for few of that party escaped. Many of them were driven into the river, and captain Butler himself taken prisoner by captain John Gladstones. The rest of the horse, seeing the first party so warmly received, had no great stomach to come on. In the mean time the foot (who had also faggots of wood carried before them), attack the line betwixt the windmill and the water. They were as warmly received as the horse; and whereas they imagined our men would fire all together, finding that they fired successively, they soon wheeled about and drew off; only a few came furiously to the back of our works, and were either killed or hawled over by the hair of their heads. In the mean time the other party of foot, being grenadiers, attack our forts by the bog side, and came on fiercely, but were as vigorously repulsed by our men there. Colonel Monro did there acquit himself very well; captain Michael Cunningham (one of the citizens that had been always very active and zealous for the defence of the town), was at the bog side with his company, kept our men to their posts, and opposed the grenadiers with great courage. He narrowly escaped with his life, a cannon bullet tearing up the ground about him, and he had a small bullet cut out of his back. Lieutenant James Ker, lieutenant Josias Abernethy, and lieutenant Clark, did good service, the last being wounded. Mr. Thomas Maxwell was killed about the same time on the walls. This day governor Baker showed both his conduct and courage in ordering and bringing out frequent reliefs, where the greatest danger appeared. Our women also did good service, carrying ammunition, match, bread, and drink to our men; and assisted to very good purpose at the bog side, in beating off the grenadiers with stones, who came so near to our lines. The enemy lost a considerable number of men. Most of their officers were either killed or taken prisoners. When they retreated, they carried away on their backs

many of their dead and mortally wounded with them, (as was supposed) to shelter themselves the better from the storm of our shot. Those of note killed on the enemy's side, were lieutenant-colonel Farrell, two French captains, captain Graham, lieutenant Burke, quarter-master Kelly, adjutant Fahey, ensign Norris, ensign Arthur. The prisoners were captain Butler, son to the lord Mountgarret, captain Macdonnel, cornet Macdanaghy, captain Watson, a French lieutenant, lieutenant Eustace, serjeant Peggot. We lost five or six private men, and one captain Maxwell had his arm broke with a cannon bullet, whereof he died within three weeks after; he had that day behaved himself with great courage. And one Thomas Gow had all the flesh shot off the calf of his leg by a cannon bullet; but the bone not being broken, he recovered. There were three of our colonels out that day, Murray, Monro, and Hamill; the last got a hurt on the cheek with a small bullet."

Such were the daily events which characterized this memorable siege of Londonderry. But week after week passed on, and the numerous army of besiegers were approaching gradually closer and closer round the town, while the provisions of the besieged became exhausted, and they had to encounter a new and more terrible enemy, famine and consequent disease. But the cause of this brave city had already excited the greatest interest in England, and general Kirk had been sent to them with provisions and a reinforcement of five thousand men. Kirk was retarded by different accidents, but on the 13th of June, the citizens were in a transport of joy at beholding the English fleet enter Lough Foyle. The enemy were for a moment thrown into the utmost consternation, but they recovered courage when they saw the English ships remain stationary instead of running up the river to the city. And they manned their forts on the river side, increased and strengthened them, and threw a strong boom across the river. Kirk had received false information of the strength of these defences, and, afraid to risk his ships, he determined on stationing himself at the Inch, an island about six miles from Londonderry. He chose this station, because it enabled him to communicate easily with the Enniskilleners, and he, perhaps, hoped to raise the siege by joining his fresh troops with them. As his ships sailed from before their town, the inhabitants of Londonderry followed them with aching

eyes, and their grief was not much appeased by the receipt of a letter from Kirk, on his arrival at the Inch, assuring them that king William's affairs were prosperous, and that succours beyond their wishes were speedily to join them, and urging them to husband well their provisions.

King James was alarmed at the protracted defence of Londonderry, and at the attempt made to relieve it, and he sent his commander-in-chief, marshal Rosen, to push on the operations with more vigour. Rosen arrived at the Irish camp on the 20th of June. The heat of the weather had now increased the disease and mortality among a population closely cooped up within the walls, to such a degree that they buried fifteen officers in one day, and they sustained a still greater loss in their governor, Baker. But the courage of the soldiers and citizens, remained unabated; when provisions ran short, they dug up the cellars of the houses to seek any that might have been concealed, and with success; they showed no want of alacrity in defending their walls; and they became skilful miners in labouring to countermine their assailants. The shells of the enemy, which had now caused great damage in the town, their extensive batteries, and the close blockade which they had now effected, seemed to produce no effect on their minds. They continued to make sallies, and, though their numbers were diminished, they were generally successful, yet the result of these exploits was of little advantage, except in prolonging the struggle and keeping up the spirits of the defenders. When general Hamilton, soon after Rosen's arrival, sent into the town, in an empty bomb, offers of favourable conditions of surrender, they only replied in scorn, that they could not trust one who had betrayed the trust placed in him by their master. Rosen was in despair of making any sudden impression on the place, and, seeing that the siege would be prolonged until further relief arrived from England, he resolved to force them to surrender, by an act of enormous barbarity.

On the first advance of the Irish army against Londonderry, numbers of the protestant inhabitants of the surrounding country, who remained peaceable or surrendered their arms, received protections from the Irish commanders, which insured them against molestation. Provoked at the obstinate bravery of the citizens, marshal Rosen sent a letter into the town on the 30th of

June, threatening that unless the besieged surrendered by six o'clock in the afternoon, he would cause all the inhabitants of the surrounding country to be collected together and driven under their walls, there to starve or be a burthen to the city; that all the country should be burnt, and that when he had taken the city, he would cause, not only the garrison, but the whole population to be put to the sword without regard of age or sex.* The besieged paid no attention to this threat, which they supposed to be nothing more than a bravado; and they were struck with horror when, on the morning of the 2nd of July, James's commander-in-chief put his barbarous threat in execution. Five thousand, or according to some accounts seven thousand, miserable people, of all ages and sexes, even the sick and nurses with infants at the breast, who had been robbed and ill-treated, and most of them stripped on the way, were driven under the walls by the Irish soldiers, with drawn swords. Many of them perished on the way, or died under the walls; and the Irish officers are said to have been unwilling

instruments in executing the orders of their commander, and some of them confessed subsequently that the cries they then heard rang for ever after in their ears.

The soldiers on the walls imagined at first that the approaching multitude denoted some new attack of the enemy, and they fired upon them as they advanced, but fortunately without doing any hurt; and when they discovered their mistake, their animosity against the besiegers rose to a furious excitement. Their own condition and wants rendered it impossible to admit so many new mouths, and the sufferers, instead of soliciting the compassion of their brethren in the town, called to them to attend to their own interests, and told them not to surrender to men void of all christian humanity, which would not save those who were without, while it would only involve those who were within in one common slaughter. But there were in the town many prisoners, and some of them persons of distinction, and the besieged now erected a gallows on the wall, and threatened to hang them all, unless the protestants, who had been so

* The following was Marshal Rosen's letter, as it is given by Mackenzie:—

"Conrad de Rosen, marshal-general of all his majesty's forces,

"Declares by these presents, to the commanders, officers, soldiers, and inhabitants of the city of Londonderry, that in case they do not, betwixt this and Monday next, at six of the clock in the afternoon, being the first of July, in the year of our Lord 1689, agree to surrender the said place of Londonderry unto the king, upon such conditions as may be granted them, according to the instructions and power lieutenant-general Hamilton formerly received from his majesty, that he will forthwith issue out his orders from the barony of Inishowen, and the seacoasts round about as far as Charlemont, for the gathering together of those of their faction, whether protected or not, and cause them immediately to be brought to the walls of Londonderry, where it shall be lawful for those in the same (in case they have any pity of them) to open the gates and receive them into the city, otherwise they will be forced to see their friends and nearest relations all starved for want of food, he having resolved not to leave any of them at home, nor anything to maintain them. He further declares, that in case they refuse to submit, he will forthwith cause all the said country to be immediately destroyed, that if any succour should be hereafter sent them from England, they may perish with them for want of sustenance; besides which he hath a very considerable army, as well for the opposing of them in all places that shall be judged necessary, as for the protection of all the rest of his majesty's dutiful subjects, whose goods and chattels he promises to secure, destroying all the rest that cannot conveniently be brought into such places as he shall judge fit to be preserved, and burning the houses and mills not only of those that are in actual rebellion, but also of

their friends and adherents, that no hopes of escaping may be left for any man, beginning this very day to send his necessary orders to all governors and other commanders of his majesty's forces at Coleraine, Antrim, Carrickfergus, Belfast, Dungannon, Charlemont, Belturbet, Sligo, and to colonel Sarsfield commanding a flying army beyond Ballishannon, colonel Sutherland, commanding another towards Emiskillen, and the duke of Berwick another on the Finn-water; to cause all the men, women, and children, who are in anywise related to those in Londonderry, or anywhere else in open rebellion, to be forthwith brought to this place, without hopes of withdrawing further into the kingdom. Moreover, he declares that in case, before the said Monday, the first day of July, in the year of our Lord 1689, be expired, they do not send as hostages, and other deputies, with a full and sufficient power to treat with us for the surrender of the said city of Londonderry, on reasonable conditions, they shall not after that time be admitted to any treaty whatsoever, and the army which shall continue the siege, and will, with the assistance of God, soon reduce it, shall have orders to give no quarter, or spare age or sex, in case it is taken by force. But if they return to the obedience due to their natural prince, he promises them that the conditions granted to them in his majesty's name shall be inviolably observed by all his majesty's subjects, and that he himself will have a care to protect them on all occasions, even to take their part, if any injury contrary to agreement should be done them, making himself responsible for the performance of the conditions on which they shall agree to surrender the said place of Londonderry to the king. Given under our hand this 30th day of June, in the year of my Lord 1689.

"La Marechal de Rosen.

"Par Monseigneur Febart."

cruelly driven from their homes, were allowed to return. The prisoners themselves wrote to Rosen, to expostulate and represent their danger, and after the miserable protestants had remained huddled together at the foot of the walls during two days and the intervening night, without meat, drink, or shelter, during which time hundreds of them died, Rosen's orders were revoked, and they were allowed to depart. Those who survived, dragged themselves with difficulty to their homes, where they found their property carried away, their houses burnt, and themselves in no better condition than when they lay under the walls. The Irish gained no advantage from this barbarous device; while many of the stronger men among its victims were admitted into the town, and helped to recruit the ranks of their opponents. It is said, that when king James was informed of the orders issued by marshal Rosen on this occasion, he expressed his strong disapproval of them.

The provisions in the town were now nearly consumed, and its defenders, enfeebled by want of food, began to lose their former vigour, and to give way to despair. They failed in several desperate attempts to capture provisions from their enemies, and they were driven to the most revolting expedients. Mackenzie tells us that on the 20th of July, "one Mr. James Cunningham, merchant, found out a way of supplying the garrison for six or seven days; he showed them where there was a good quantity of starch in the town, which they mixed with tallow and made pancakes of, which proved not only good food, but physic too to many of those whom weariness and ill-diet had cast into a flux." Even Walker's sermons assumed a desponding tone, and despair was pictured on every countenance. They now for the first time talked of capitulating, and messengers passed between the town and the camp, but the distrust with which the protestants looked upon the promises of the catholics interrupted the negotiations more than once. Such was the state of things when, on the 30th of July, relief came to Londonderry, at the moment when it was driven to the last extremity.

It was never Kirk's intention to allow Londonderry to fall into the power of the enemy, and now that he received certain intelligence that it was reduced to the necessity of capitulating, he determined to make an attempt to relieve it. About seven o'clock in the evening of the 30th of July,

the hearts of the citizens—who were gazing despondingly on the lough—were suddenly cheered by the sight of three ships which were shaping their course towards the river. They proved to be the Mountjoy of Londonderry, the Phoenix of Coleraine, and the Dartmouth frigate, sent by Kirk with a good store of provisions. The good news spread through the town, and the citizens crowded to the walls. In passing Culmore fort, which was in the possession of the enemy, they were exposed to a heavy fire, to which they made a vigorous return. The spirits of the citizens sunk for a moment, to burst out in one tremendous shout of exultation, when they beheld the ships pass the fort uninjured. "The enemy," one of the spectators informs us, "plied them with cannon and small shot, from both sides the river, and the ships made them good returns; but when the foremost vessel came (as 'tis supposed), to the boom, she made some stop, the little wind they had while they passed the fort, entirely failing, and a dead calm succeeding. The smoke of the shot both from the land and from the ships, clouded her from our sight, and she was (as we afterwards learnt) unhappily run aground; and when the enemy, who gathered in swarms to the water side, raised a loud huzza along the shore, telling us our ships were taken, and we perceived them both firing their guns at them and preparing boats to board them, this struck such a sudden terror into our hearts, as appeared in the very blackness of our countenances. Our spirits sunk, and our hopes were expiring. But this did not continue long; for the Mountjoy, by firing a broadside, with the help of the increasing tide, got off from the shore, and we soon perceived the ships firing at them, and advancing towards us, though but slowly, which made the enemy draw their guns from place to place after them. But at last they came up to the quay, to the inexpressible joy of our garrison, that was at this time reduced to that distress, that it was scarce possible for them to subsist above two or three days longer. The first that broke or passed the boom was the Mountjoy of Londonderry, commanded by captain Micaiah Browning, who was to our great regret killed by the enemy's shot; a gentleman whose memory should never be forgotten by the garrison and inhabitants of Londonderry, who generously sacrificed his own life for the preservation of theirs, and had freely offered to make this attempt sooner.

if the major-general (Kirk) would have permitted it. But the *Phoenix* of Coleraine, came first to the quay, captain Andrew Douglas, master, laden with eight hundred bolls of meal from Scotland."

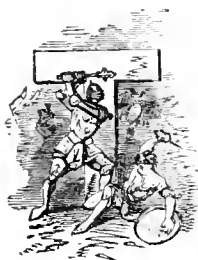
The opportune arrival of this convoy saved Londonderry. The enemy continued firing their guns all night, to cover their real intentions, but next day they raised the siege, and marched off towards Strabane. The garrison, which had originally consisted of seven thousand five hundred men, was reduced to four thousand, and a thousand of those that remained were totally unfit for service. About seven thousand of the unarmed multitude had perished during the siege by famine, disease, or the shots of the enemy. The siege had now lasted a hundred and five days, during which the Irish army had lost about eight thousand men. On the morning of the 31st of July, the citizens and garrison went in solemn procession to the church, to render thanks to God for their happy deliverance. The spirits of the garrison were raised to such a pitch, that when they saw their enemies marching off and burning the

country before them, they could hardly be restrained from marching after them, even without waiting to take food. But it was soon found that their force, wasted by famine and watching till they appeared little better than shadows of what they had been, was unequal to their will, and they were obliged to turn back, with the loss of a few whose temerity had carried them too far in the pursuit.

"And thus," says the personal narrator of these events, "was the siege of Londonderry raised, to the admiration of our friends, who had given us over for lost, and to the disappointment of our enemies, who were no less confident that they should soon make themselves masters of so weak and indefensible a place. The glory of it being entirely due to the Almighty, who inspired a garrison for the most part made up of a few raw and untrained men, and those labouring under all possible discouragements, with that resolution that enabled them to defeat all the attempts of a numerous army to reduce them; their zeal and affection for the just cause they had undertaken, supplying all the defects of military discipline."

CHAPTER XII.

EXPLOITS OF THE ENNISKILLINERS.



HE retreat of the Irish army from before Londonderry, was hastened by the gallant exploits of the Enniskilleners. These hardy volunteers had kept the enemy in constant employment since the commencement of the siege, during the first weeks of which they maintained a tolerably regular communication with the citizens. About the end of April, as it has been stated before, the forces of Enniskillen were increased by the arrival of lord Kingston's horse, while the main body of his foot posted themselves at Ballyshannon, between which places there was a ready communication by means of Lough Erne. The first regular engagement in which the En-

niskilleners ventured to engage the enemy, was in relief of Ballyshannon, which was threatened with a siege by a body of Irish forces from Connaught. In this battle, which took place on the 8th of May, at the village of Belleek, near the western extremity of Lough Erne, the Irish were entirely defeated, with a loss of about six score killed, and some sixty prisoners, without the loss of one man on the side of the protestants. Encouraged by this first success, the men of Enniskillen meditated further exploits, and their ardour was with difficulty hindered from leading them into rash encounters. About the end of May they marched to the number of about fifteen hundred foot, against some Irish garrisons in the county of Cavan, and their approach, and their numbers magnified by rumour,

struck such terror into their enemies, that the castles of Redhill and Ballynacarrig, were abandoned to them without resistance; they destroyed the latter castle, and returned home, laden with arms, ammunition, and other plunder. These bold incursions alarmed the catholics, even in Dublin, where it was rumoured that the undaunted Enniskilleners, fifteen thousand strong, were marching against the capital. On the third of June, another party nearly surprised the Irish garrison at Omagh, and carried back to Enniskillen a large booty of horses and cows.

Pressing messages now came from Londonderry, describing the miserable condition to which the garrison of that city was reduced, and begging for relief. Undaunted by the extraordinary disparity of numbers, Gustavus Hamilton, their governor, placed himself at the head of the Enniskillen troops, amounting to about two thousand men, and marched on the 10th of June with the resolution of carrying them succours. On the twelfth of June they took possession of the town of Omagh, and laid siege to its castle; but they had hardly commenced operations when expresses arrived from Enniskillen to inform them that five or six thousand men under Sarsfield, were marching against Ballyshannon, and that another Irish army was collecting at Belturbet, under colonel Sutherland, to attack Enniskillen. A hasty council was held, and it was resolved to abandon their present enterprize, and return. On the 17th of June, the Enniskillen forces, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, marched out with the intention of attacking the enemy in Belturbet, and proceeded as far as Maguire's-Bridge, where they passed the night. Rumours again carried intelligence of their approach, and gave such an exaggerated estimate of their numbers, that colonel Sutherland took to flight with the greater part of his men and their cannon, leaving only a detachment of dragoons, and about two hundred foot, in the hope that they would be able to hold out in the church till his return with a more considerable army, and thus secure the military stores which he had been collecting in Belturbet.

"The next day," says the historian of Enniskillen, "happened to be a most terrible day of rain, insomuch that our men could march no further that day; and this gave colonel Sutherland time enough to go off with those men that he brought with

him. But the next day again proving fair, lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, with his men advanced towards Belturbet, and ordered captain Robert Vaughan and captain Hugh Galbraith, with their two troops of dragoons to be the forlorn. But by that time they came within two miles of Belturbet, there met them about a troop of dragoons that fired at them, but our dragoons alighting from their horses, and lining the ditches on both sides of the road, and the main body of our men coming in view, the Irish dragoons retreated to Belturbet, and went all into the church and church-yard, to the rest of their men, intending to make good that place, firing very fast at us, but with the same success that is usual with them; for they touched not a man of ours, but one, who recovered afterwards. Our men came very close upon them, and soon got into all the houses near the church, and some of them getting into the archbishop of Dublin's house in Belturbet, which by its height does overtop the churchyard, from the upper windows they did so gall them with their shot, that not a man of them could keep the churchyard; and within less than two hours after we came there (some of their men being killed), they held out a flag for a treaty. Which being granted, they made conditions, and it was agreed, that all the officers and soldiers should be our prisoners, the officers to have all their clothes and money given them, if it did not exceed ten pounds a-piece; the common soldiers were to have their lives saved, but to be stripped of all their red coats; which was accordingly performed. And thus we got about three hundred prisoners, whereof thirteen were commission officers, together with lieutenant-colonel Scot, their commander-in-chief; but next day we let go near two hundred of the meanest of the common soldiers, because of the charge we were at in maintaining them; and the rest, with their officers, we brought with us to Enniskillen. We got about seven hundred muskets, a barrel and-a-half of powder (which was as much as we had in our storehouse before), eighty dragoon horses with all the accoutrements belonging to them, about twenty horse-loads of bisket, about fifty barrels of flour, a hundred barrels of wheat, some malt, and other provisions, all which we sent by water to Enniskillen. We got but as many red coats as served two companies, many of their men (being new levies) wearing grey. And thus we returned to Ennis-

killen without the loss of one man, laden with the spoils and provisions of our enemies, which came very seasonably to us; for by it we were plentifully provided with bread until our harvest supplied us again; and our companies, who were ill-armed before, were now well recruited, and some new companies were immediately raised, so that our condition was very much bettered by it."

Such was the state of things at Enniskillen, when general Kirk arrived on the Irish shores, and stationed himself at the Inch in Lough Foyle. On the third of July, the Enniskilleners were thrown into the utmost joy, by the arrival of messengers from the Bonaventure frigate, which Kirk had sent round to Ballyshannon to learn their condition and administer to their necessities. The main body of the troops were immediately sent to Ballyshannon, whence in two or three days they returned, bringing with them thirty barrels of gunpowder, an article with which, as we have seen, they were previously very ill supplied. During their absence, the Irish under the duke of Berwick made some hostile incursions into their neighbourhood, and they received rather a severe check in venturing against him rashly with inferior numbers.

It was now determined to send commissioners to Kirk, in Lough Foyle, and Andrew Hamilton, the historian of the Enniskilleners, was chosen as one of the number. They embarked at Ballyshannon, and proceeded by sea, for the enemy lay between them and Lough Foyle by land. "We had, then," says Hamilton, "about seventeen troops, thirty foot companies, and some few troops of dragoons; our foot were indifferently well armed, but our horse and dragoons not so well. The major-general (Kirk) had few or no arms fit for horsemen; but he gave us six hundred firelocks for dragoons, a thousand muskets to raise more foot with, twenty barrels of powder, besides the thirty we received out of the Bonaventure, with bullets and match proportionable, eight small cannon, and some few hand grenades. He gave us commissions for a regiment of horse, consisting of sixteen troops, and fifty private men in each troop, besides officers; for a regiment of dragoons, consisting of twelve troops, and the like number of private men in each troop: and for three regiments of foot, and an independent troop of horse to every regiment, each regiment of foot to consist of eighteen companies, whereof two

companies to be grenadiers, and sixty private men in every company. The major-general told us he could spare none of his private men, but gave us some very good officers, viz., colonel William Wolsley, to be our commander-in-chief and colonel of horse; captain William Berry, to be lieutenant-colonel to our horse; captain Charles Stone, to be major to our horse; captain James Winn, a gentleman from Ireland, but then a captain in colonel Stewart's regiment, to be colonel of our dragoons; and for our three regiments of foot, Gustavus Hamilton, governor of Enniskillen, was made eldest colonel, and lieutenant-colonel Lloyd and major Tiffin were the other two colonels. He gave us captain Thomas Price (who has a troop of horse with us) to be our aid-major-general, and one captain Johnston, who has a foot company, to be our engineer." The commissioners arrived with these officers at Enniskillen on the 28th of July, and were received by the acclamations of the townsmen, whose joy was the greater, as they had already received intelligence that the Irish general Macarthy had reached Belturbet with a considerable army to carry on hostilities against them.

The same night and the following morning, messengers came in from Crom, informing the governor of Enniskillen that Macarthy had appeared before that place, and was already battering the castle with cannon. In this emergency the Enniskillen troops were recalled from Ballyshannon, with the exception of as many as were absolutely necessary for the defence of the place, which was threatened by Sarsfield, who lay near it with another strong body of Irish troops. On the night of Monday, the 29th of July, intelligence came to Enniskillen that general Macarthy had detached a part of his army to seize upon Lisnaskea, a town of some strength only a few miles from Enniskillen, which the Enniskilleners determined at all risks to prevent. Next morning, accordingly, lieutenant-colonel Berry marched out of the town towards Lisnaskea, with seven or eight troops of horse, two troops of dragoons, and about three foot companies. They reached Lisnaskea before the enemy, and finding the castle in such a dilapidated condition as to be untenable, they encamped outside the town all night, and next morning marched against the enemy, who were reported to be encamped about six miles off. Berry had not proceeded above two miles, when he found himself at a place called

Donagh, unexpectedly in face of an enemy so far superior in numbers to himself, that he found it advisable to make good his retreat upon Lisnaskea, and to send an express to Enniskillen for immediate relief.

"Now," says Hamilton, "there are two ways leading from Lisnaskea to Enniskillen, the one lately made through some bogs and low fenny grounds, nearer Lough Erne than the old way; and this road lieutenant-colonel Berry resolved to take, as being more secure, and several passes on it much easier to defend than the other. He had not stayed long at Lisnaskea but the enemy came near him, and then with his men he retreats by this new road (which turns off the old at the end of the town of Lisnaskea), and marched in good order, the enemy still advancing upon him, till he came about a mile distant from Lisnaskea, to a bog with a narrow causeway through it, that two horsemen could scarcely ride in abreast upon, and at the end of this causeway (which is an easy musket-shot over), Berry halted, resolving to make good that pass against the enemy until he had relief from colonel Wolseley. There was a thicket of underwood at the end of the causeway, where Berry placed his foot and dragoons, ordering them to make good their ground; the horse he drew a little farther off, promising that they should relieve the foot and dragoons, and gave the word 'Oxford.' They made but a very short stay there, when colonel Anthony Hamilton (who was major-general to Macarthy), came in view with a considerable body of men, who, alighting from his horse, ordered his dragoons to do so too, and very bravely advanced near the end of the causeway, his men firing briskly at ours, but with no great success; for it pleased God that, after a great many volleys of shot which they made at us, not one of our men was killed, and but about a dozen or fourteen of them wounded. Our men were better marksmen; they shot about a dozen of the enemy dead at the end of the causeway, and wounded colonel Anthony Hamilton, their leader, in the leg. He being hurt retreated a little, and mounted his horse, ordering another officer to lead on the men, who very soon was likewise killed, with some more of their men. The enemy, seeing their men thus drop by our shot, and their general, colonel Hamilton, being gone a little way back, and no chief officer there to lead them on, began to retreat from the end of the causeway, which our men seeing, gave a huzza, and

called out, 'The rogues are running,' and immediately our foot and dragoons took the bog on each hand, and our horse advanced on the causeway towards them, which the enemy perceiving, began at first to retreat a little faster from us, but their retreat soon turned to a most disorderly flight, without offering to face about, or fire any more at us. Our horse soon overtook them, and fell in among their foot, and such dragoons as were on foot, and made a very great slaughter of them, having the chase of them through the town of Lisnaskea, and near a mile farther. And the execution had been greater but notice was brought to Berry that lieutenant-general Macarthy, with the body of his army, was advancing towards him; upon this he sounds a retreat, and brings back his men to the place where the fight first began, having killed about two hundred, and taken about thirty prisoners, which he sent immediately to Enniskillen, with several horse-loads of arms which he had taken from the enemy; and this action happened about nine o'clock in the forenoon."

Berry's party had hardly rested themselves from this encounter, when a messenger arrived from colonel Wolseley, to inform him that that officer had arrived with the main body of the Enniskilleners, and bringing him orders to form a junction with them at Lisnaskea. "Now colonel Wolseley had marched his men the old road from Enniskillen to Lisnaskea, leaving the new road, where Berry and his men were, about a mile on the right hand. As soon as this express came Berry marched, and both he and colonel Wolseley, with their men, met at the same time near the moat, above the town of Lisnaskea, and after some kind words had passed between both parties at their meeting, colonel Wolseley acquainted the officers that the party under his command had made so great haste to relieve the other party that few or none of them had brought a meal of meat with them, and, therefore, they must speedily consider what they had to do, for either they must advance towards the enemy, and resolve to fight them that very day, or return back again to Enniskillen for want of provisions. But, after the thing was debated among the officers, it was agreed on to consult the soldiers themselves, and to know their mind in the matter. The men were called to their close order, and the question was asked, whether they would advance and fight the enemy that day, or fall back upon Enniskillen. They, who had never before turned their

back to their enemy, thought it dishonourable now to begin, especially after so remarkable a victory obtained that morning, and upon so unequal terms, which they took for a presage of what they might expect in the afternoon; all of them, therefore, with one acclamation, called out to advance. Colonel Wolseley and the other colonels drew up all the men in battalion, and gave them the word, "no popery," which was very acceptable to all our party; and then he drew out four men out of every troop, with an officer to command them, for our forlorn. Our whole number, when all were joined together, did consist of about sixteen troops of horse, three troops of dragoons, and twenty-one companies of foot, besides some that were not under command; so that in the whole party, we reckoned ourselves some more than two thousand."

Meanwhile the Irish general, informed of the movements of the Enniskilleners, had raised the siege of Crom, and marched forward with the bulk of his army to support the division which had been so signally defeated in the morning. The soldiers of Enniskillen had no sooner resolved to advance, than they received certain information that Macarthy had posted himself at Newtown-Butler, a village or small town not more than two miles beyond Donagh. Colonel Wolseley immediately formed his little army in order of march, and proceeded from Linskeea to Donagh. The account of the further proceedings cannot be told better than in the graphic language of Andrew Hamilton. "We had not marched above half a mile from Donagh," he says, "when our forlorn (advanced guard) came in view of the forlorn of the enemy, who immediately retreated before our men. We advanced after them till we came within about half a mile from Newtown-Butler, where there is a steep hill that the road leads through, and, before you come to the hill, there is a bog with a causeway through it, where only two men, at most, can ride in abreast. The enemy was drawn up in very good order upon the hill above the bog, and no other way had we to come at them but by the bog and causeway through it.

"When our men came near the place, our officers considered the ground, and how advantageously the enemy had posted themselves; and then colonel Wolseley ordered colonel Tiffin with his battalion of foot to take the bog on the right hand of the causeway, and colonel Lloyd with his battalion to

take the bog on the left, and colonel Wynne to divide his dragoons, and the one-half to second colonel Tiffin on foot, and the other to second colonel Lloyd; and he ordered lieutenant-colonel Berry to advance with the horse upon the causeway as the foot on each hand advanced through the bog; and he himself brought up the main body in the rear to send recruits to those that went before, as he saw cause. And thus whilst we advanced in good order towards the enemy, they ordered the town of Newtown-Butler and the country-houses about to be all set on fire; and before our men came within musket shot of them they began to fire at us; but by that time that we came within shot of them, and had fired two or three volleys at them, our men saw them begin to draw off and retreat towards Newtown-Butler; which our men misapprehending, believed them running away, and our officers had much ado to keep them from pursuing with all the speed they could. But colonel Wolseley, and the officers with him, from a height opposite to the place where the enemy was posted, saw them go off in so good order, that they believed it was either to draw our men into an ambush, or bring them to some place of better advantage for the enemy, and therefore sent orders to colonels Tiffin and Lloyd, that no man should go out of his rank, but pursue them in good order, until they were certain that they were flying. Our men having received this command, advanced after the enemy, keeping their ranks; and the enemy still faced about in their rear, firing at us till we went through the town of Newtown-Butler, and near a mile past it, and thus in very good order they retreated, and we advanced, till they came to a bog on the road near half an Irish mile over, with a narrow causeway through the middle of it, by which we must pass to them; and as soon as ever the front of our men came to the bog side, they saw the enemy all drawn up on the hill opposite to them, at the other side of the bog, having their cannon placed at the end of the causeway. Colonel Wolseley ordered our men to advance towards them as they had done before, the ground being much alike. And so colonel Tiffin with his foot took the bog on the right, and colonel Lloyd with his foot took it on the left hand, seconded by colonel Wynne and his dragoons; and lieutenant-colonel Berry and major Stone advanced with our horse towards the causeway. But as soon as our horse came to the side of the

bog, and were beginning to come upon the causeway, the enemy fired their cannon at them, and plied them so hard, that our horse could not advance one step; but our foot and dragoons on both sides advanced by degrees upon them through the bog (the enemy still keeping their ground), till at last they came up and seized their cannons, killed all their cannoniers, and then advanced towards the body of their men, that were drawn up a little above them. As soon as our horse perceived that their cannons were seized by our foot, they advanced on the causeway; which the enemy's horse perceiving, they wheeled about with such dragoons as were on horseback, and fled towards Wattle-Bridge, deserting their foot. Their foot stood their ground till our men came among them; but then perceiving their own horse and dragoons fled, and ours coming up to them, they thought it no time to stay any longer, but turned their backs; and instead of going to the left hand, where they had an open country and might have made their escape, they (being strangers in the country) fled all to the right hand, through a great bog about a mile long, which leads towards Lough Erne, most of them all throwing away their arms into turf-pits. Now the country there is so full of bogs and standing pools and loughs, that there is no passing for horse but upon the road, which for the most part is all paved. Our horse followed theirs in a string, over the narrow ways from the place where the enemy had planted their cannon, to Wattle-Bridge, which is a bridge over a branch of Lough Erne, and left a good guard of horse on the bridge to secure that pass; and about a hundred foot, under the command of captain George Cooper, were ordered to guard the cannon that we had taken. Our horse kept all the road between the two places, that not one of their foot could pass them. Our foot in the meantime followed theirs through the bog into a wood near Lough Erne, and gave quarter that day to few or none that they met with, unless officers; which the enemy perceiving, and having no courage to fight for their lives, they desperately took the lough in several places, to the number (as was computed) of about five hundred, and not one of them that took the water escaped drowning, but one man, who got through after a great many shots made after him. All that night our foot were beating the bushes for them, and all that their officers could do could not bring them off from the pursuit till next day,

about ten of the clock, by which time scarce a man of them that took towards the lough side escap'd, but was either killed, taken prisoner, or drowned."

Thus ended the battle of Newtown-Butler, which was long remembered with pride by the Enniskilleners. The latter had about two thousand five hundred men in the action, while the Irish army engaged consisted of about six thousand. The loss on each side was still more disproportionate; for of the Irish, besides the five hundred drowned in Lough Erne, about two thousand were slain, and nearly five hundred more, including a great number of their officers, taken prisoners, whilst the Enniskilleners lost only about twenty men killed and some forty or fifty "ill wounded." They carried from the field seven cannons, fourteen barrels of powder, a great quantity of other ammunition, and all the Irish drums and colours. Their victory was completed by the capture of the Irish general. In the confusion which followed the flight of the Irish horse, Macarthy, with several of his officers, had taken refuge in a wood near the spot where the cannons were planted. When the protestants were scattered in the pursuit, Macarthy and his companions rode out of the wood, and appear to have been surprised at finding themselves in presence of the guard left to protect the captured cannons. Macarthy himself rashly fired his pistol at them; which the Enniskilleners, who at first supposed them to belong to their own party, and would have let them pass, returned by a discharge of musketry, which brought the Irish general to the ground, dangerously wounded, and killed his horse. One of the protestant soldiers had raised his musket to knock out his brains with the butt-end, when he was arrested by another of the Irish officers, who cried out that the wounded man was general Macarthy. The whole party were then made prisoners, and carried into the town of Newtown-Butler, from whence the victorious protestants returned next day (the 1st of August) in triumph to Enniskillen. Macarthy is said to have lamented that his life was saved, for he declared that he preferred death to being a witness of the ruin that threatened his master's cause, after the best army he had in Ireland had run away so disgracefully. In his pocket was found a paper which informed the captors that the three Irish armies under generals Macarthy, and Sarsfield, and the duke of Berwick, were to form a junction before Enniskillen, to

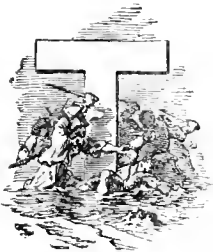
lay siege to that town. Flushed with victory, the Enniskilleners resolved upon marching against Sarsfield, who lay with his army at Bondrows, near Ballyshannon. They started upon this new expedition on the 2nd of August, but on the way they met a messenger bringing intelligence that Sarsfield, on hearing of Macarthy's defeat, had fallen back upon Sligo, and the day after their return to Enniskillen (on the 4th of August) came news that the siege of Londonderry was raised. A party was immediately sent out from Enniskillen, to hang upon the rear of the Irish army in its march, but the retreat of the latter was too precipitate to give them an opportunity of performing any new exploit.

The troops thus voluntarily raised were the origin of the since-celebrated Enniskillen

regiment. There can be no doubt that their activity, by dividing the attention of the Irish army in the north, had materially contributed towards the preservation of Londonderry. They were now left at leisure to complete their regiments, according to the commissions they had received from Kirk, that they might be ready to take a part in the more extensive warfare which was now commencing. On the 7th of August, Andrew Hamilton was sent as their agent to convey their congratulations to their brethren at Londonderry, and that day was kept, both at Londonderry and Enniskillen, as a day of thanksgiving for their successes. A few days after, by Kirk's orders, a detachment of the Enniskillen horse marched with his own troops to Coleraine, to meet duke Schomberg.

CHAPTER XIII.

DUKE SCHOMBERG'S CAMPAIGN.



WO events now followed each other to change the character of the war in Ireland; on one part an English army was sent to support the protestant cause, and afterwards troops came from France to the assistance of king James. William began to perceive that he had committed an error in neglecting Ireland so long, and he determined to send over a force proportionate to the difficulties which the reduction of that country seemed to promise. It was not considered safe to send the soldiers who had formed the English army in the late reign, lest they might be induced to desert to their old master, and accordingly in conformity with an order of the privy council of the 27th of June, twenty-three new regiments for the service of Ireland were raised in England, and completed in the short space of six weeks. To these were joined two battalions of Dutch and four of French protestant refugees; and they were to be joined in Ireland by the Enniskilleners, by some regiments from Scotland, and by a body of six thousand hired Danes.

This army was placed under the command of marshal Schomberg, who was created a duke and received from the English parliament a present of a hundred thousand pounds, and by count Solmes, as his second in command.

The training and provisioning the new troops were attended with much greater delay than the raising of them. When Schomberg arrived at Chester on the 20th of July, he found nothing in readiness for his expedition. The provisions had not been brought into the magazines; the transports and convoys were not ready; many of the regiments had not yet reached the place of rendezvous; the private men were as yet unused to arms; and their officers, mostly the younger sons of country gentlemen, were unaccustomed to command. After wasting twenty-two days in unavailing attempts to get his whole army together, Schomberg determined to defer his departure no longer, but, with ten thousand of his men, a few only of whom were cavalry, and a part of his artillery, he set sail on the 12th of August, and next day entered the bay of Carrickfergus and landed his forces without opposition at Bangor in the county of Down,

from whence he proceeded to Belfast, where Schomberg established his head-quarters.

The Irish forces in this quarter had retired before the new invaders, some to Lisburn, but most to Carrickfergus, which was the place of greatest strength near at hand. It was considered necessary to reduce this fortress, before advancing to the south, and, having sent detachments to take possession of Antrim and other places abandoned by the enemy, Schomberg advanced with a considerable force to lay siege to it. From the strong position of the castle of Carrickfergus, this place might easily have held out so long as to hinder materially Schomberg's ulterior designs; but he had no sooner appeared before it, than the garrison opened negotiations, demanding the permission to send to king James for help or for licence to surrender. But this was refused, and the siege commenced in form, while six ships battered the town from the sea. The garrison now offered to surrender on condition they should be allowed to march out with the honours of war, but this also was refused by Schomberg, who was resolved on making them prisoners. He soon found, however, that his operations went on slowly, and, after a siege of a few days during which each side lost about a hundred and fifty men, he agreed that the Irish should march out with their arms and some baggage, and be escorted to the next Irish garrison. The Ulster protestants, to whom these troops had made themselves hateful by their barbarities, exclaimed against these terms as too indulgent, and, in spite of the efforts of the commanders, and regardless of good faith, they fell upon them and deprived them of their arms and baggage.

Immediately after the capture of Carrickfergus, supplies and reinforcements arrived from England, and on the last day of August Schomberg reviewed his army at Belfast, previous to marching to Dundalk, where he determined to wait for the arrival of the rest of his forces and equipage. The country between Carrickfergus and this place was covered with bogs and mountains, and he saw that in passing through it he should be safe against the attacks of cavalry or artillery, in which he was weak and the enemy strong. He therefore carried with him only some of the lightest of his field-pieces, sending the rest of his artillery by sea to Carlingford, to which place the transports he expected from England were to be sent; and he sent orders for the Enniskillen horse to

join him on his way. The march of six days from Belfast to Dundalk gave the army its first melancholy experience of the hardships to which it was afterwards exposed. The rainy season had set in early, and the weather was so stormy, that, when the ground was firm enough to enable them to pitch their tents, which was rarely the case, they were blown down by the wind. The soldiers laboured along the roads with difficulty, sometimes sticking fast in the bogs in the low grounds, while the sides of the mountains were so slippery that neither men nor horses could without difficulty keep on their feet. The soldiers were obliged to drag their cannons after them, or to carry them on their shoulders, when the carriages broke. The want of baggage-horses obliged them to carry but a scanty supply of provisions, and they found no supplies in a country rendered desolate, first by the flight of the protestants in the panic of the preceding spring, and now deserted by the Irish, who drove off or destroyed everything that could be made subservient to the necessities of an advancing army. Putrid carcases of cattle lay scattered here and there on their way, with the corn cut down and rotting on the ground; and the only furniture they found in the houses consisted in crucifixes placed over the doors and in the thatch. This prospect damped the spirits of the English recruits, who had just left a country filled with population and the outward indication of riches; and they received little comfort from the arrival of the Enniskilleners, whose rude appearance and uncouth garb and accoutrements were rather subjects of ridicule than exultation. These brave men, however, volunteered on every occasion to form the advanced guard, and be the first to confront danger; but the strict discipline of a regular army suited but ill with the wild daring which had characterized the desultory warfare in which they had previously been engaged. This discouraged them, and made them less useful than they might otherwise have been; for, had they been allowed to pursue the enemy in the manner to which they were accustomed, they might perhaps have hindered some of the destructive ravages which attended their retreat. The duke of Berwick, who now commanded in these parts for king James, caused Newry to be burnt, and set fire to Carlingford. Schomberg was indignant at these barbarities, which threatened great inconveniences to the English army; and he

sent a trumpet to the duke of Berwick, threatening that, if they were continued, he should retaliate by giving no quarter to the Irish or their allies who might fall into his hand. This remonstrance appears to have produced the desired effect; for as the English approached, the duke of Berwick abandoned Dundalk without injuring the town, and fell back upon Drogheda.

On the 7th of September, Schomberg established his camp on a low and moist ground, about a mile to the north of Dundalk, with the mountains of Newry to the east, the town and river to the south, and a mixture of hills and bogs on the north. Here he determined to wait the arrival from England of the rest of the army. It was dangerous to advance further through a country which was now plain and open, and in which he was exposed to be overwhelmed by superior numbers. Many of his men had died on the road of disease and hardships, and his camp was crowded with the sick. King James and his court were thrown into the utmost consternation at Schomberg's progress. They seem to have been ill-informed of his condition and numbers; and, in the belief that resistance would be vain, they are said to have proposed to abandon Drogheda and Dublin, and collect their forces behind the Shannon. Tyrconnell opposed this measure, as pusillanimous and impolitic; and he hastened to Drogheda, where he encouraged the army, which consisted of eight or ten thousand men, by assuring them that an army of twenty thousand men were marching to their assistance. About this number of men, in fact, was drawn from the south, and joined to those at Drogheda, who now offered a formidable barrier to Schomberg's progress. When marshal Rosen was informed that the enemy halted, he exclaimed that he was sure Schomberg wanted something, and gave orders to his army to advance immediately towards Dundalk. But the English commander had fortified his camp in such a manner, that it was impossible to force him to a battle against his will.

Schomberg's advanced age (he was eighty) had, no doubt, diminished his natural energy of character; and he seems to have been unfitted for the rapid movements which the war in Ireland required. He had shown every foresight in strengthening his position, but he had chosen for his camp an unhealthy spot, and he had not calculated on the effects of the change of diet and climate on his

harassed soldiers. These, deprived of their ordinary comforts, stinted in their food, ill clothed, and badly lodged where they were exposed to every inclemency of the weather, were attacked with fluxes and fevers. They had surgeons well furnished against all the accidents of active war, but totally unprovided with the medicines necessary for the diseases generated by the causes just alluded to, which spread through the army in such an alarming degree that the camp of Dundalk seemed like a vast hospital. Some troops from Londonderry arrived at this juncture, to make matters worse, by importing the contagion of an infected town into the camp.

Such was the state of the English army, when their enemies, to the amount, it is said, of forty thousand men, showed themselves on the adjacent heights, and encamped in a position which combined safety with comparative salubrity. King James came in person to direct the operations of this formidable force; and his officers tried every art to provoke the English to a battle, sometimes attacking their outposts, in the hope of drawing out the army to their defence; and at others, drawing near the English lines, and insulting the soldiers. Once, on the 21st of September, the whole army, with king James at their head, and the royal standard displayed, marched straight up to the camp, and challenged Schomberg to battle. The latter awaited their approach with imperturbable calmness: he ordered that no guns should be fired until the enemy came within musket-shot; and his only answer to the officers who were impatient for orders to engage, was, "Let them alone; we shall see what they will do." When they continued their advance as though they intended to storm the camp, he sent orders to his cavalry to return from foraging on an appointed signal, and he gave orders for the foot to stand to their arms. The ardour of the English troops was excited in an instant, and even the sick rose and assumed their arms with alacrity; but James suddenly drew off his men, and retired to Ardee. He seems to have reckoned upon treachery rather than force; for the next day a conspiracy was discovered in the English camp, formed by some French papists, to betray it to the enemy. Six of the chief conspirators were immediately executed, and about two hundred disarmed and sent over to England. The Irish and their French allies complained of king James's irresolution and

tenderness for his English forces; and marshal Rosen is said to have exclaimed, in a tone of vexation, that if he had ten kingdoms he would lose them all.

The hardy volunteers at Enniskillen had not remained idle while their companions attended on duke Schomberg's camp. Sligo had been taken from the Irish by surprise; and about a thousand of the Enniskilleners had subsequently attacked a superior force which was marching to recover that town, and had defeated them, with the slaughter of their commander and many of his men. But Sligo as well as James-town were subsequently retaken by Sarsfield. Slight reverses of this kind added to the gloom which hung over the English camp, where the distresses of the army increased daily. The arrival of the fleet at Carlingford with provisions did nothing towards raising the spirits of the soldiers, who, compelled to inactivity in a moist station, and drenched with perpetual showers, died in great numbers; and their officers now caught the infection, and died also. They soon became impatient, and complained loudly against those who had led them from their native homes to a pestilential climate, to compel them to die disgracefully and uselessly in the very face of an enemy, against whom they only asked to be led, in order to obtain glory and safety. They said that they had been placed under a general whose age made him slow and inactive, and who, being a foreigner, looked on the sufferings of Englishmen with indifference.

But Schomberg knew the difficulties with which he had to contend, and the danger of complying with the wishes of his soldiery, and he listened to the clamours with patience. He sent continual despatches to the coast to look for the arrival of assistance, and to England and Scotland to press it, but in vain; and his anxiety was so great, that he once proceeded to Carlingford in person, as though he imagined that his presence there alone would hasten its arrival. Some regiments at length arrived from England and Scotland, but they were insufficient to supply his losses, to conceal which and not cast a damp at once on the minds of his new recruits, Schomberg ordered the usual honours of firing at the burial of officers to be discontinued. His troops, however, became more and more despondent, and for this very reason caught the infection more rapidly. When at length the general gave orders to erect huts as a shelter against the inclemency

of the weather, they had hardly the courage or the will to carry his directions into execution. The superstition of the country added to their despair. They listened to stories of the calamities which had so often in ancient times befallen armies in the neighbourhood of Dundalk, and it was generally reported that the year before two meteors had been seen hovering over the place in the night, and that at the same time mingled groans and shrieks had been heard in the air. The soldiers thus gradually sunk into a feeling of callous indifference to the sufferings not only of their companions but of themselves; and this was exhibited to such a degree, that when their sick companions were taken from the tents to the hospital, those who remained are described as complaining of their removal as of that of a piece of furniture, for they drew to them the dead bodies and used them for seats or pillows. The Dutch troops suffered least, perhaps because they were more used to a moist climate, and because, being veteran troops, they had had a longer acquaintance with hardships; and the English openly murmured against Schomberg for taking greater care of Dutchmen than of Englishmen.

The Irish, finding it impossible to draw the English from their strong entrenchments, at length sat down to watch them, and then they soon began to be visited by the same disasters. Thus the two camps continued to present the same scene of misery and distress, until in November the rains became so intolerable that both armies were compelled to quit their camps and retire to better quarters. The Irish, being masters of the country to the south, had sent away their sick gradually and in parties, so that the extent of their sufferings was less visible than that of the English. The removal of the latter at once exposed to public view the magnitude of their calamity. As the huts and tents were uncovered, the whole camp presented the appearance of a hospital, and the army appeared to consist only of those who were sick and those who were necessarily attendant upon them. Waggons were not sufficiently numerous to carry the former, and many were seen struggling along the way supported by their companions, while others reeled along like men in liquor. Many were left behind for want of carriages, and there bid adieu to companions whom they never expected to see again, mingled with execrations against those who had dragged them from their homes to perish

thus ignominiously in a foreign and inhospitable land. Others refused to be moved, declaring that they preferred death where they were, than to be carried to encounter other hardships they knew not what or when. Those who were to be carried by sea, complained that they were taken from their sufferings on land to exchange them for the dangers of a still more inclement element. Schomberg himself melted into compassion; he ordered the superior officers to attend like corporals and serjeants upon the waggons and hospitals; and the old veteran commander, shivering with ague, stood exposed amid rain and cold on the bridge of Dundalk for hours together, watching the long line of waggons pass in sight of the army, thanking the sick for their services, cheering and encouraging them under their sufferings, and reprimanding every officer who showed less attention or compassion than himself. The soldiers were touched with this exhibition of sympathy, and forgot in an instant all their clamours. Suddenly a small body of the enemy's horse showed itself, and a report was raised that the Irish army was approaching to attack their lines. Those who were in health hastened back with the utmost alacrity to defend the camp, and even the sick, forgetting for a moment their condition, called for their arms. "Now," they cried, "the rogues shall pay before we go for the wet quarters in which they have kept us so long!" But it was a false alarm; and next day their despondency was increased as they marched forward amid the carcases of their companions, who died in numbers on the road and were thrown out of the carriages to make room for others who looked forward to a similar fate. Others, unable to support the jolting of the waggons, had thrown themselves out, and lay on the ground imploring their comrades to carry them in their arms or at once to put an end to their miseries. It was computed that of fifteen thousand men who had at different times entered the English camp, not less than eight thousand perished through hardship and disease; and it is said that the loss of the Irish in this inactive campaign was not much less.

The English army effected its retreat to the north without any loss except that caused by disease. One only attempt was made to interrupt their march by a vain attempt of the Irish to seize the pass of Newry. While Schomberg remained still inactive in his quarters in the north, his disasters were

giving rise to a violent ferment in England, where people had been amused with reports in general terms of the flourishing condition of the king's army in Ireland and of its successes against the papists. When all these reports were contradicted, and the true state of affairs became publicly known, the popular anger was excited to an extraordinary degree, and it was immediately seized upon as an instrument of faction. The English house of commons had always professed an extraordinary interest in the cause of the protestants of Ireland; and they had passed several acts for the relief of those who had fled to England. The delay in relieving the brave garrison of Londonderry had excited their indignation, and they had instituted an inquiry into the causes of it, and especially into the conduct of Lundy, who was now a prisoner in the Tower, and an address of the house of commons to the king urged that he should be sent to Londonderry to be brought to trial before a court-martial. George Walker, the clerical governor of Londonderry, now arrived in London, bringing an account of the brave defence of that city and its final delivery, and a loyal address to the king from the inhabitants. He had reassumed the garb of his sacred profession, and this, combined with the memory of his recent military exploits, made him a favorite with the populace. He was graciously received by king William, and rewarded with a gift of five thousand pounds. The city of London invited him to a grand entertainment. He received the thanks of the house of commons by the mouth of their speaker, and was desired to convey their thanks to all those who had served under him; and when he further petitioned the house for some relief for the families of those who had perished during the siege and for the clergy of Londonderry, they passed an address to the king in November, praying him to grant ten thousand pounds for this purpose.

In the irritation produced by the result of Schomberg's expedition, the commons consulted with Walker on the affairs of Ireland, and were often guided by his information. From him they learnt that Schomberg's misfortunes arose from the neglect of a man named Schales, who held the office of purveyor to the army, and who had left it in want of artillery, carriages, horses, provisions, and even of medicines. This man had formerly been employed by king James, and it was immediately suspected that he had intended

to betray the English army in Ireland. This matter was discussed in the house with considerable heat in the month of December. The house first petitioned the king that commissioners should be sent into Ireland to inquire into the numbers and condition of the army. In another address, they required that Schales should be committed to custody, for which the king had already given orders. The house next addressed the king with the desire that he would inform them by whose advice Schales had been employed. The king declared that he could return no answer to this request; but as he was aware that the resentment of the commons was directed against his present ministry, he tried to appease them by proposing that they should nominate commissioners to take care of all preparations necessary for the service of Ireland. They were flattered by this act of condescension, and declared their willingness to leave it "to his majesty's great wisdom to nominate fit persons." But they soon found new causes of complaint, among which the affairs of Ireland still held a prominent place; and the king was tormented by these factions contentions, until he determined to dissolve his parliament and choose new ministers, and he declared his intention of intrusting the government to the queen, and proceeding to Ireland in person.

Nothing could have been better calculated to raise the spirits of the protestants in Ireland, than this determination. The English army, consigned to better quarters, recovered health and vigour during the winter, and was prepared for an early campaign. As its losses, however, had been so considerable, it was found necessary to break several regiments one into another, and to send officers to England for recruits. Schomberg had fixed his head-quarters at Lisburne, and had given his attention entirely to the provisioning and securing the comforts of his army. Wolseley, the military commander at Enniskillen, had on the 12th of December driven the Irish from Belturbet, and taken possession of that town. Towards the end of the year, the Irish general Macarthy, who remained a prisoner of war at Enniskillen, took advantage dishonourably of the indulgence shown to him to make his escape.

Towards the end of January, 1690, intelligence was brought to Schomberg that the enemy was collecting about Dundalk, for the purpose of disturbing his frontier garrisons. The duke assembled a part of his forces, and proceeded to the quarter which was

threatened, but he found that his intelligence had been incorrect, and it soon appeared that the design of the enemy lay another way. They had assembled a considerable force at Cavan, with the design of driving Wolseley from Belturbet, which had been fortified by the Enniskilleners, and made by them a strong advanced garrison. On the evening of the 12th of February, the brave northerns under Wolseley's command, marched out of Belturbet, to the number of seven hundred foot, and three hundred horse, with the intention of surprising the enemy in Cavan, before morning; but they met with so many unexpected difficulties in their march, that it was daylight before they reached their destination. It thus happened that it was Wolseley who was surprised; for the Enniskilleners, who had miscalculated the numbers of the enemy, found themselves suddenly in face of an army of four thousand men, under the duke of Berwick, drawn up in order of battle, without the possibility of avoiding an engagement. Their courage, however, did not forsake the protestants; they marched to the attack, and the Irish, intimidated by the reputation of the Enniskilleners, and by the intrepidity of their advance, fled at the first onset. Wolseley's forces rushed into the town, and were engaged in plundering it, when the Irish who had fled to the fort, sallied out to renew the engagement. Wolseley could only recall his men by setting fire to the town, but they completed their victory by defeating the Irish garrison with considerable slaughter. But Cavan was burnt, and the provisions with which it was stored destroyed. Within a day or two after, a party of Schomberg's army made a successful incursion into the Irish quarters about Dundalk, where they did some mischief, and returned laden with plunder. These successes raised the spirits of the English army.

At the beginning of March, the seven thousand Danes landed at Belfast, under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg; and about a fortnight afterwards, the count de Lauzun landed at Kinsale with five thousand French foot, sent by the French monarch to the assistance of king James. If the deposed monarch had ever really expressed the intention of trusting only to his own subjects for the recovery of his crown, his sentiments had now undergone a change; for he not only accepted the aid of French troops, but he sent back in exchange for them an equal number of Irish soldiers under the command of the same general Macarthy who had been

so signally defeated by the Enniskilliners in the battle of Newtown-Butler. But James soon found these French auxiliaries refractory and disobedient; for they acknowledged no superior but Lauzun, who considered the interests of his master before those of king James. He looked upon Ireland as an enemy's country, and allowed his soldiers to live at free quarters; and the outrages they committed cast odium on the cause.

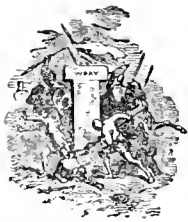
James was about this time subject to a personal mortification, with which he seems to have been considerably affected. He had forced his brass money, now much depreciated, on some of his Irish subjects in exchange for various goods, which were embarked in several small vessels that lay in the bay of Dublin, waiting for a favourable wind to sail for France, under convoy of the only frigate he still retained out of the royal fleet which once obeyed him. On the 18th of April, which was Good Friday, firing was heard at sea, and for some reason or other James imagined that it was a part of the English fleet that had deserted to him. The capital was thrown into a sudden excitement; the shore was soon occupied with crowds of its inhabitants; and James himself rode at the head of some of his Irish regiments, and stationed himself at Rings-End, to welcome the supposed deserters. There he was an unwilling witness to the gallantry of sir Cloudesley Shovel, who entered the bay with a few ships with which he had sailed from Belfast, and, after a slight resistance, carried away the frigate with its whole convoy.

Discouraging news soon afterwards arrived from the north, where old Schomberg began to show signs of returning activity. During

April and May, he had received considerable recruits from England, and several new regiments, both English and foreigners. One of James's strongest fortresses in the north was Charlemont, which was held by Teague O'Regan with a resolute garrison. This place appeared so strong and well provided, that Schomberg had not ventured to attack it in the previous autumn; but it was closely watched by Caillemote, the commander of the French protestant regiments, which were posted near it on the Blackwater. As the spring opened, the place was more closely invested. When O'Regan, who was a man of rude and vulgar manners, was summoned to surrender, his only reply was, "the old knave Schomberg shall not have this castle." On the second of May, a detachment of five hundred men sent to its relief under lieutenant-colonel MacMahon, were suffered to enter it with a small quantity of ammunition and provisions. But it was soon found that they only served to hasten the famine which already threatened the garrison, and they attempted to return, but were repeatedly driven back with slaughter. O'Regan incensed at their ill success, swore that if they did not force their way out, they should receive no entertainment with him, and they were obliged to take up their lodging on the counterscarp and dry ditch within the palisades. The distress of these men and the garrison soon rose to such a height, that O'Regan was obliged to parley, and on the fourteenth of May they were allowed to march out with the honours of war. The English found the place well stored with arms and ammunition. At the same time some new successes crowned the efforts of the Enniskilleners.

CHAPTER XIV.

KING WILLIAM'S ARRIVAL; THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE; FLIGHT OF KING JAMES.



ON the afternoon of Saturday, the 14th of June, king William landed at Carrickfergus, where he was received by the protestants with transports of joy. The same evening he was followed by prince George of Denmark, the young duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough,

and Manchester, and other persons of distinction, whom he had judged it advisable to retain near his person. The king proceeded the same evening to Belfast, and was met on the way by Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, Kirk, and other officers. On the following day, the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the north, crowded to Belfast to testify their satisfaction, and an address

of the northern clergy, was presented by Walker, and received graciously. Having received intelligence that a French fleet had sailed for the coast of England, to support the intrigues of those who were disaffected to his government, his political interests joined with his military genius in urging to a rapid and vigorous campaign, and the spirit of the monarch was soon infused into all who acted under him. After having published his proclamations for the suppression of rapine, violence, and injustice, and given his orders for all the army to take the field, William left Belfast on the 19th of June, and proceeded to Lisburne and Hillsborough; and while here, he performed an act which rendered his name popular among the inhabitants of the northern province. The dissenting clergy of Ulster had acted with great zeal against king James and the catholic party; they had been mainly instrumental in securing Londonderry, and in keeping up the spirit of resistance among the protestants; and they had in consequence undergone many hardships, and had shared deeply in the distresses of the war. The king now issued a warrant, granting the dissenting clergy an annual pension of twelve hundred pounds, to be paid by the collector of customs in the port of Belfast, and it was afterwards inserted in the civil list, and made payable from the exchequer.

King William was indefatigable in his efforts to cheer the spirits of the soldiers, and make them forget the calamities of the past year. His forces were ordered to assemble from their different quarters at Loughbrickland, and to prepare for an immediate advance against the enemy. When some of the officers, unused to his decision of character, spoke of caution, and suggested delay, he merely exclaimed, "I came not to Ireland to let grass grow under my feet." He joined the army at Loughbrickland, on the 22nd of June, and he immediately ordered the troops to change their camp, in order that he might turn their march to the new ground into a review. It was a tempestuous and dusty day, and the old officers imagined that the king would be satisfied with placing himself at some convenient station to obtain a general view. But as soon as they appeared, he rode in among the regiments, examined every troop distinctly and critically, and gave personal encouragement to the men. He then took up his residence in the camp, and his soldiers afterwards made it their boast that he never left it again till his departure from Ireland.

When an order was brought him to sign for wine for his own table, he said, "no, he would drink water with his soldiers." Such were the means taken by king William to animate his army, which at this time consisted of thirty-six thousand men. He was all day on horse-back, viewing either his army, or the country; and he mixed with his troops in the march, sometimes bringing up the rear, and showing anxiety for the comfort of those who were behind, while at other times, when danger seemed to threaten, or difficulties were to be encountered, he rode with the advanced guard. He caused his fleet to accompany them, sailing slowly along the coast, in view of his army, to whom it thus gave confidence and security. When they approached Dundalk, he cautiously avoided the old encampment, that the view of it might raise no sad recollections in the minds of those who had suffered so many hardships in the preceding year.

It was not till six days after William's landing, that king James received any intimation of that event. On the 22nd of June, a party of the English soldiers fell into an ambush of the Irish, and in the skirmish an English captain was taken prisoner. It is said that this officer gave James the first certain intelligence of the movements of his rival. James had privately resolved to leave Ireland and proceed to France, in order to take advantage of a plot which had been concerted for raising a counter-revolution in England during William's absence, but he had concealed his resolution that his object might not be defeated. The intelligence that the king had landed in Ireland, made it necessary for his own reputation that he should remain to oppose him there. He held council with his officers, talked boldly, and received encouragement from the intelligence that the French fleet had advanced through the channel. But he is said to have leaned momentarily to the advice of some of his officers that he should retire with his army to the Shannon; and with a pusillanimous want of confidence, he wrote private orders to sir Patrick Trant, commissioner of the Irish revenue, to prepare a vessel at Waterford, ready to convey him to France in case of disaster, and sent thither his luggage to be embarked. Still he spoke boldly of his resolution to meet the enemy; he said that to abandon his capital would be to acknowledge himself beaten, and would make the Irish desert; and he expressed his satisfaction that he should have the chance of

striking one fair battle for the crown. By his language, his officers thought that it was his intention to set them a desperate example of bravery. He committed the guard of Dublin to a militia, under the command of its governor Lutterel, and hastened with six thousand French infantry, to join the main body of his army in the north.

The latter made no attempt to impede William in his march over the difficult country which had given Schomberg so much trouble. As he advanced upon Dundalk, they retired from that place, and from their quarters at Ardee, though both had been fortified during the winter, until on Sunday, the 29th of June, James established his camp on a strong position on the other side of the river Boyne. The English army, which had entered Dundalk on the 27th, had continued its march during the two following days, and rested during the Sunday night at no great distance from Drogheda. By day-break on Monday morning, the 30th of June, the English were again in motion, and marching towards the Boyne in three columns, they came within two miles of Drogheda, and in sight of the enemy's camp, about nine o'clock. William, who marched at the head of his advanced guard, observed a hill to the west of the town, to the summit of which he rode with some of his principal officers, to obtain a fuller view of the enemy's position.

This had been well chosen, on ground which sloped down to the river, and was backed by an amphitheatre of hills. On James's right, a little down the river, but on the north side of it, lay Drogheda, filled with Irish soldiers; his camp extended to the left in two lines to a morass, which was difficult to pass. In front was the river, with its fords, which were deep and dangerous; the banks were rugged, and defended with some breastworks and old houses, behind which lay rows of huts and hedges, which were lined with infantry, and behind these again was a range of low hills. It was among these hedges and hills that the Irish army was encamped. They were commanded in the rear by the church and village of Donore, which stood on higher ground overlooking the whole position. Three miles higher up the river stood the bridge of Slane, but between it and the camp, lay the morass already alluded to, and the communication between them was by a narrow tract of ground at the back of the morass. Three miles behind Donore, lay the village and pass of Duleek, which afforded

James the only means of retreat in case of defeat, and which was so narrow as to be easily defended against the pursuers.

While the English army marched into camp, William, anxious to observe more nearly the strength of the enemy, rode with some of his officers within musket shot of the river, opposite one of the fords. After conferring here for some time with his attendants, he continued his course westwards, and at length seated himself on the grass to take refreshment on a spot of rising ground. The Irish had not been inattentive to the movements of their enemies, and James's principal officers, the duke of Berwick, Sarsfield, Tyrconnell, and others, who rode slowly on the opposite side of the river, watched king William, and noted the place where he had seated himself. By their orders, two field-pieces were brought into a ploughed field opposite, concealed in the centre of a party of about forty horse, and they were planted unnoticed behind a hedge, and deliberately aimed at the horses of the royal party on the opposite side of the river. When the king had remained seated about an hour, he rose and was in the act of mounting his horse at the moment the two guns were discharged. The first killed a man and two horses, in a line with the king, but at a little distance from him; the other was less fatal, for striking the bank of the river, it rose higher, but it grazed the king's left shoulder, tearing his coat, and slightly wounded him. His attendants crowded about him, and seemed in some confusion; upon which the report was immediately spread through the Irish camp, and was received with shouts of joy, that William was killed; the news was carried to Dublin, and thence sent by express to Paris, where the guns of the Bastille were fired, and the city illuminated, to testify the delight of the grand monarch. The two guns continued firing on the party of horse which attended the king's movements, until William calmly directed them to retire under shelter of the hill; and, as soon as his wound was dressed, he again mounted his horse and rode through the camp to show his army that he was safe.

Early in the afternoon, the English artillery having arrived, batteries were planted on both sides of the river, and the cannonading was kept up briskly, but without doing much damage on either side, until night. Among the deserters who brought William intelligence of the enemy, giving various and in some cases conflicting accounts

of their strength and disposition, one, who seemed in other respects to be worthy of belief, gave such an extraordinary estimate of the numbers of the Irish army, that the king was disconcerted, and expressed to his secretary, sir Robert Southwell, his fears that the enemy was really stronger than he imagined. This intelligence had been conveyed through Southwell's under-secretary, Coxe, who, when the king's apprehensions were intimated to him, called for the deserter and led him through the English camp, and when he had surveyed it, he asked him what he supposed to be the numbers of the army before him. The man's answer satisfied the king that his report could not be relied upon, and other deserters made reports much more unfavourable to the enemy.

James held a council of war that evening, in which it was again recommended to retreat to the Shannon, and gain time, by protracting the war, rather than risk all upon one contest; and the exiled monarch is said to have hesitated between conflicting opinions, for he was anxious to await the success of a project which had originated with his French allies. It was known that the French fleet was on the English coast—in fact, on this very day, it defeated the united English and Dutch squadrons off Beachy Head—and that sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the squadron of men-of-war which had attended William on his passage, had received orders to join the earl of Torrington. The English transports in Carrickfergus Bay, on which the English army depended for provisions and stores, were thus left unprotected, and it was proposed to send ten small frigates and twelve privateers, who had accompanied the French troops, under Lauzun, and were still at Waterford, to destroy them. This, it was expected, would discourage the English army, and, by leaving it dependent on the country through which it marched for support, soon demoralize it to such a degree that a protracted campaign would inevitably destroy it. These considerations, however, yielded to the consciousness that they were now in face of the enemy, and that if they had retreated, it should have been done earlier; and placing confidence in the strength of their position, and in the resolution which their king openly professed, they determined to await the events of the morrow. Yet James privately sent his baggage on to Dublin, and resolved to place

himself in such a position during the battle, that he would be one of the first to see on which side fortune turned, so that in case of defeat, he might easily make his escape.

William, also, called a council of war, at nine o'clock in the evening, not to take the advice of his officers, but to acquaint them with his resolution to force the passage of the river next morning. Rendered impatient by the news he had received of political intrigues in England, and fearful, from reports that had reached him from the opposite camp, that James would retreat, he would not listen to old Schomberg's urgent cautions against an enterprise that seemed so hazardous. Fearful, however, that his plans might be noised abroad, and suspicious of the fidelity of some of his English officers, he merely announced that he would send each officer his particular orders to his tent. When Schomberg thus received the order of battle, he is said, ignorant of the real motives of the king's conduct, to have observed peevishly that it was the first ever sent to him. The duke is understood to have been further disgusted at the rejection of his counsel to detach a part of the army, to secure the bridge of Slane, so as to flank the enemy, and cut them off from the pass of Duleek. James showed a similar disregard for this post; for in his council of war, general Hamilton had recommended that eight regiments should be sent to secure the bridge of Slane, instead of which it was resolved to employ *fifty dragoons* in this service. At midnight, William again rode through his camp, by torch-light to inspect every post and issue his final orders.

Early in the morning of Tuesday, the first of July, the English army was in motion. William's orders were that the river should be passed in three places. The right wing, commanded by count Schomberg, the duke's son, and general Douglas, was to pass at some fords discovered near the bridge of Slane. The centre, consisting chiefly of infantry, and commanded by the duke of Schomberg, was to pass at the fords in front of the enemy's camp. The left wing, composed of the rest of the cavalry, and led by the king in person, was to pass at a ford between the army and Drogheda, and flank the enemy whilst they were engaged.

James, when he understood that the English were resolved on attacking him, saw that a battle was now inevitable, and prepared to receive them. His orders were that strong

bodies of troops should be thrown into the breast-works that commanded the fords; if they were driven from these they were to retire to the line of houses behind; they were to make their next stand at the hedges, and then at the range of small hills; and if driven from these they were to retire upon Donore, and thence upon Duleek, to secure the pass, and so cover their retreat. Thus all James's plans seemed directed rather towards securing a retreat than a victory. He had commanded the five thousand French, as being veterans and accustomed to works of defence, to occupy the breastworks and line of houses, but the Irish, already possessed of them, exclaimed that they were affronted if the post of honour were taken from them, and threatened to fire upon the French troops if they advanced, so that he was obliged to appease their clamour by leaving them to sustain the first brunt of the action. James himself took up his station at the church of Donore, on a height from whence he could view the field.

When James saw large bodies of infantry and cavalry, under Douglas and count Schomberg, marching towards Slane, he imagined that the English had been daunted by the difficulties which threatened the attempt to force the passage of the river at the fords, and that the whole army was proceeding to the bridge of Slane, to cross the river there and take him on the flank. Fearing thus to be cut off from the pass of Duleek, he sent large bodies, chiefly French, in that direction to oppose them, and thus weakened his main army. But the English troops, about ten thousand men, marched more rapidly, and passed the river at the fords near Slane with very little difficulty, easily defeating the small detachments that arrived first to oppose them. Their progress was first arrested by the morass, but finding on trial that, though difficult, it was not impossible to pass, count Schomberg led the infantry into it, while he sent his cavalry round by the narrow tract of firm ground at the back of it. The enemy, confounded by his boldness, fled before him; but, unacquainted with the character of the ground, the English soldiers, floundering at every step, advanced but slowly. The cavalry moved more rapidly, and drove before them, with slaughter, all who offered any opposition to their progress.

As soon as William received intelligence that count Schomberg had made good his ground on the other side of the river, he

ordered the advanced body of his centre to pass the fords. This body was composed of the Dutch, the Brandenburgers, the French protestants, and the Enniskilleners, for he reckoned on the strong attachment of the two first to his person, and of the others to their religion. The blue Dutch guards plunged in first, followed instantly by the Brandenburgers, whose national pride was excited, and then at their several passes by the French and the Enniskilleners. The sudden resistance thus offered to the current, swelled the river, so that the water rose to the breasts of some of the infantry, and they were obliged to hold their arms over their heads. When the Dutch reached the middle of the river, a heavy fire was opened upon them from the breast-works, houses, and hedges, but ill-directed, and therefore without much effect. As fast as they reached the opposite bank, they formed, and attacked the Irish, who fled from their first defences in the utmost disorder, but, as their assailants advanced, new troops sprung up from the hedges and ridges behind, and, multiplied to the eye by the manner in which they were disposed, presented a far more formidable appearance than was anticipated. Five battalions bore down upon the Dutch, but they were repulsed. The Irish horse were next directed against them, but with no better success, and the Dutch had repulsed two attacks, when the Enniskilleners and French arrived to their assistance, and drove back with considerable execution a third body of horse. General Hamilton, who acted during the day with the greatest bravery, and who commanded the Irish cavalry, enraged at the pusillanimity of the infantry, distributed brandy among his men, and then led them furiously against the advancing troops, who had now cleared most of the hedges and were ready to form on the unbroken ground. At the same time the French infantry rose suddenly from behind the low hills in the rear, and advanced in good order to support Hamilton's charge. The English centre, confounded at this sudden attack, stood for a moment irresolute. A squadron of Danes, attacked by a part of Hamilton's cavalry, turned and fled back through the river, whither they were followed by their pursuers. The latter, turning round, threw themselves upon the French protestants under Caillemote, who, unsupported, and having no pikes to sustain the charge, were broken, and their gallant leader ridden down and mortally wounded. His last words, as he was borne away in the

arms of four soldiers, were, "to glory, my lads, to glory!" (*à la gloire, mes enfans, à la gloire!*) Schomberg, doubtful to the last of what he looked upon as a fool-hardy attempt, kept his station anxiously on the other side of the river, with a strong body of troops round him ready to give assistance wherever it should be needed first. Perceiving the distress of the centre, and hearing of the fall of his old friend and comrade Caillémote, he dashed into the river, and passed him unknowingly as they bore the dying soldier away. When he reached the French protestants, who had been driven back into the river, Schomberg rallied them, shouting as he pointed out to their countrymen in the service of king James, "there, gentlemen, are your persecutors!" (*voilà, messieurs, vos persecuteurs!*) Meanwhile, the Irish horse who had broken through the Irish protestants, had turned through the village of Oldbridge to rejoin their own body, but they were met by the Dutch and Enniskilleners, and driven back with great slaughter. Some squadrons that escaped, hurried back through the Huguenots, and being mistaken in the confusion for friends, were allowed to go unmolested. As they passed they wounded duke Schomberg in the head, and were hurrying him away, when his men, discovering they were enemies, fired upon them and killed their own commander. The firing had now continued incessantly for about an hour, but it began to slacken amid the general disorder. At the moment of the successful charge of the Irish cavalry, when the Danes had fled, and the French protestants were broken, the want of cavalry on the part of the English engaged was so evident, that even the peasants who stood on the heights behind the English army, watching the battle, burst into loud shouts of "horse! horse!" which, re-echoed through the English ranks who were not engaged, was mistaken by those at a distance for cries to "halt," and, while it increased the confusion of the centre, it was conveyed to the right wing, and for a moment retarded their advance.

The cessation in the firing gave time to William's troops to form again, and they instantaneously regained their courage and confidence, while the Irish retreated gradually upon Donore. There they also recovered their courage, and advanced again to charge their enemies. When they were already within musket-shot, the English cavalry, led on by king William in person, was seen moving down upon their left flank.

The advance of the cavalry had been retarded by the unexpected difficulty of passing the river, from the nature of the ground, and the king's own horse had been embarrassed in the mud to such a degree, that he was obliged to be carried over by his attendants. The Irish halted a moment, and then retired again upon Donore, where James's army collected about his person. Thus strengthened, the retreating troops again faced about, and, when the English cavalry approached, they were charged with such violence, that, although led on in person by the king, they were driven back. At this juncture, William, riding up to the Enniskilleners, asked them "what they would do for him?" When informed by their officer that it was the king, they advanced with him, and received the enemy's fire with the greatest intrepidity. William then rode to the left, to bring up some Dutch troops. The Enniskilleners, mistaking this movement, wheeled round and followed him; but they soon perceived their mistake, and then they returned with the Dutch to the charge. The battle was here contested with equal fury on both sides, for about half-an-hour. The English monarch threw himself into the hottest part of the fight, to animate his men, and appeared reckless of danger. One of his own dragoons, in the heat of the action mistaking him for an enemy, raised his pistol to his head; but the king turned it aside with his hand, asking the soldier calmly, if he did not know his own friends? At length the Irish infantry gave way on every side. Hamilton again placed himself at the head of the cavalry, and made a desperate attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day; but, though they made a momentary impression, they were soon routed, and he was himself taken prisoner.

By this time count Schomberg had succeeded in clearing the difficult grounds which had so much retarded his march, and was pursuing the troops opposed to him towards Duleek. Lauzun, observing this, rode up to king James, and urged him to hasten away, before his flight would be cut off. Though the battle was not yet decided, James placed himself at the head of Sarsefield's regiment and fled to Duleek, leaving orders that the rest of the army should retreat in that direction, and secure the pass. When Hamilton was brought a prisoner before king William, the latter asked him if he thought the Irish would

fight any more? Hamilton replied, "Upon my honour, I believe they will, for they have yet a good body of horse." William cast a scornful look on the man who had betrayed him in his negotiations with Tyrconnell, and exclaimed, in a contemptuous tone, "Honour! *your* honour!" Hamilton was mistaken, for the whole Irish army now made for the pass of Duleek, and rushed through it in such haste, that they offered no resistance to a party of English dragoons which attacked them in their flight. The English pursued them through the pass, but not in sufficient numbers to venture after them when they saw them drawn up in good order in the plain, with artillery enough to render them formidable.

Thus ended the memorable battle of the Boyne, which decided the fate of the rival monarchs. To the English army it was embittered by the loss of Schomberg and Caillemote. William showed his respect to the latter, by giving duke Schomberg's regiment of French horse to his brother, the marquis de Ruvigny. The rev. George Walker, of Londonderry, whose military ardour had led him to take part in the battle as a volunteer, was killed about the same time as Schomberg. William lost not more than five hundred men in this battle, while the loss of the Irish has been variously estimated at from fifteen hundred to two thousand men, including two noblemen, lords Dungan and Carlingford, sir Neal O'Neal, one of James's bravest commanders, and a great number of his best officers. That night William's army, wearied with the exertions of the day, lay on their arms at Duleek. Next morning he sent a detachment to summon the garrison of Drogheda to surrender; and, when its commander, lord Iveagh, hesitated, he threatened to put the garrison to the sword, if any resistance was offered. On this, they listened to terms, and were allowed to march out without their arms, and be conducted to Athlone. It has been stated that Tyrconnell's cabinet, with his papers, fell into the hands of the victors, and that from those, and some others afterwards discovered in Dublin, William learnt that a man named Jones had been employed by James to assassinate him; but this statement appears to be liable to considerable doubt.

James fled precipitately to Dublin, where

his arrival threw into the utmost consternation those who, having heard only of the reported death of king William, looked confidently for intelligence of the entire defeat of the English. He called together the popish magistrates and council of the city, told them of his defeat, and said that he had been betrayed by the cowardice of his Irish soldiers, who had fled in the moment of danger, and could not be rallied, although they had suffered but little loss. He added, that he would never trust himself in their hands again. He and they, he said, must now shift for themselves; but, it having been deliberated whether the Catholics should set fire to Dublin, and then abandon it, he urged them not to provoke the vengeance of their enemies by so barbarous an act; but advised them to set their prisoners at liberty, and submit to the prince of Orange, who was of a merciful disposition. He then continued his flight to Waterford, breaking down the bridges behind him, to prevent a pursuit. He found the French ships still stationed in that harbour; and, embarking in one, he told the officers of the fleet that all was lost, and sailed immediately for France. King Louis was disconcerted at this unexpected turn of affairs, and he increased the mortification of the fugitive, by telling him that he had relinquished the project of sending him with an army into England.

James's army had followed him to Dublin, and thence, when they learned that he had deserted them, and, as they said, sacrificed them to other interests, they made an orderly retreat towards the Shannon. There they were joined by the officers who had accompanied James to Waterford, who came to continue the war, and explain the causes of his departure. The indignation of the Irish had, indeed, been great, at the imputation of cowardice cast upon them by a prince, who, instead of taking any part in the action, had stood aloof from the battle, a looker-on, and had fled before it was decided. They made invidious comparisons between his pusillanimity and the bravery of king William, who had been seen leading on his men in the thickest of the contest. "If the English would change kings with them," they said, "they would willingly fight the battle over again."

CHAPTER XV.

KING WILLIAM OCCUPIES DUBLIN; HIS MARCH TO WATERFORD; DOUGLAS'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT ON ATHLONE; SIEGE OF LIMERICK; THE KING RETURNS TO ENGLAND.



WILLIAM was blamed by his officers for not following up his victory with sufficient decision. They insisted that he should have detached a part of his army to Athlone and Limerick, to prevent the enemy from collecting on those points. But they were ignorant of the anxiety which weighed heavily on the king's mind. He was aware of the plots that were forming against him in England, and of the preparations of the French king to take advantage of them; and not knowing how soon he might be called home to defend his crown, he was unwilling to separate his army, or to leave the coast.

James, with his characteristic selfishness, had shown no care in his flight for anybody but himself. He appears to have left no orders whatever for his officers and army; and, although he is represented as advising the popish rulers of Dublin against committing any acts of violence, he pointed out to them no plan of conduct. When the fugitive army marched hastily through, the magistrates and principal catholic inhabitants abandoned the capital, which remained, in a state of anarchy and disorder, in the power of the liberated protestant prisoners. These, after having suffered so many privations and indignities, were in a state of wild joy at the sudden and signal defeat of their persecutors; and, breathing nothing but vengeance against them, were prepared for any outrages that might be suggested in the heat of the moment. They ran about the streets, scarcely knowing what they did; assembled here and there in small parties, discussing first one project, and then another; and at last they came to the resolution of attacking and plundering the houses of the papists. At this critical moment, a Fitzgerald of the Kildare family, a military officer, who had been released with the other protestants from his prison, presented himself among the populace, and, aided by the influence of his rank and character,

prevailed upon them to abstain from any acts of violence. Some of the gentry and clergy rallied round him, and he assumed the government of the city. The guard left in the castle, consisting of about thirty popish militia, were easily persuaded to lay down their arms and surrender; and Fitzgerald placed the fortress in the hands of a party of protestants, under the command of captain Farlow, the officer who had been taken prisoner during king William's march to Dundalk, and had given intelligence of the king's presence in Ireland. Fitzgerald next sent off an express to the English camp, praying for immediate assistance to keep Dublin in order. In fact, every moment some new alarm disturbed the city. The report had already been spread through Dublin of the intention of the catholics to burn it; and now they believed that they would return to put their project in execution. Intelligence was suddenly brought to Fitzgerald that a thousand of the enemy had arrived, and that the suburbs were already in flames; but when he hastened to the spot, he found neither fire nor incendiaries. The excited populace, still eager for plunder, broke into the house of Sarsfield, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Fitzgerald could save it from their fury. In his distress, he sent new expresses to the king, urging him to despatch some troops to occupy the city.

Fitzgerald's first messengers had reached William's camp early on the 3rd of July, the second day after the battle; and, when he had learnt from them the exact state of Dublin, he sent the duke of Ormond, with the blue Dutch guards, and nine troops of horse, under Auverquerque and Sgravenmore, to secure that city; and the horse took possession of all the outposts, while the Dutch marched into the castle. The king, with the body of the army, advanced slowly after them, and on the 5th entered Fingass, a village within two miles of the capital, where he established his headquarters. The next day, which was Sunday, William made his public entry into Dublin.

and repaired first to the cathedral church of St. Patrick, to return thanks for his victory. In the afternoon, according to his custom, he returned to the camp, to lodge among his soldiers. The protestant clergy, including the bishops of Meath and Limerick (the primate was unable to attend on account of his age and infirmity), repaired to him there with an address, which was read by the bishop of Meath. They congratulated him on his arrival and on his recent victory, expressed their loyalty, and offered up their prayers for his success, and begged him not to think unfavourably of them because they had remained in the enemy's quarters, and submitted to circumstances, by which, they said, they had been enabled to serve his Majesty's cause. William replied graciously, that he had come to deliver them from popish tyranny, and that he trusted to the Divine assistance in carrying his design into complete effect. It was then agreed, at the desire of the bishop of Limerick, that the clergy should appoint a day of solemn thanksgiving.

The same night, the king issued a proclamation designed to detach the lower orders of his Irish subjects from their leaders. It contained a promise of pardon and protection to labourers, common soldiers, farmers, ploughmen, and cottagers, as well as to townsmen and artizans, who remained at home, or should return to their dwellings and surrender their arms before the first of August. Tenants of protestant subjects were commanded to pay their rents to their respective landlords, and those whose landlords were in rebellion, were ordered to retain their rents until the commissioners of the revenue should inform them who were to be the receivers. The proclamation further declared, that those who were described as the desperate leaders of the rebellion, should be left to the event of war. This amounted to a proscription of all the catholic gentry who had taken part with king James. This harsh proceeding was imputed to the influence of those of the English courtiers, who were impatient for confiscation, and they were further gratified by the appointment of a commission to seize all forfeitures accruing to the crown. These commissioners acted to the utmost stretch of their power, and spread great dissatisfaction abroad by the harshness of their proceedings, while they produced very little benefit to the exchequer. They threw the blame on the defects in their

commission, which authorised them to seize on the goods of catholics, but gave them no authority to dispose of them; and thus their seizures were frequently retaken by force. However, the proceedings of this commission, the limited terms of the proclamation of pardon, and the harsh and often unjust treatment to which the catholics were everywhere subjected, contributed not a little to confirm them in resistance, and, by rendering them desperate, led to the protraction of the war.

In his camp at Finglass, William received the afflicting intelligence of the disastrous battle of Fleury, in Flanders, while his anxiety was still excited by the movements of the French navy. About the 8th of July, convinced of the necessity of securing the southern sea-ports, he determined to march forward, while he detached general Douglas with ten regiments of foot and five of horse, to reduce Athlone. William had proceeded on his march about thirty miles, when he received intelligence of the defeat of his fleet by the French, off Beachy Head, which made him doubly solicitous to secure a safe station for his transports. From Castledermot he despatched a party of a thousand dragoons to secure Wexford, which was deserted by the Irish governor, and received a protestant garrison without resistance. On the 19th William dined at Kilkenny, in the castle of the duke of Ormond, which had been preserved from plunder by Lanzun. Next day he sent a detachment under count Schomberg, to occupy Clonmel, which had been deserted by its Irish garrison. On the 21st the army reached Carrick, whence he sent major-general Kirk to summon Waterford, which was garrisoned by two Irish regiments. The garrison at first hesitated; then demanded, as conditions of surrender, the enjoyment of their estates, freedom of their religion, and liberty to march out with arms and baggage; and finally yielded on the latter condition only. Duncannon first threatened to offer a greater resistance; the governor refused to surrender, without orders from Tyrconnell, and demanded time to consult him; but, on the appearance of the fleet under sir Cloudesley Shovel, he agreed to yield on the same terms as were granted to Waterford.

The king was now relieved of all fears for his transports; but alarming intelligence continued to arrive from England, and when he learnt that the French fleet

had again proceeded to the English coast, he determined to return, and to leave the conduct of the Irish war to count Solmes. After having given the necessary orders, he left the camp and returned to Chapel-Izod, near Dublin, where he found sufficient employment for a while, in receiving petitions and redressing grievances arising out of the violations of his protections, and other cases of injustice to which his former proclamation had led. On the 1st of August, William issued a new proclamation of pardon, extending that previously issued, and offering a safe conduct to any country they pleased, to all foreigners serving with the Irish army, who should lay down their arms. This was followed by a proclamation, commanding the catholics to surrender their arms; and by another, ordering a fast. While thus employed, messengers arrived from England with the cheering intelligence that that country, which had been represented as on the eve of a general revolt, remained perfectly tranquil; that his loss in the battle off Beachy Head had not been so serious as was expected; that the only injury the French fleet had since done on the English coast, was to burn the village of Tynemouth, after which they had returned home; and that the French monarch had certainly abandoned his design of making a descent upon England. William again changed his plans, and departed immediately from Dublin to rejoin the army, which he found encamped at Golden-Bridge, near Cashel, within eighteen miles of Limerick, where the principal force of the enemy was assembled.

General Douglas had meanwhile presented himself before Athlone, on the 17th of July. His march had been marked by every kind of disorder, for the men acted as though they were at free quarters in an enemy's country, and, in spite of the king's proclamation or their general's orders, plundered and committed all sorts of outrages. The Irish peasantry came forward everywhere to claim the benefit of the king's declaration, and they were received under protection, only to be exposed to the violence of the army. The hatred of the latter had gone before it to Athlone, where Douglas found the enemy in greater force and posted more strongly than he expected. The garrison consisted of three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons, and two troops of horse, under the command of a brave old officer named Grace, and a larger body was encamped at a small

distance to support them. They had burnt that part of Athlone which lay on the eastern side of the Shannon, and was called the English town, as being incapable of defence, and they had broken down the stone bridge across the river, built by sir Henry Sydney to form a communication with the two towns. Resolved on defending the castle and the Irish town to the last, they had raised some breastworks about two hundred yards above the town, cast up redoubts and other works near the end of the bridge, and mounted two batteries, besides those of the castle, which stood on an eminence and commanded the river.

Grace and his soldiers were all violently exasperated against the English, and their courage was kept up by reports industriously spread amongst them that king William was dead, and that England, invaded by the French, was in open revolt; circumstances which must soon compel their assailants to retire. When summoned to surrender, the old governor treated the summons with contempt; and, firing a pistol at the messenger, exclaimed that those were his terms. Douglas, nevertheless, began his work resolutely, and battered the castle for some time with six guns; but finding that these produced no effect, and that he was insufficiently provided for a siege of this magnitude, while his men and horses were suffering severely from want of provisions and forage, he soon began to think of raising the siege. While still hesitating, a rumour was spread abroad that Sarsefield was marching with fifteen thousand men to cut off his retreat. Douglas hesitated no longer, but decamping secretly in the middle of the night of the 24th of July, he made a precipitate retreat, by a circuitous and difficult route, for fear of meeting with the Irish army. This unsuccessful expedition against Athlone was disastrous equally to the catholic and to the protestant inhabitants of the open country. For such of the latter as had remained in the county of Athlone under Irish protections, having risen up on the approach of the besiegers, had now forfeited them, and were betrayed to the vengeance of their enemies. They fled with Douglas's army, abandoning their possessions and their harvests, and they were even plundered by the protestant soldiers of the provisions they carried with them. The Irish of Connaught were elated at Douglas's retreat, and in the county of Monaghan they rose tumultuously under their sheriff to attack the protestants, but

they soon dispersed on the appearance of colonel Wolseley, with his own regiment of horse, and two regiments of foot, sent to keep that part of the country in check.

When Douglas reached the English camp, which was on the 8th of August, he found the king at a place called Carriganlis, within a short march of Limerick. The next day he came before the town. William was soon informed by deserters who came in from the city, that Lauzun, and other Frenchmen of distinction, had abandoned the town and were ready to return home; that the French forces in Limerick amounted to no more than three thousand, and that these were only diverted from their design of capitulating apart and for themselves by the clamours of the Irish. They further informed him, that one of the French generals, Boisluc, had undertaken the command of Limerick, and that the city was occupied by his troops, while the Irish forces lay encamped on the Connaught side, where they had secured the passes of the Shannon, and lay ready to supply him with men and provisions. It was this information, and the expectation that the French would retreat, and the Irish in consequence surrender, that determined William to make the hazardous attempt of attacking this strong place on one side, at this advanced season of the year, with his army reduced, by garrisoning towns and other causes, to not more than twenty thousand men.

Limerick, like Athlone, consisted of two distinct towns, the English and Irish, joined by a bridge, and the former almost surrounded by the river. It was fortified by strong walls, bastions, and ramparts, and defended by a castle and citadel; and the approach to it lay through grounds intersected with ditches and hedges, which were lined with Irish infantry. These gradually retreated, as the English pioneers levelled the inclosures, until they came to a narrow pass between two bogs, terminated by an old fort called Ireton's fort, because it was built by that officer, and communicating with the town by three different lanes. The broadest of these was occupied by the Irish horse, while their musketeers were drawn up under cover of the hedges to the right and left. As the Irish had only fired one round at each hedge and then retired, William's difficulties lay hitherto more in clearing the ground, than in beating the enemy, and with the help of two field-pieces, which were brought to bear upon their horse, he now

soon drove them from their new position, and forced them to take shelter under the walls. Ireton's fort, and another strong position, were taken possession of, and the English field-pieces were mounted in them to annoy the town and outworks. Although as yet he had no battering guns, William encamped within cannon shot of the walls, and summoned the governor to surrender. Boisluc addressed his reply to sir Robert Southwell, the secretary, to avoid giving the king his royal titles; he said, "that he wished to gain the prince of Orange's good opinion, which he could not expect, if he did not defend his post well."

King William was still assured that this reply was by no means in accordance with the spirit of the garrison, who were only restrained from surrendering by the urgent remonstrances of the governor, the duke of Berwick, and Sarsfield. The king was obliged to remain inactive till his artillery arrived, but on the morning after his arrival he sent Ginckle, the Dutch general, and Kirk, to seize a ford about three miles from the town, which was abandoned at their approach, and a strong detachment of the English was posted on both sides of the river.

Deserters passed on both sides, and one, a Frenchman from the camp, carried information into Limerick of the exact position of the king's tent, in consequence of which the garrison directed their fire on that quarter of the camp, and compelled him to remove. The same deserter gave information of the train of artillery expected from Dublin, and described the road by which it was to be brought, and the number and nature of the force which conveyed it. The commanders in Limerick saw that if the besiegers received their convoy in safety, they must soon make themselves masters of Limerick, for the statement made to the king of the desponding condition of the soldiery which formed its garrison was not incorrect. Sarsfield undertook to make a desperate attempt to raise their courage by intercepting the enemy's artillery. With a chosen party of horse, he crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, about twelve miles above the English camp, and marching by private ways well known to his men, he lurked in the mountains to watch the approach of the artillery and its escort.

Information of Sarsfield's secret march reached the English camp, and, although it was not known what direction he had taken,

it was easily conjectured that nothing but a project of great importance could have taken out so distinguished an officer. It was treated however, with indifference, until it reached the ears of the king, who seems immediately to have suspected Sarsefield's object, and he dispatched sir John Lanier with five hundred horse, to meet the train. This officer appears to have been deficient in that rapidity of decision necessary on such an emergency; perhaps he did not share in the king's apprehensions. The artillery had arrived within seven miles of the English camp, when the officer who commanded the convoy, judging that all danger was over, encamped carelessly in the plain, near a little old castle called Ballinady, to rest his men. In the midst of their sleep, Sarsefield suddenly fell upon them, cut to pieces the sentinels and waggons, and soon dispersed the soldiers of the convoy, who thus roused from their slumber, were unprepared for defence. He then collected the cannon, with their carriages, and the waggons and ammunition; and having filled the cannons with powder, he fixed them with their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, fired it on his retreat. Sir John Lanier and his party arrived just in time to hear this tremendous explosion, and to see Sarsefield's troop in their retreat. He made an attempt to intercept them, but in vain, for they were better acquainted with the roads.

This disaster filled the English camp with consternation, and the soldiers complained loudly of the lukewarmness of the great officers in the king's service. They accused Lanier, who had formerly been a favourite of king James, of secret disaffection. But they became more satisfied, when they saw the king bear his disappointment calm and unmoved, and exerting himself to repair the loss. Two of the cannons had escaped uninjured; others were brought from Waterford; and with these he mounted his batteries and within a week was in a condition to proceed vigorously in his operations. The trenches were opened on the evening of the 17th of August, and for ten days they continued to batter the walls without intermission. On the 27th, a breach was effected, twelve yards in length, and the king gave directions for an assault upon the counterscarp, and two towers on each side of the breach. Five hundred grenadiers were ordered to march to the counterscarp, supported by seven regiments of infantry. They

rushed furiously onward, in spite of a tremendous fire, dislodged the enemies after a desperate resistance, and in their ardour pursued them through the breach and into the town. But the regiments sent to support them stopped, according to orders, on the counterscarp, and thus those who had penetrated into the town were soon overwhelmed by the increasing number of their enemies, and most of them were killed. The garrison now rallied, and more troops poured into the town from the country behind; and emulous of showing king William the example which had been exhibited towards their party by the citizens of Londonderry, even the Irish women appeared on the walls to assail the besiegers with stones, and terrify them with their screams. The struggle was carried on during three hours with the utmost fury. A regiment of Brandenburgers succeeded in seizing a battery, but the powder accidentally took fire and blew them up. The assailants had unusual difficulties to contend with, not the least of which was caused by the want of scaling ladders. At length, after losing five hundred slain, and a thousand wounded of his English troops alone, and it is supposed an equal number of the foreigners in his service, William found himself under the necessity of drawing off his men from the walls. Next morning he sent a drummer into the town to demand a truce for the purpose of burying the dead, but it was refused. The English army was still undismayed, and cried out clamorously to be led again to the breach; but their royal leader had come to a different resolution.

William was deceived in the expectations he had formed on the reports of deserters, that the garrison was disheartened, and he was not prepared for a long siege at this time of the year, when the heavy rains were expected, the consequences of which had been too severely felt in the camp at Dundalk in the previous year. Moreover, his ammunition was already diminished, and he wanted many of the necessaries of war. His alarm was increased when the 29th of August set in with a fearful storm of rain which threatened to be continued. He immediately called a council of war, and representing to them that in a few days the roads might become impassable for his heavy artillery, pointed out the necessity of raising the siege. The same day the guns were withdrawn from the batteries, and during the two following days the army was

gradually drawn off without any molestation from the garrison.* The forebodings of the king were justified by the difficulties experienced in carrying the heavy guns a distance of five miles in one day. As at Athlone, the protestants of the country accompanied the retreating army, abandoning all, rather than remain to experience the animosity of the catholics, whose exultation at having defeated this attempt upon Limerick was unbounded. It was the sixth of September before the army reached Tipperary, where William's forces separated, to be dispersed into their respective quarters.

The king himself, leaving the main body of his army at Clonmel, proceeded to Waterford. He entrusted the command of his forces to Solmes and Ginckle, and appointed for the civil government of Ireland, two lords justices, lord Sydney and Thomas Coningsby, with a blank in their commission to be filled with a third name. Having thus provided for the civil government of the

country, he embarked at Duncannon fort, and taking with him prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, and other courtiers of distinction, he set sail for England.

Soon after his departure, the French troops under Lauzun, also left Ireland, accompanied by Tyrconnell. James, on his arrival in France had, to conceal his own cowardice, given so mean a character of the Irish soldiers and their leaders, that Louis, thinking all was lost, sent orders to Lauzun to withdraw his troops and return home. Lauzun had assembled them at Limerick for embarkation, when the resolute defence of Limerick, and subsequent retreat of the besiegers, seemed to have changed the state of affairs. For some cause or other, the intelligence of these events was longer in reaching France than usual, and Lauzun, after waiting twelve days in vain for contrary orders, set sail, and only met these orders at sea, and when it was too late to profit by them.

CHAPTER XVI.

CAPTURE OF CORK AND KINSALE; THE RAPPAREES; SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ATHLONE.



HE war seemed dwindling into a series of petty hostilities for the remainder of the season, such as surprising forts, and attacking straggling parties, when it was suddenly revived in the south by the arrival of the earl of Marlborough with fresh troops. This noble and illustrious warrior, had fallen into some dis-

favour at court on account of the part he, or rather his wife, had taken in the quarrel with the princess Anne. Impatient of inactivity, and well informed that the French fleet had retired for the winter and would not again put to sea, he proposed an enterprise of great importance to the English cause in the south of Ireland. The two strong towns of Cork and Kinsale, were in possession of the Irish; they were the most convenient ports in Ireland for receiving succours from France, while, in the possession of the Eng-

* The catholic party, under the influence of the animosities excited by these wars, attempted to blacken William's character by unfounded accusations. "The friends of William describe him as supporting this defeat with astonishing composure and serenity; his enemies insist that he was transported by his vexation, even to the excesses of savage barbarity. We are told, that to free himself from the encumbrance of his sick and wounded, the houses in which they lay were set on fire; but unfortunately for this insolent defiance of truth, his sick and wounded had no houses to shelter them and were

indeed carefully conveyed to Cashel and Clonmel. Again, we are assured that William, on his retreat, was asked what should be done with his prisoners? that he answered peevishly, 'burn them!' and that his orders were literally obeyed, and one thousand destroyed by fire. Such enormous and ridiculous falsehoods appear scarcely calculated to impose even on the vulgar and ignorant, yet the zealous impugnors of heresy have found their account, it seems, in propagating and transmitting them."—Leland quoting Macgeoghan and the *Hibernia Dominicana*.

lish, they would secure the whole of the south, and thus materially enlarge the quarters of the army. A force of five thousand men lay at this moment in England unemployed, and ready for any expedition, and Marlborough proposed to lead them to Ireland, and he engaged to reduce Cork and Kinsale with these and such reinforcements as could be spared from the army there. His proposal was assented to by the queen and council, and, though the destination of the troops was kept perfectly secret, preparations were made for this expedition before the king had raised the siege of Limerick, and when William returned to England he hastened its departure.

Cork had been rendered strong by the works which had been thrown up around it by the French and Irish, and it was defended by a garrison of four thousand men, so that many looked upon this expedition as an act of the greatest temerity, when they first heard that the English force under Marlborough had entered Cork roads on the 21st of September. He immediately drove the enemies from a battery, and, sending some armed boats to seize the guns, effected a landing without opposition. Ginckle, who was now commander-in-chief of the English army, count Solmes having departed for England, first sent Sgravenmore with nine hundred cavalry to join him; and they were followed immediately by four thousand Danish foot, under the prince of Wirtemberg. The latter came to rob Marlborough at least of a part of the glory which his enterprise promised, for he insisted upon assuming the chief command, because he was a sovereign prince, although he was a younger officer in rank and only brought auxiliaries; and the quarrel which arose out of this claim was only appeased by an agreement that Marlborough and the prince should command alternately each successive day. Marlborough, who commanded the first day, exhibited his politeness and all absence of animosity, by giving out for the word "Wirtemberg;" and his rival, who seems now to have felt in some degree the wrong he had committed, gave on his day the word "Marlborough." The two commanders acted subsequently with tolerable unanimity, with the exception of one or two differences of no great importance, in which the prince was constrained to yield to Marlborough's superior military genius.

The siege was now carried on with vigour, and from an advantageous position which

Marlborough had secured, the place was battered incessantly. The garrison gradually abandoned their outworks, and at length a sufficient breach was made in the wall; but when the besiegers were preparing to cross a marsh at low water to the assault, a flag was hung out, and the governor offered to capitulate. Marlborough, whose day of command it happened to be, insisted that the whole garrison should be made prisoners of war; but the prince of Wirtemberg urged that more favourable terms should be granted, and this difference of opinion gave rise to a new altercation, which lasted till the tide had come in and covered the marsh. Then it was seen that the governor's parleying had no other object than to gain time, for imagining all danger was over, he took in his flag and broke off the conference. The two commanders of the besieging army were equally provoked, and after reopening the batteries, and enlarging the breach, the Dutch and English, encouraged by the duke of Grafton, and other volunteers, and emulating each other in daring, rushed into the water and waded across up to the shoulders, in spite of the heavy fire to which they were exposed. Having thus cleared the water, they posted themselves under a bank which served as a countescarp to the city wall. They had here to lament the loss of the duke of Grafton, who was carried away mortally wounded. The assault was prevented by the unconditional surrender of the garrison, whose ammunition was exhausted, and both soldiers and officers were made prisoners of war. Among them were the earls of Clancarthy and Tyrone, with several other persons of distinction. The protestant prisoners, who were numerous, were immediately set at liberty; the protestant magistrates resumed their offices, and proclaimed William and Mary; and all papists were ordered on pain of death to surrender their arms.

Cork surrendered on the 28th of September, and the same day Marlborough dispatched brigadier Villers, with five hundred horse, to summon Kinsale. The governor returned a scornful answer, and threatened the messengers; upon which Marlborough marched with his army to invest the place. As the town was not tenable, the governor set it on fire, and withdrew his garrison into the two forts, the old or Castle-ny-fort, and Charles-fort, which had been completed by the late duke of Ormond. On the second of October the old fort was taken by storm, after its commander, several officers, and

half the garrison had been slain in defending it. Charles-fort was much stronger, and when the governor was again summoned to surrender, he replied carelessly that it would be time enough to talk of that in another month. The trenches were opened against this fort on the 5th of October, and after ten days' incessant battering, the counter-scarp was gained, and the besiegers were ready for the assault, when the garrison consisting of fifteen hundred men, offered to treat, and they surrendered on condition of being conducted to Limerick. On the 28th of October, Marlborough returned to London, justly proud of having in twenty-three days effected a conquest of the utmost importance, and which his enemies had declared impossible.

The reduction of Cork and Kinsale relieved Ginckle, who had not ventured to draw his army into winter quarters while those places were in the possession of the enemy. The latter had already been weakened by the departure of their French auxiliaries, so that the English commander felt no further apprehensions of any hostile movement, which need give him any uneasiness. As soon as the siege of Limerick had been raised, the governor, Boisluc, withdrew his French troops, and proceeded to Galway, to embark with the rest of his countrymen. Their departure was a subject of joy to their Irish allies, who were already disgusted at the air of superiority which they had assumed, and with the partiality shown to them by king James. They were now left under the command of Sarsfield, an officer of tried valour, whose success against the English convoy of artillery was looked upon as the cause of king William's retreat, and had made him extraordinarily popular; and, as though the presence of the French had been the only hindrance to their success, they now talked boastingly of the exploits they were to perform. They even spoke of crossing the Shannon with all their forces, marching through Leinster, and setting fire to the capital. Nevertheless, the only hostilities committed during the winter, consisted of plundering expeditions of small detached parties, or of the wild Irish marauders, who took advantage of the dreadful state of disorganization into which their country had been plunged, to indulge their lawless propensities.

We have seen on more occasions than one how that unsettled and restless portion of

the Irish population, which, under the protectorate and the restoration, were known by the name of tories, and which was now called rapparees, from the Irish name of the short pike with which they were armed, always took advantage of the civil wars that so often distracted the island, to plunder and devastate. They became unusually active during the winter of 1690, not only in plundering the country, but in hovering about the quarters of the English army, stealing their horses and provisions, and killing the soldiers, when they could surprise them singly or in small parties. They were assisted by multitudes of the soldiers of the Irish army, who were sent forth during the winter to live upon their own exertions, and to return again to their regiments in the spring. The atrocities perpetrated by the rapparees were of the most horrible kind; they burnt houses and villages, treated those whom they surprised in them with every possible indignity, and when they took an English soldier they murdered him immediately, and often indulged their hatred in mangling his body. It was difficult to provide against their attacks, from the secrecy with which their operations were conducted, and the rapidity with which they assembled and disappeared. The violence of the English soldiers and their foreign allies, and their continual infraction of protections, drove many of those who would otherwise have remained peaceful, to join and swell the numbers of these marauders, who had established themselves in the wilder districts, even in the vicinity of the capital, and who gave employment to the English army during the winter, to keep them in check. Wherever they were caught, they received no quarter, but were hanged without trial; yet they continued so troublesome that the English were obliged to raise up a similar body of men to repel them, who went under the name of protestant rapparees. "When," says Story, who was an eye-witness of these hostilities, "the Irish understood how our men were posted all along the line, and what advantage might be hoped for at such and such places, they not only encouraged all the protected Irish to do us secretly all the mischief they could, either by concealed arms, or private intelligence, under the pretence of their being plundered and abused; but they let loose a great part of their army to manage the best for themselves, that time and opportunity would allow them. To all these they gave passes, signifying to what

regiment they belonged, that in case they were taken, they might not be dealt withal as rapparees, but soldiers. These men knew the country, nay all the secret corners, woods, and bogs; keeping a constant correspondence with one another, and also with the army, who furnished them with all necessaries, especially ammunition. When they had any project on foot, their method was not to appear in a body, for then they would have been discovered; and not only so, but carriages, and several other things had been wanting, which every one knows that is acquainted with this trade. Their way was, therefore, to make a private appointment to meet at such a pass or wood, precisely at such a time of the night or day as it stood with their convenience; and though you could not see a man over night, yet exactly at their hour you might find three or four hundred, more or less, as they had occasion, all well armed and ready for what design they had formerly projected. But if they happened to be discovered, or overpowered, they presently dispersed, having before-hand appointed another place of rendezvous, ten or twelve miles (it may be) from the place they were then at; by which means our men could never fix any close engagement upon them during the winter. So that if they could have held out another year, the rapparees would have continued still very prejudicial to our army, as well by killing our men privately, as stealing our horses, and intercepting our provisions. But after all, lest the next age may not be of the same humour with this, and the name of a rapparee may possibly be thought a finer thing than it really is, I do assure you that in my style, they never can be reputed other than tories, robbers, thieves, and bogtrotters."

In the meantime the new lords justices exerted themselves to reduce the civil government of Ireland, so long disturbed from its regular course, to some degree of order and regularity. Indictments of high treason were removed to the superior courts, which were now furnished with judges; and lord lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants were appointed in all the counties subject to the power of the English. A privy council was appointed, consisting of such men as were known to be best affected to the protestant government. The militia was revived and armed, to be ready to protect the persons and property of the peaceful inhabitants. The commission of forfeitures,

appointed by William while in Ireland, had proved rather injurious than otherwise to the interests of the government, and it was now suspended. Various proclamations were issued for the regulation of trade and commerce, and to promote as much as possible the establishment of peaceful government. One of these made the body of the papists in every county answerable for the ravages of these of their community; and it was ordered that no popish priest should be allowed to reside in any place where rapparees were known to be collected in any numbers.

All the efforts of the government were insufficient to correct the disorders of the army, and the soldiers, both English and foreign, with the exception of the Dutch, made themselves objects of detestation in the country. This circumstance, and the harshness of the proclamations against the rebels, no doubt contributed much to make their resistance longer and more obstinate. It began also to be suspected, that many of king William's officers were averse to a speedy conclusion of the Irish war, lest they should be called home to be employed in campaigns on the continent, which were far more arduous and dangerous; and many of the privy councillors opposed all indulgence to the Irish party, which they wished to see exterminated, and they were eager only for attainders and forfeitures. Ginckle, whose views were more liberal, was anxious to put an end to the war, and urged the necessity of making such offers of pardon, as by inducing numbers of those who were in actual rebellion to lay down their arms, would break the power of the enemy. He projected an incursion into Kerry, where the Irish were in great force, and from which their army derived much of its provisions; and sir Cloudesley Shovel, who was on the coast with his fleet, received directions to attend upon his operations. Ginckle, before undertaking this expedition, made pressing representations to the lords justices of the necessity of offering pardon to such of the enemy he was going to encounter, as would lay down their arms. The lords justices hesitated, on account of the opposition they met with in the privy council. They represented that their instructions authorised them to treat with rebels, but not to proclaim such an extensive measure of indulgence as that which he recommended; they required that some considerable bodies of the enemy should make overtures of submission, before such a

pardon could be granted; and finally they proposed that Ginckle should publish offers of pardon in his own name, promising that they would support him by confirming them, if they proved useful to the service. Ginckle found it impossible to penetrate into Kerry, at a season when the roads were perfectly impracticable, and the question of a proclamation of pardon was dropped for the present.

During the winter, there were several skirmishes between the troops of the hostile armies, and continual warfare between the militia and the rapparees. In all their movements, the Irish had shown an inclination to break through the English lines, and carry the war into their enemy's quarters. They had taken courage not only from the successful defence of Limerick, but from the departure of their French allies; for in their hatred of them they looked upon their interference, and the preference shown to them, as the cause of most of their disasters; and now that they were left to their own commanders, they imagined that they should soon recover all the ground they had lost. They seem still to have cherished the design of fulfilling their old boast of marching to Dublin, and in the month of February, 1691, they prepared to open the new campaign with a sudden attack on the important English post of Mullingar. For this purpose they collected at Athlone a magazine of forage for five thousand horse and dragoons, sufficient to last ten days, and they employed themselves actively in fortifying the little town of Ballymore, about half-way between Mullingar and Athlone.

Information of their designs was soon carried to the English general, and Ginckle hastened in person to Mullingar, strengthened the garrison, and, on the 26th of February, led a force of two thousand foot and a thousand horse against the Irish, who were assembled in considerable force near Ballymore. On his arrival he found them drawn up in a pass which was defended by palisades, and they had assumed at least an appearance of resolution. But it is said that, in their hurry and inexperience, they had pointed the palisades inward instead of outward, so that they offered no defence against the enemy. The English attacked the pass, met with little resistance, and pursued the Irish to a place called the Moat of Grenoge, where, being reinforced, they turned, and showed an indication to dispute the further advance of their pursuers; but

they were driven into the village, and, after a vain attempt to take advantage of some intrenchments which might have been defended without difficulty, they fled in the utmost consternation to Athlone. So great was the terror there caused by the appearance of this Irish army in flight, that the gates were shut upon them, and many of them perished in the river, while others fled to the bogs and woods. In this affair, which was known as the battle or skirmish of the Moat of Grenoge, the Irish lost about three hundred men and several officers, with their baggage, a quantity of arms, and five hundred horses; while the loss of the English was very trifling. It cast a sudden damp upon the spirits of the former, and increased the confusion which had begun to show itself in their councils, whilst it defeated a design upon the English garrisons which might have been attended with consequences at least mortifying to the latter.

The Irish, however, still received encouragement from abroad. King James had been informed of the difficulties with which they had to contend during the winter, and he resolved to give them some assistance, but he followed his former blind policy by sending them a French commander. But he met no longer with the same generous sympathy in the French monarch as formerly, and Tyrconnell, who had gone to France to press him for succours, returned in January with a miserable pittance of eight thousand pounds, which was immediately distributed among the soldiers to allay their discontent. He brought also a small quantity of clothing for the army, and was accompanied by Sir Richard Nagle and Sir Stephen Rice, to whom James committed the civil government of Ireland to the exclusion of Tyrconnell. The latter had given offence by recommending moderate measures, and urging that the wreck of the Irish nation should be saved by a timely submission. In France he was suspected of treachery; while the Irish charged him with being the cause that they were to receive from that country officers, provisions, and money, but no troops. Sarsfield, whose genius as well as his interest (for having been attainted he had nothing to hope for from submission) led him to wish to prolong the war, was especially opposed to the policy recommended by Tyrconnell, and his officers reviled and insulted him. In spite of his gloomy forebodings, those who were in favour of war encouraged and

flattered the Irish with magnificent hopes from France; they assured them that king Louis's fleets would soon appear before Cork and Kinsale; and they declared that arms and clothing for twenty-five thousand men had been sent for them, and were expected daily. False reports of the unsettled state of England were spread abroad among the Irish, to strengthen them in their resolution of resistance, in the expectation that the only thing necessary for the success of their cause was to gain time. Some French officers soon arrived, and brought promises which seemed to confirm all their expectations. It was soon found, however, that the arrival of James's French officers was not calculated to promote unanimity among the catholics; and the dissatisfaction of the Irish was increased when they were followed by Monsieur St. Ruth, with a commission from king James to be their commander-in-chief. He is said to have been chosen by the exiled king for this post in the belief that his services and severity against the protestants in France would endear him to the catholics in Ireland. Sarsefield received the subordinate commission of lieutenant-general of the Irish army, and James tried to make this unreasonable partiality to a foreigner more palatable to him, by conferring upon him the title of earl of Lucan.

In spring, the operations of the armies on both sides had assumed a more active character, but still no movement of importance was undertaken, for the English army was embarrassed by the want of money, provisions, and the other necessities of war. These, however, as well as reinforcements of men, gradually arrived, and the army received orders to assemble at Mullingar, as it was resolved that the campaign should open with the siege of Athlone. St. Ruth, who landed at Limerick in the month of May, had not brought with him the vast supplies which the Irish had been taught to expect, and conscious of his want of the necessities for carrying on an offensive war, he determined to act on the defensive, and he ordered the garrisons on the Irish side of the Shannon to be strengthened, while he took his station with the main army behind Athlone, to protect that important position against the attack with which it was threatened.

Ginckle arrived at the camp at Mullingar on the last day of May. He found the army in excellent condition and in high spirits, and everything prepared for imme-

diately action. Lieutenant-general Douglas had established himself at Ardagh, with a body of troops from the north; and the prince of Wirtemberg had assumed the command of his foreign troops at Thurles, expecting orders to form a junction with Ginckle at Banagher, where it had been proposed to cross the Shannon. A considerable train of artillery had arrived in Ginckle's camp from Dublin, that they might not again be exposed to the wants they had experienced in this respect in the preceding year. The army, when collected, was still inferior to that of the Irish; but it had the advantage of being well ordered and supplied, and of being commanded by a number of experienced and highly distinguished officers. For Ginckle had now assembled round him some of the first officers of the different countries who acknowledged William as their sovereign, or followed him as his allies, all emulous of sustaining the reputation of their respective companies; there were the princes of Wirtemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt, the English general Talmash, the Scot Mackay, Sgravenmore, the French officers La Melloniere and Rouvigny, the Dane Tetteau, and the Dutch count Nassau.

On the sixth of June, Ginckle commenced his march towards Athlone. His first enterprise was the siege of the strong fort of Ballymore, which was garrisoned with about a thousand of the best of the Irish forces. This fortress was situated on a peninsular rock of land, running into a small lake, or lough, near the town of Ballymore; and the Irish, taking advantage of its natural strength, had added, during the winter, strong fortifications on the side towards the land, which was further secured by a bog. On the seventh of June, Ginckle planted his batteries on the banks of the lough to the east, where there was but a narrow channel between the land and the peninsula of the fort; and next morning he sent in a summons demanding the surrender of the fort within two hours, after which the garrison was to expect no quarter. The governor refused to listen to any terms short of being allowed to march out with all the honours of war; and the place was battered during the whole of that day, no attempt being made to relieve it or to abandon it. At length the garrison demanded a parley, but they were not listened to; and when they saw a number of boats launched on the lough, and filled with soldiers, to attack

them on the side where, trusting to the protection of the water, they had erected no defences, they became terrified, and surrendered at discretion. An English regiment marched in through the breach which had been already made by the batteries, and the whole garrison, with its officers, were made prisoners of war. Ginckle ordered the fortifications of Ballymore to be repaired and strengthened, and placed a strong garrison in it, before he ventured to advance further.

On the eighteenth of June, Ginckle advanced, with a strong party of horse, within a short distance of Athlone, and from an eminence surveyed the town, and the position of the Irish army, which lay encamped on a neck of land between two bogs, at a distance of about two miles from the Shannon. On his march he was joined by the divisions under the prince of Wirtemberg and count Nassau, so that his army now amounted to about eighteen thousand men. Very early the next morning his forces marched upon Athlone, through lanes which were lined with Irish infantry, who gradually retired on their approach, until, by nine o'clock, they were all driven within the defences of the English town. This part of Athlone, as we have seen, the Irish had abandoned in the preceding year; but during the winter they had strengthened the walls, which general Douglas had left uninjured. Batteries were erected during the day and night, and by the next day (the 20th of June) the English made a large breach, which was assaulted the same evening. The breach was at first defended with resolution; but, after some loss, the Irish retired, and were driven to the bridge, which also had been repaired, and they were in such haste to cross it, into the Irish town, that many were crushed to death, and others were precipitated into the river and drowned. The English posted a party at the foot of the bridge, in a covered position, while they dragged their artillery into the English town, to prepare for attacking the Irish town next day.

The success of the assailants was confined to the eastern side of the river. The Irish had immediately broken down the arch of the bridge nearest to the other bank, so as to render it impassable, while they played furiously upon the English town, from the castle and their various works. Between the two towns the river was deep, narrow, and stony, and could only be forded with great difficulty. A

plan was formed to pass the river at a ford towards Lanesborough, but by the incaution of an officer sent to survey the ground, the design was discovered by the enemy, and they took measures to defeat it. No other way of attacking the Irish town was now apparent but the bridge, and Ginckle made his approaches on it amid furious and continued discharges of artillery on both sides. During the night of the 27th, a wooden work was carried over the bridge, and beams thrown across the broken arch and partly covered with planks; in the morning a sergeant and ten men in armour rushed from the opposite side to destroy the work of the night, but they were all slain in the attempt, without effecting their purpose. Another party followed and were more successful; for they cast the beams and planks down into the river, though two survivors only made their retreat amid the fire and smoke. Provoked at this mishap, Ginckle now carried on his work by a close gallery, on the broken arch, and this was completed in the course of the same day (the 28th).

The contest had now been carried on during nine days, and the incessant fire of the English batteries, had made several breaches both in the walls and castle, the whole front of the latter being battered in. On the evening of the day last mentioned, a council of war was held in the English camp, and it was determined that they should pass the Shannon next morning by three different ways; one party was to force the bridge, another was to cross at a ford which had been discovered a little below it, and which, though deep, was still passable, and another party was to pass by a bridge of pontoons in face of a battery just below the town. In the morning the preparations were not ready so soon as was expected, for there had been some delay in the bringing up of the pontoons; and intelligence of the design had been carried to the commander of the Irish, so that the Irish town was filled with new troops from the camp, and St. Ruth drew up the rest of his army under the walls ready to support them. The besiegers, however, were not daunted; money was distributed among the soldiers who were to commence the attack, as an encouragement in an undertaking of so much danger; and they only waited for the word to advance. At this moment, while the opposing parties on the bridge were attacking each other mutually with hand grenades,

one of the enemy's missiles set fire to the English fascines, which lay by the gallery over the broken arch, and the wind being strong and blowing in the faces of the besiegers, the fires soon caught the breast-work of the gallery, and the flame and smoke drove them from their post, until a great part of the gallery was destroyed.

It was now past twelve o'clock, and Ginckle, perceiving that it would only lead to a useless effusion of blood if he persevered, found it necessary to countermand the attack. St. Ruth, when he saw the English troops withdrawn, returned exulting to his camp, and, to show his sense of the security of Athlone, he invited a number of gentlemen and ladies that evening to his camp, and treated them with an elegant entertainment. It was this false security which led to the disasters that soon afterwards fell upon the Irish cause.

Another council of war was held in the English camp, in the afternoon of the next day, in which it was debated with some warmth whether they should raise the siege, or make another attempt to pass the Shannon. Either alternative was replete with danger. They had already experienced the difficulties of the attack, and a failure might lead to the most disastrous consequences; yet they must choose quickly, for it was impossible to remain long where they were, since the forage was already destroyed for several miles in circuit. To retreat would be to lay open the road to Dublin to a victorious enemy, and hazard the loss of all the advantages which had been gained by the previous campaign. Yet Ginckle pretended to lean towards the latter alternative. On the other hand, the prince of Wirtemberg, with Talmash, Rouvigny, and Tettau, and other commanders, stood forth warmly in favour of a renewal of the attack; they contended that no great action could be performed without hazard, and that in every instance of a severe contest they had had experience of the undaunted bravery of their own troops, and of the inferiority of the enemy. They reminded Ginckle that the ford had been tried by three Danish criminals, on promise of their lives, and had been passed and repassed without difficulty. Mackay, who was more aged and cautious than the others, was the only one who offered anything like obstinate opposition. Ginckle opposed it just enough to throw the responsibility of the undertaking so far upon the other commanders as to inflame

their pride and ardour, and then yielded; and it was agreed that the passage of the river should be attempted early next morning. The detachments drawn down the day before had been kept together, and were all in readiness; and to give less suspicion to the enemy, they were to move down to their posts just before six o'clock, the usual hour for relieving the guard.

Deserters were constantly passing between the two camps, carrying such intelligence as they were able to gather from one to the other. In this way the Irish heard of the money which had been distributed among the English soldiers, but all the other information they obtained at this time led them to believe in the utter despondency of the besiegers, and in the certainty of their immediate retreat. Two deserters who came over in the night from the Irish town, brought the intelligence that St. Ruth, in his over-confidence, had withdrawn into his camp the garrison which had hitherto defended the place, and had sent three of his worst regiments to man the works. Thus all circumstances seemed to concur in favouring the designs of the besiegers. The English soldiers were provoked to a desperate degree of courage by the reproaches of their enemies, who all night insulted them across the river, crying out in derision that they had ill earned the money given to them by their officers.

During the night, Ginckle made in silence every arrangement for the desperate struggle of the following morning, when the signal for the attack was to be given by the tolling of the town bell. The command of the passage devolved in the rotation of duty upon general Mackay; but Ginckle wished to entrust it to a younger officer, and one who had not declared his opinion so positively against the attempt, and he substituted Talmash in his place. Mackay felt hurt, and remonstrated; and Talmash, in respect to his feelings, relinquished his pretensions, and demanded permission to serve as a volunteer.

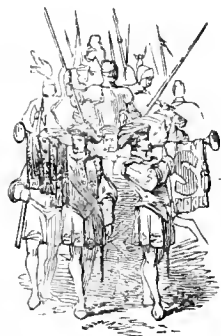
At the appointed hour on the morning of the first of July, two thousand men were in readiness, and ladders and everything necessary for the attack had been secretly prepared. The ford lay a little below the bridge, opposite a bastion, in which a large breach had been made by the English batteries. At ten minutes past six o'clock, the bell tolled the signal, and the soldiers entered the river with loud huzzas, which

were replied to by loud shouts of encouragement from the army behind. Mackay went on foot by the side of his men, followed by Meillonière, Tettau, and the prince of Hesse; and Talmash accompanied a party of grenadiers commanded by Gustavus Hamilton. The prince of Wirtemberg, having lost his horse, was carried over on the shoulders of his men. The moment the soldiers entered the water, the English batteries opened a tremendous fire on the ruins of the castle and the walls, from whence the Irish directed their fire upon the ford, while the fire from the Irish intrenchments was directed against the English batteries.

The English soldiers passed the river with the greatest resolution, and with little loss, and the moment they reached the opposite bank, they formed and advanced into the breach. There they separated into three parties. One carried the castle, and then hurried along the ramparts of the town, to surprise the garrison by getting behind them, and prevent succours from entering the town from the Irish camp. The second party turned above the ford to secure the Irish end of the bridge, while their friends threw planks over the broken arch. The third hastened in the opposite direction to secure a landing place from the bridge of boats, which others were throwing over the water. Multitudes now rushed over the bridge and the boats; and the Irish garrison, utterly confounded with the impetu-

osity of this unexpected attack, quitted their posts in consternation, and wherever the ramparts were not in possession of their enemies, leaped over them and fled to the camp. Within half an hour after the soldiers first entered the water, Athlone was in possession of the English. The Irish governor and five hundred men were made prisoners of war, and about twelve hundred of their men are said to have been slain during the siege.

When St. Ruth was first informed that the English were passing the ford, he is said to have treated the intelligence with scorn, exclaiming that it was impossible that they should attempt to take the town in the face of himself and his army. Sarsfield urged him to send immediate succours, representing that he was better acquainted with English soldiers, and knew what risks they were capable of daring. The French commander was offended, and the two generals had proceeded to high words, when a messenger rushed in to inform them, in the utmost consternation, that the English were in the town. St. Ruth, dissembling his own vexation, gave orders proudly to drive them out again; but when the Irish approached for this purpose, they found that the bastions behind the town, which had suffered no injury, were manned by their victorious enemies, and that the Irish cannons of Athlone, in the hands of the latter, were now turned against the Irish camp.



CHAPTER XVII.

PROCLAMATION OF PARDON; THE BATTLE OF AGHIRIM; SURRENDER OF GALWAY.

ST. RUTH and the Irish were less discouraged by the loss of Athlone than might have been expected; he left his camp the same day, and orderly retreated towards Ballinasloe, declaring that he was only going to seek a good battle-field to try his strength against the enemy. At present there was little unanimity in his camp, for his proud imperious bearing had widened the breach between the French and English

officers. Since his altercation with Sarsfield, before Athlone, St. Ruth had not condescended to hold any communication with that commander relating to his designs, but treated him with haughty distance. He disgusted the native Irish by too openly proclaiming himself the servant of Louis, and not of James; and he is said to have urged them to swear allegiance to the former, in whose name, according to the reports of the deserters, his orders were issued. It was the standard of France which waved over the walls of Athlone, while that town

remained in possession of its Irish garrison. The loss of that place had been a serious shock; and on one side St. Ruth felt the necessity of conciliating his Irish officers, while all the discordant materials of which his army was composed were driven by misfortune to at least a temporary unity.

Ginckle remained at Athlone, reviewing his army, repairing the fortifications, which had been dreadfully ruined by the siege, and recruiting the strength of his army. His loss in men had not been great; but he had used a great quantity of ammunition, for Athlone is said to have cost him twelve thousand cannon balls, six hundred bombs, and nearly fifty tons of gunpowder. The effect of this success was soon felt in the increased number of deserters who arrived daily in the English camp, and the multitude of persons who applied for protections. Ginckle saw more and more the advantages which would arise from the proclamation of a comprehensive pardon, which would encourage the Irish to submit, and thus break the strength of those who were in arms. It was the general statement of the deserters, that the officers and leaders of the Irish army had been rendered desperate by the unconciliating tone adopted towards them by the English government; and it was only the knowledge that no pardon was held out to them that had hindered them from submitting. Yet, when the English commander represented these circumstances to the lords justices, he found that all his efforts were defeated by the intrigues of those who were eager for forfeitures. The secretary of the lords justices observed, in a letter to Ginckle, which seems to have expressed the sentiments of the justices themselves, "I did very much hope that, upon this progress over the Shannon, some favourable declaration might have been emitted to break the Irish army, and save the expense of a field of battle. But I see our civil officers regard more adding fifty pounds a year to the English interest in this kingdom, than saving England the expense of fifty thousand. I persuade myself it is for the king's, the allies', and England's interest, to remit most or all of the forfeitures, so that we could immediately bring the kingdom under their majesties' obedience."

Still Ginckle persevered; and on the fifth of July, when he was on the point of marching in pursuit of St. Ruth, he himself drew up a proclamation of pardon, and, after some opposition in the privy council, it was pub-

lished on the seventh, in the name of the Irish government. "Since it hath pleased Almighty God," said this proclamation, "to give so great success to their majesties' arms toward the reduction of the kingdom of Ireland, that in all probability the whole must in a short time be brought under their majesties' obedience, with great effusion of blood, and destruction of their majesties' enemies; their most excellent majesties, in compassion to their seduced subjects, to avoid further effusion of blood, and that nothing on their majesties' part be wanting to encourage and invite all who are now in arms against them to subject themselves to their obedience and government, have commanded us, and we the lords justices of this kingdom, by their majesties' special direction and command, do by this our proclamation publish, declare, and promise, that all and every the private soldiers, now in arms against their majesties in the enemy's army, who shall, within three weeks after the date of this our proclamation, surrender up themselves, their horses, arms, and furniture, to the commander-in-chief, or any other their majesties' officers, shall not only be paid a reasonable rate for their horse, arms, and furniture, which they shall so deliver up, but shall be fully and freely pardoned of all treasons and other crimes and offences against their majesties; and that all and every person or persons who now are governors, officers, commanders, or soldiers, of or in any cities, towns, forts, castles, or other garrisons in their kingdom of Ireland, not already under their majesties' power and obedience, who shall surrender, deliver, and yield up any such city, town, fort, or garrison unto the general or other officer of their majesties' army, within three weeks after the date of this our proclamation, and all other officers and soldiers now serving or being in the enemy's army or quarters, who shall within three weeks' time after the date of this our proclamation come in and bring with them their regiments, troops, or companies, or some considerable part thereof, and submit themselves to their majesties' obedience, and deliver up their horses, arms, and furniture of war, they and every of them, both officers and soldiers, shall be fully, freely, and absolutely pardoned of all manner of treasons, crimes, or offences committed against their majesties, their crown and dignity, and shall also be restored to and put in possession of all their estates forfeited for such treasons

crimes, and offences; and if any citizens and inhabitants, or other persons residing in the city of Limerick or town of Galway shall, within the time aforesaid, either of themselves or by joining with any other, be instrumental or assisting in delivering up either of the said places to their majesties' obedience, they and every of them shall be likewise fully, freely, and absolutely pardoned of all manner of treasons, crimes, or offences committed against their majesties, their crown and dignity, and shall also be restored to and put in possession of all their estates forfeited for such treasons, crimes, or offences. And we do hereby further publish and declare, that if any officers and soldiers now in command in the enemy's army, or in any of the cities, castles, forts, or garrisons of the enemy, not having any estates forfeited, or to which he or they can be restored, shall render unto their majesties any of the services aforesaid, such person and persons, officers and soldiers, shall be fully and liberally rewarded, by the general of their majesties' army, in such or greater proportion as the services by them done shall deserve; and such of the said officers and soldiers as shall desire to enter into their majesties' pay shall be received in the like or better rank and condition as they now serve under the enemy. And lest those who are to take benefit by this proclamation may be apprehensive of being prosecuted for exercising their religion, though their majesties have sufficiently manifested to the world, by the rest and quiet not only Roman catholics of this kingdom, but those of England, have enjoyed under their government, may be sufficient to remove any such apprehensions, we are commanded further to publish and declare, and we do hereby publish and declare, that as soon as their majesties' affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, they will endeavour to procure them such further security in these particulars as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their religion. And we do hereby advise and admonish all such persons who still adhere to the enemy carefully and prudently to consider the ill usage and condition whereunto they are reduced, and seriously to recollect into their minds and memory the quiet and blessed estate and security which they enjoyed under the English government,

* Story gives the following discourse, pretended to have been addressed by St. Ruth to his soldiers, as being found in the pocket of his secretary, who was slain in the battle:—

and the vast difference betwixt that and the tyranny of France; and withal the terrible consequences which must follow, if they any longer neglect returning to their duty, and thereby lose the benefit of their majesties' most benign and gracious compassion and intention towards them."

This proclamation is given textually, because it was the first manifestation of that feeling of indulgence towards the Irish who were in arms which was afterwards exhibited in the treaty of Limerick. It might have been serviceable, had it appeared earlier, but it was now too late, for the partizans of king James, driven to desperation, were resolved to decide the fate of their cause on a field of battle. On the tenth of July, Ginckle marched with his army from Athlone, and the next day they reached Ballinasloe, and encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suck. The English scouts soon discovered the enemy, at a distance of about three miles on the Galway side of the river, occupying a very strong position near a ruined castle at a place called Aghrim. St. Ruth's camp extended about two miles along the ridge of a hill, from the church of Kilcommoden on the right to a place called Gourtnapory. On his left ran a small brook, between hills and bogs, the latter protecting entirely the left and running along the front of the camp in its whole extent. The only road by which the enemy's camp could be directly approached by horse, was a small pass between the bogs commanded by the castle of Aghrim; at the extreme right there was another pass, called Urachree, with a rising ground on each side of it. The Irish camp was on an eminence about half-a-mile from the edge of the bog, and the ground between was cut into a great many small inclosures, which communicated with each other, and were thickly lined with the Irish infantry, who were protected with hedges and ditches to the very edge of the bog. It was evident that a great battle was at hand, which must decide the fate of Ireland, and each army spent the night in preparations for the engagement. The English army was ordered to be under arms at daybreak, and was to march forwards in the utmost silence. Ginckle was well aware of the strong position and skilful dispositions of his adversary, who had recourse to every means of exciting the ardour of his soldiers.* Priests are said to have

"Gentlemen and fellow-soldiers,—I suppose it is not unknown to you and the whole Christian world what glory I have acquired and how successful and fortunate I have been in suppressing heresy in France

been busy during the night in encouraging them to make a desperate struggle in the cause of their holy church, nor were the personal exhortations of their commander wanting.

The morning of Sunday, the twelfth of July, opened in a thick fog; yet the English army commenced its march at six o'clock, crossing the river Suck in three divisions, the foot by the bridge, the English and French horse by a ford above, and the Dutch and Danes by two fords below. Ginckle then formed his army in order of battle, on some irregular ground on the Galway side of the river, and waited till the fog cleared off, which was not till noon. Then the Irish, from their elevated position, beheld their enemies at a distance advancing towards them. St. Ruth immediately made his arrangements, and did everything to encourage his men; while the priests hurried from rank to rank, promising the soldiers paradise for their reward if they held firm, and making them swear on the sacrament that they would not turn their backs on the enemy.

Ginckle, as he approached, saw the strength of St. Ruth's position, and the difficulties which he would have to encounter in attacking him. Doubtful, as it would appear, at first on which point he should direct his force, he saw the advantage of seizing the pass of Urachree on the enemy's right, which was only occupied by a few Irish soldiers. He sent a Danish captain with sixteen troopers to perform this service, but when they approached the spot and found that it was occupied by a few Irish soldiers, the Danes deserted their offi-

cer, and ran away. Upon this, two hundred dragoons of sir Albert Conyngham's regiment were sent to occupy some ditches which commanded the ford at this pass, in order to hinder the enemy from crossing the river. The English commander was now still more fully convinced of the advantage of securing the pass of Urachree, as the only side on which it appeared that the Irish army could be attacked without great risk, and he ordered Conyngham's dragoons to pass the water and attack a body of Irish stationed on the other side. As they approached, the Irish retired, until being reinforced from their own camp, they turned about and drove the English back. Fresh troops were successively sent to assist each party, till at length this skirmish assumed the character of a serious engagement. At last the Irish retreated in some disorder to a stronger position on the right of their camp, and it was probably St. Ruth's design to draw the English on further, that he might fall upon one wing of the English army with his main force, in a position where it could receive little assistance.

But Ginckle was too wary to let himself be entrapped in this manner, and the English who had been engaged at the ford, satisfied with the apparent advantage they had gained, pursued it no further. These operations, which had convinced the English officers of the great advantages of the enemy's position, had taken so much of the afternoon, that it appeared advisable to defer the attack till the next day, and this was so far resolved in a council of war, that orders were given for encamping. But at this moment some disorder was visible in

and propagating the holy catholic faith, and I can without vanity boast myself the happy instrument of bringing over thousands of poor deluded souls from their errors, who owe their salvation to the pious care of my thrice illustrious master, and my own industry, assisted by some holy members of our unspotted church; while great numbers of these incorrigible heretics have perished both soul and body by their obstinacy.

"It was for this reason that the most puissant king my master, compassionating the miseries of this kingdom, hath chosen me before so many worthy generals to come hither, not doubting but by my wonted diligence I should establish the church in this nation on such a foundation, as it should not be in the power of hell or heretics hereafter to disturb it. And for the bringing about of this great and glorious work, next the assistance of heaven, the irresistible puissance of the king my master, and my own conduct, the great dependance of all good catholics is on your courage.

"I must confess since my coming amongst you, things have not answered my wishes, but they are

still in a posture to be retrieved, if you will not betray your religion and country by an unseasonable pusillanimity.

"I am assured by my spies that the prince of Orange's heretical army are resolved to give us battle, and you see them even before you ready to perform it. It is now, therefore, if ever that you must endeavour to recover your lost honour, privileges, and forefathers' estates. You are not mercenary soldiers; you do not fight for your pay, but for your lives, your wives, your children, your liberties, your country your estates, and to restore the most pious of kings to his throne; but above all, for the propagation of the holy faith, and the subversion of heresy. Stand to it, therefore, my dears, and bear no longer the reproaches of the heretics, who brand you with cowardice, and you may be assured that king James will love and reward you, Louis the Great will protect you, all good catholics will applaud you, I myself will command you, the church will pray for you, your posterity will bless you, saints and angels will caress you, God will make you all saints, and his holy mother will lay you in her bosom."

the Irish camp, which made Ginckle apprehensive that they might take advantage of the night to effect their retreat, and he therefore resolved, although it was now half-past four o'clock, to attack them immediately.

The main body of St. Ruth's army was assembled near the castle of Aghrim, at his extreme left, which was the strongest point in his position. Ginckle determined to renew the battle at the ford, on St. Ruth's right, in the hope of making him draw off part of his forces from the left, which would make the pass of Aghrim castle less dangerous for the English horse, and would enable the whole army to engage. About five o'clock the right wing of the English army, both horse and foot, advanced to attack the enemy, who received them with far greater firmness than on any former occasion, and disputed the ground with the utmost obstinacy. They defended their ditches till the English advanced so close that their muskets crossed, and then they retreated by their lines of communication to other ditches, and by changing their position flanked the English, and became the assailants. With the support of their cavalry, they thus maintained their ground during an hour and-a-half, when, as was foreseen, St. Ruth found it necessary to draw off considerable bodies of horse and foot from his left, to the support of his right. Mackay, and the officers who commanded in the English right and centre, took advantage of this movement, and while the cavalry hastened to the pass of Aghrim castle, four regiments of foot were ordered to pass the bog where it was narrowest, and to gain possession of the ditches nearest to the bog on the other side, where they were to wait till the horse came to their assistance. The foot boldly entered the bog, and soon found themselves up to the middle in mud and water, yet they continued to advance steadily. In spite of a heavy and well-directed fire, they soon made themselves masters of the first ditches; and then perceiving that the enemy was only retired to other ditches, they marched against them also, and thus, forgetting their orders, they beat the Irish successively from ditch to ditch, until they had nearly reached St. Ruth's main body; here they found themselves in danger of being overwhelmed by numbers, for the Irish horse and foot (for they had made passages among the hedges and ditches, which enabled cavalry to act), rushed down upon them in front and flank,

slew many, captured some of their bravest officers, and drove them back into the bog. The rest of the foot of the English centre, with the French protestants, who had passed the bog lower down where it was wider, met also with a determined resistance; and the fortune of the day seemed at this moment so doubtful, that St. Ruth is said to have shouted with exultation, that he was going to drive the English back to the gates of Dublin.

But St. Ruth's attention was now called to the English horse, which were forcing their way in the most gallant manner through the pass of Aghrim castle, amid a storm of shot from strong bodies of the enemy posted in the castle and other positions around. When he beheld the English cavalry rushing through a narrow pass under the castle walls, and then, to use the expressions of an eye-witness, "scrambling over" at a place where but two could pass abreast, and that only with great difficulty, he is said to have asked one of his officers in amazement, what he thought they meant by it. Being answered that it was evidently their design to pass there and attack him on the left, he exclaimed with an oath, "they are brave fellows, it is a pity they should be so exposed!"

As fast as the English horse made their way through the pass, they formed, and, without waiting further orders, dashed, sword in hand, upon such of the enemy as were opposed to them, while Rouvigny with a strong party, forced his way along the edge of the bog, to the assistance of the foot. The latter, rallied by Talmash, and assisted with fresh troops, had recovered their courage, and were driving the enemy back with considerable slaughter across the bog, and into their ditches. Here the Irish made another resolute stand, and the English having passed the bog and river, along the whole extent of the enemy's line, the struggle became desperate.

At this moment, an accident decided the fate of the battle. When St. Ruth saw the English had forced the pass of Aghrim, and were bearing down upon his left, he ordered a brigade of his own horse to march up, gave directions to one of his batteries where to fire, and was hastening down the hill of Kilcommeden (which was crowned by his camp) to encourage his men, when an English cannon ball cut short his career. As he fell, one of his attendants threw a cloak over his body, which was never seen

afterwards, and is supposed to have been stripped and left among the undistinguished dead. The loss of their commander was not immediately perceived by the Irish army, though his own guards, who saw him fall, drew off in dismay, and some of the other Irish horse followed them. But Sarsefield, on whom the command devolved, was utterly unacquainted with St. Ruth's dispositions, and could not therefore carry them out; for since their quarrel in the camp before Athlone, the haughty Frenchman had not condescended to impart to him his order of battle. The Irish army was thus soon thrown into confusion, and, although the soldiers continued long to fight with obstinacy, they were gradually driven up the side of the hill, into their camp, and then, finding no means of defending it, they fled precipitately, the horse towards Loughrea, and the foot to a great bog on their left. The left wing of the English army, consisting chiefly of the Danes, had not taken an active part in the battle since their first engagement, but about half-an-hour before it was ended, seeing the progress made by their comrades in the centre and right, they had crossed the brook, attacked those who had kept them in check, and joined in the pursuit. The Irish horse were pursued about three miles, but the approach of night, with a thick misty rain, saved them; the foot were less fortunate; for, being pursued by the English and Danish cavalry, great numbers of them were slaughtered before they reached the bog. The castle of Aghrim, a

mere ruin, which was occupied by a strong body of Irish foot, was captured immediately after the defeat of their comrades, and a great part of its defenders put to the sword.

Thus ended the decisive battle of Aghrim, more disastrous to the Irish cause than any that had been fought for many years. The loss of the Irish on the field of battle, and in the pursuit, was estimated at seven thousand men; and the unrelenting fury of the victors is shown in the fact that only four hundred and fifty prisoners were taken. The English had only seven hundred men killed, and about a thousand wounded. Among the slain on the side of the Irish, besides their commander-in-chief St. Ruth, were lords Kilmallock and Galway, and a number of catholic officers of distinction; lords Daleck, Slane, Buffin, and Kilmore, with above twenty other general and field officers, were among the prisoners. The English captured eleven standards, and thirty-two pair of colours, with the whole of their artillery, (nine pieces of brass cannon) ammunition, tents, and baggage, and the greater part of their small arms, which the Irish soldiers, when they saw that all was lost, threw away to facilitate their flight. Very few of the foot were ever collected together again; but the horse, under Sarsefield, made their way to Limerick.

The fatal event of the battle of Aghrim, combined with a variety of ill omens, and equivocal prophecies, now interpreted to their disadvantage,* had entirely damped

* Among the remarkable superstitions of the Irish, was the belief in popular prophecies, which has been alluded to more than once in the course of our history. "I shall conclude this digression, and the battle of Aghrim," says Story, "with an account of a prophecy which the Irish had of a battle to be fought at this place. I was told by a gentleman who lives now in that neighbourhood, that, at least a year before the battle was fought, several of the Ulster creaghts driving their cattle that way, some of them asked this gentlemen the name of that castle, who when he told them that it was called Aghrim, one of them replied, 'that was the place where a great battle was to be fought,' and that the Englishmen should think their coats too heavy in climbing up those hills. This was also mentioned by colonel Gordon O'Neal, (found stripped amongst the dead next day, and made a prisoner,) and several other of the Irish officers, after the battle; which kind of predictions are never rightly understood till they are past. For the Irish interpreted this to signify the Englishmen's running away from them, but they found it by experience, that the English thought their coats too heavy in the pursuit of the enemy. Though some say this prophecy is meant of the hills near Ardee, the day before the battle at the Boyne,

which was so hot, that very few were able to carry their coats. Nor is there any other people more superstitious in this point than the Irish; and yet some of their predictions are very remarkable, especially at Kinsale, when the Spaniards landed there, when the lord Mountjoy, then lord lieutenant, was showed the ground several days before whereon the great O'Neal was defeated by him. And this was done by an old prophecy, which punctually named and described the place. Towards the end also of the former wars in Ireland, whilst Ireton lay before Limerick, my lord Broghill was sent with a detachment out of the army, to a place called Knoeknashy, to observe a body of the Irish. My lord found several people got there before him, on purpose to expect the fate of the last battle of Ireland, to be fought on that ground, as their prediction ran; and though the Irish forces were as then not upon the spot, yet it so fell out that the battle was fought there, the Irish routed, and this, the last field conflict that happened during those wars. I have heard also some of the Irish tell us before we got thither that we should not succeed at the first siege of Limerick, and they had no other reason for it but because one of their prophecies said so."

the spirits of the Irish. While the more desperate sought refuge in Limerick, Ginckle determined to reduce Galway before he proceeded to invest their last stronghold. The English army lay upon their arms on the field of battle during the night which followed it, and next day, while part were employed in burying their dead, and attending to the wounded, others scoured the country round to secure the passes on the Shannon, and expel the few Irish garrisons which were left. Loughrea, and other towns, were deserted by their Irish inhabitants, "who most of them," as Story tells us, "took towards Limerick, as the safest place of retreat; whither they went in no kind of order, but rather like people going to a fair, the roads being full of hampers and other stuff, which they had been in too great haste to lug along; yet that very night, after the battle, they robbed and plundered one another upon the road." Deserters now began to come in in great numbers, and good treatment and trifling gratuities distributed among them, tended to increase the spirit of submission. On the 16th, the army marched to Loughrea, which town had been entirely plundered by the Irish, who spared not even their own friends, alleging that "they had better be plundered by their own people, than give what they had to the English army, who would certainly strip them in a day or two more." Athenry, which was occupied on the 17th, was entirely deserted by its inhabitants, who had all fled to the mountains. Here the army rested during the following day, to gain information of the condition of Galway, which was only ten miles distant.

The town of Galway, of which lord Dillon was governor for king James, was garrisoned with seven regiments under the command of the French general D'Ussone, who encouraged his soldiers with great promises of speedy assistance from France. The regiments were all short of their number of men, but they expected reinforcements from the country, and they had entered into a league with a celebrated Irish partizan, named Balderog O'Donnell, who promised to march to their relief at the head of six or seven thousand wild Irish warriors from the north. But all these hopes of assistance failed, as the English army approached. O'Donnell had raised about a thousand men, with which he lay in the villages about Tuam, waiting the result of the battle of Aghrim, and when he was assured of the

defeat of the Irish, he with difficulty retained his followers together long enough to plunder and strip the inhabitants of Tuam and burn the town, before they dispersed. Balderog himself, with as many as remained with him, wrote to Ginckle to obtain terms of submission.

In spite of all these discouraging circumstances, the garrison showed no inclination to surrender, and lord Dillon replied to Ginckle's summons with a defiance, declaring the resolution of the garrison to yield only to the last extremities. They threw the magistrates and some of the leading men among the townsmen, into prison, for having proposed to surrender, yet the soldiers soon began to incline to the same sentiments. They had erected a strong fort on the south-east of the town, which was nearly finished, and commanded a great part of the wall on that side. On the morning of the 20th of July, a detachment of the besiegers crossed the river, and, guided by a deserter, they surprised and seized this fort; but the Irish still made a show of resistance, kept up a heavy fire from the walls, and burnt the whole suburb on that side. But about ten o'clock in the forenoon, while the suburbs were still in flames, the governor demanded a parley, and a cessation of hostilities was agreed to. In the afternoon hostages were exchanged, and a treaty was commenced. It took some time to settle the terms on which the town was to be delivered; for on the one side, the garrison seem to have looked for better terms than they had any reason to expect; while on the other, Talmash and some of the principal officers presuming on their recent successes, were adverse to granting any terms at all. But Ginckle viewed the matter in a different light. He saw with uneasiness, that the season was again wearing on, and that if the Irish war were prolonged to another year, it would be an inconvenient waste of English treasure, while this wearisome prolongation of hostilities in Ireland was embarrassing king William in his wars on the continent, and encouraging disaffection among his subjects at home. He determined, therefore, to grant to Galway such indulgent terms as would prove to all the Irish catholics that their best interests required them to conciliate the protestant government. The articles upon which Galway was surrendered, were agreed to and signed on the 21st of July, upon which the English immediately took possession of the outworks, and

the English took possession of the town on Sunday the 26th.

The articles of Galway are of importance, because, confirmed afterwards by the king, they constituted the first return of the crown to anything like indulgent feelings towards the catholics in Ireland, and because they were the precursors of the articles of Limerick. General D'Ussone and all the French officers and men were to be conveyed to Limerick, with their arms, bag, and baggage. By the sixth article, it was agreed, "that such of the garrison as desire it may remain in town, or go to their respective homes, and enjoy the benefit of this capitulation, and the rest shall march to Limerick with their arms, six pieces of cannon, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted, bullet in mouth, and as much ammunition and provisions as each officer and soldier can carry with him, and that they shall be furnished with draught-horses, and harnesses for their guns if they want them, which said guns they shall have liberty to choose, provided they take none above twelve pounders." The eighth and following articles promised, on the part of the English government, "that the governor, constable, mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, burgesses, freemen, and natives of Galway, and the inhabitants thereof, or the reputed ones by any former charter of king James the second, granted before his abdication, or any of his ancestors, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, felonies, premunires, and all manner of offences committed since the beginning of the said king James's reign, to the date hereof; that all and every of the garrison, officers, governor, mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, burgesses, freemen, and inhabitants aforesaid, shall enjoy and possess their estates real and personal, and all other liberties and immunities as they held or ought to have held under the acts of settlement and explanation, or otherwise by the laws of this kingdom, freely discharged from all crown rents, quit rents, and all other charges, to the date hereof; that the names of the Roman catholic clergy of the town of Galway be given to the general on or before Tuesday next, and that they, as well as the laity of the said town, shall have the private exercise of their religion, without being prosecuted on any penal laws for the same, and that the said clergy shall be protected in their persons and goods; that the gentlemen of estates now belonging to the town and garrison of Gal-

way shall have liberty to keep a gun in their houses for the defence of the same, and wear a sword and case of pistols, if they think fit; that all the Roman catholic lawyers of the said town shall have the free liberty of practice that they had in king Charles the Second's time: and, that such of the officers belonging to any of the regiments that are now in Galway, and not present at the signing of these capitulations, shall have the benefit of the same, provided they shall submit within three weeks to the governor of Galway for the time being, who shall be appointed by the general, or that they shall have a safe-conduct to go to Limerick in the same manner as the said garrison has." These articles were signed on the part of the garrison by lords Dillon, Clanrickard, and Enniskillen.

The movements of the English army, from the time it marched against Athlone, to the capture of Galway, had been so important, that they absorbed the public attention, and we have little information of importance relating to what was going on in other parts of the country. With the exception of an advantage gained over a strong party of Irish near Sligo, this consisted chiefly of skirmishes between the militia and the rapparees, and a good notion may be formed of the character of this warfare from Story's list of their encounters in the same month of July which witnessed the great events described above. "July the first, lieutenant colonel Dawson marched with a party of the militia towards the Comorra mountains, not far from Waterford, where he killed three rapparees; and major Stroud, being one of the officers appointed by the government to command the militia in the county of Cork, killed ten rapparees near Ballyelough; and in ten days there were sixty more killed in that part of the country adjoining to Bandon, by lieutenant-colonel More, and others of the militia; and colonel Blunt killed five near Cashel. About the 8th, five-and-twenty rapparees were killed near Mount-Melick; and part of the militia of Rosreea go towards Nenagh, upon an expedition for black cattle, and killed ten rapparees; one captain Warren killed nine also in the county of Kilkenny. John Weaver, esq., high sheriff of the county of Westmeath, by order from the government, gives protection to several rapparees, and those discover a knot of rogues, twenty-three of whom were killed by the militia, and three gunsmiths also who were at work for them in a forge

built in the midst of a great wood. July the 20th, a party of the Irish army appears nigh Cashel, but marched off again without attempting anything; and colonel James Barry, with a party of the militia, killed five-and-thirty rapparees near Tallough, but, being waylaid by the enemy, most of his party were killed or taken prisoners, and himself carried to Limerick, where he remained a prisoner till the town was surrendered. The twenty-second, three rapparees were killed near Cork, and four more towards Cahir. A party of the militia bring in some prisoners from the island nigh Lanesborough, who were afterwards sent to Dublin. Seventeen rapparees were killed in the county of Kildare by two parties of

the militia, and three hanged at Edenderry. Five hundred of the militia of the county of Cork, under the command of colonel Bucher, met with about four hundred of the Irish beyond a place called Skibbareene, and after a small dispute the enemy were put to flight, by which means our party had almost surprised MackCarthy More and colonel O'Donovan, who were not far off. The enemy lost nigh sixty, and the militia got a considerable booty of cattle."

"And this," says Story, after describing a review of the militia of Wicklow at the end of the month, "ended this active month of July in Ireland, where more execution was done than in all Europe besides, notwithstanding the great preparations."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ARTICLES OF LIMERICK.



GINCKLE now resolved to bring the war to an end, with as little delay as possible, and, Galway being secured, the army marched back to Athenry, on the 28th of July, on its way to Limerick. Determined to strike terror into the enemy by his imposing force, and conscious of the strength of the city he was going to attack, he ordered nearly all the regular troops which were scattered over Ireland to join him on his march, and a small fleet of English men-of-war, which had entered the bay of Galway, was directed to sail up the Shannon and assist in blocking up Limerick. This fleet had been sent by the queen, who supposed that the surrender of Limerick would follow the capture of Galway as a matter of course, to convey part of Ginckle's troops to Flanders. The weather was now becoming unfavourable, and threatened to impede Ginckle's movements. On the 29th his army encamped at Loughirea, where they were detained the following day by heavy rains, and when, on the 31st, they pursued their march to Eyrecourt, the roads were so bad that some of the regiments could not reach the stations ap-

pointed for them, and they were obliged to encamp in a scattered manner about the country. Next day, the first of August, they crossed the Shannon at Banagher, and here they were joined by several fresh regiments, one of which Ginckle, informed that Balderog O'Donnell was still in arms and collecting men, sent back to Athlone. During the following days the army continued its march slowly (on account of the difficulty of bringing up the artillery) through a country desolated by the enemy. Burrosakane, a thriving English town, had been burnt to the ground, and the little that remained unburnt of Nenagh was fired by the Irish before they retired from it.

The English army reached the place last mentioned on the sixth of August, and remained there four days, waiting for supplies and provisions. During this time Ginckle completed a treaty with Balderog O'Donnell, by which that chief and his men were to enter the service of king William; and as the time limited for the submission of the Irish by the former proclamation had now expired, on the eleventh, before leaving Nenagh, he published a new proclamation, in which he announced that,—“the enemies of their majesties' government, and the dis-

turburs of the quiet of this kingdom, having been very industrious to conceal the grace and favour which have been offered to such as should return to their duty, to take away all manner of excuse for the future from those that still continue in arms, I have thought fit to publish, that though the term prescribed by the lords justices in their proclamation of the 7th of July is expired, so that no man can lay claim to the condescensions therein made, yet if, within ten days from the date hereof, any person or persons shall do the services therein mentioned, I promise, with the consent of the lords justices, who are thereunto empowered by their majesties, that they shall have a full and free pardon of all treasons, crimes, and offences by them committed against their majesties' government, and be restored to their estates forfeited by the said treasons, &c.; and to show their majesties' bounty and confidence in them that leave the enemy, and have a mind to testify their zeal and affection to their majesties' service, I do hereby engage that all such officers and soldiers as come off from the Irish with a body of men, or surrender any town or strong castle into our hands, within the above said ten days, shall have, if they desire it, the same or better post or employment in the army than they left, and a reward suitable to the merit of the service they perform, as those have already had who have surrendered themselves: but in case the persons invited by this declaration should neglect in the time prescribed to lay hold on the same, they must never more expect the like advantageous terms and condescensions." Several of these declarations were carried into Limerick by one of Ginckle's spies, and they seemed to have produced some effect, as they were followed by rather numerous desertions.

The Irish in Limerick, encouraged by the bravery of Sarsfield, had not been inactive. That commander, with all the troops he could collect, amounting to about seven thousand men, had ventured across the Shannon, and threatened Cashel, but he was soon obliged to fall back upon Limerick, when the garrison of Cashel was strengthened, and he was informed of the approach of Ginckle. His troops still talked boastfully of their resolution to face the English again in the field; yet the town was a scene of contention and mutual suspicion, for the officers and commanders were divided in sentiments, some urging submis-

sion, while others declared violently for fighting to the last. Tyrconnell, who had long fallen into disgrace with the French and violent factions by his advocacy of moderate measures, and who is said to have been driven to Limerick by the insults to which he had been exposed in the Irish camp at Athlone, lay upon his deathbed, bitterly lamenting the miseries of his country, and mortified at the ingratitude shown to him by a monarch whom he had served faithfully to the last. Many of the vulgar Irish imagined that he had died of poison administered to him at a feast through the agency of the French faction; others, in their ignorance believed that he had been privately tried, condemned, and executed, for holding a treasonable correspondence with the English general. Such were the suspicions with which the chiefs of the different parties now looked upon each other. Lutterel, Clifford, and some other Irish officers, were thrown into prison or looked upon with suspicion, for leaning towards a surrender, which was violently opposed by Sarsfield. Tyrconnell died on the 14th of August, and no sooner was his death known than a commission was produced from King James, given some time before, but concealed till now, entrusting the government of Ireland to Fitten, Nagle, and Plowden (one of James's commissioners of the revenue), as lords justices.

Limerick, like Athlone, consisted of two parts, known as the Irish town and the English town, divided by a branch of the Shannon. The first of these was built on the English or Munster side of the river, while the latter was built on an island formed by two branches of the river itself. They were joined together by a bridge, and the English town was joined to the Irish bank of the river by another bridge, called Thomond bridge, which was defended by works on the Irish side. The main body of the Irish army was in the two towns, but their horse and dragoons, with a few regiments of infantry, lay encamped on the other side of the Shannon to secure their supply of provisions, and to hinder the enemy from passing the river in boats.

Heavy rains had again set in, which impeded the progress of the English army. Ginckle's officers were divided in their opinions as to the expediency of attacking so strong a place under these untoward circumstances; and while some believed they were marching to certain victory, others ex-

pected a similar result to that which had attended the siege of Limerick in the preceding year. Of the former, some urged that no terms should be granted, but that the Irish army should be compelled to surrender at discretion, whilst others as earnestly recommended that their surrender should be obtained on any terms. Ginckle, however, had his private orders to put an end to the war on the best terms he could, and he marched towards this end steadily and confidently. Before he approached the town, he secured the passes of the Shannon, and reduced the Irish garrisons which were calculated to give him annoyance in his operations, or to interrupt his communications, more especially with the county of Kerry, where he intended to establish his winter quarters. Not forgetting the disaster of the former siege, he caused his artillery to be brought up under a powerful escort, and with the greatest caution. He ordered captain Cole, who commanded some English ships in the Shannon, to burn the country and destroy the forage on the Clare side of the river, on which the Irish army depended chiefly for support: while a fleet under sir Ralph Delaval cruised off cape Clear to intercept the succours which had been promised to the besieged from France.

It was not till the 25th of August, that the English army came before Limerick. Ginckle made his approach by nearly the same passage taken by king William, and in the same manner, and met with scarcely any opposition. Ireton's, Cromwell's, and other forts, were taken with little resistance, and the first week was spent chiefly in strengthening the camp, which lay a little farther from the town, and nearer the Shannon, than in the former year. On the 27th, a detachment under the prince of Hesse, marched against the strong fortress of Castle-Connell, which was reduced in two days; while Carrig-a-gunnel was taken by another detachment under general Sgravenmore. At the same time Kilmallock was deserted by its Irish garrison.

Ginckle directed his batteries first upon the Irish town, and some imagined that it was his intention, as at Athlone, to turn one town against the other. But his reason for commencing the attack here, appears to have been the information brought by deserters, that the inhabitants of the Irish town might be soon frightened into betraying the place. But the soldiers frustrated

their design by driving the inhabitants out of the town, and when the houses were fired by the English shells, instead of extinguishing the flames, they burst into the houses and plundered them. Ginckle raised new batteries in such positions that he could direct his guns upon both sides at once, and in ten days more both towns were great part burnt down, and the nearest defences of the English town almost destroyed.

Intelligence was, however, brought by deserters which disconcerted Ginckle's plans of attack. It appeared that, although he might succeed in passing the river on that side, he would find wet fosses between it and the town, which would hinder his further progress. At the same time he was assured that the works which defended Thomond-bridge, were not so strong as he supposed. He determined, therefore, to make a bold effort to cross the river and make himself master of those works, by the possession of which he would command Thomond-bridge and cut off the communications of the garrison with the county of Clare. To conceal this design, he issued orders as though he were going to raise the siege, and some of the large guns were dismounted and works abandoned amid shouts of exultation from the town. While the garrison were thus lulled into a false security, the materials for a bridge of pontoons, were got together, and towards evening on the 15th of September, a strong division of the army marched away, as if to retreat, but in the night, they turned and proceeded to the Shannon, at a place about two miles above Limerick, where an island, called St. Thomas's Island, lay in the middle of the river, separated from the county of Clare by a stream which was fordable. About midnight, a bridge of his boats was thrown over, and the forces employed on this expedition were all conveyed into the island. An Irish officer, named Clifford, the same who had excited suspicion by advocating submission, and who appears, on that account, to have been kept out of the town, commanded four regiments of dragoons, who lay encamped on the other side of the river. When they heard that the English were in the island, they hurried down to the water-side on foot, for their horses were at some distance at pasture; and Clifford himself showing no great zeal in the service, they were soon beaten off; and the English effected a landing without loss. The news soon reached the Irish camp, which, with the

townsmen who were near them was thrown into the utmost consternation. Some prepared to seek safety in a hasty flight to the mountains, while others rushed to Thomond bridge, to find shelter in the town. But the soldiers, in their alarm, closed the gates, and refused them admittance, and several were killed in the uproar and confusion. The English commanders were satisfied at having effected a lodgment on the Clare side of the river, and they restrained their men from attacking or pursuing the enemy, unacquainted with his dispositions, and fearful of an ambush, and more anxious to secure their passage over the river than to advance. A fort on St. Thomas's Island, which had been left in their hasty passage, was now captured, as well as a castle, erected on a salmon wear, in the middle of the river, which was called, from this circumstance, the Wear Castle. By the possession of these forts, the English had a safe communication between the two banks of the river. In the afternoon of the same day, Ginckle resolved, if possible, to obtain the surrender of Limerick without further bloodshed, and probably in secret intelligence with some officers of the garrison, he sent in another proclamation, hoping that the prospect of a blockade might have produced some influence on their resolutions. He told them that, "Although their majesties have been already more gracious than could be expected, or the behaviour of the Irish has deserved, yet, to leave no means untried that may bring them to a sense of their interest and duty, and this kingdom to that quiet and settled condition it formerly enjoyed, they have been pleased to empower me to assure the enemy's army, and the garrison and inhabitants of Limerick, that if, within eight days from the date hereof, they shall surrender and submit themselves to their majesties' obedience, they shall have that pardon of their offences, restitution of their estates, and reward of their services, and all the benefits promised by the lords justices in their proclamation of the 7th of July last, from which they are not debarred by any act of parliament, as they are falsely made to believe by some persons who live by sacrificing their country to the tyranny and ambition of France, and ought, for that reason, to be excluded from mercy by both sides. But if they shall still continue obstinate, and neglect to lay hold on this favour, which is the last that will be offered them, they must be answerable for the blood and destruction they draw upon

themselves; for I hereby acquit myself, before God and the world, and wash my hands of it."

Still the difficulty of reducing the town by force appeared so great, that Ginckle's resolutions were various and fluctuating, as he received contradictory information from different deserters. At a council of war, on the 17th of September, it was warmly debated whether the siege should be carried on, or converted into a blockade, and the latter design was so far agreed to that a party was sent out to strengthen Kilmallock, and prepare it for a garrison; but it was recalled, and other councils gained the day. The next few days were spent in shifting the great guns, in making new dispositions of the besieging troops, and in strengthening the bridge of boats to St. Thomas's island.

During these events, the militia on one side and the rapparees on the other, were not idle in the different parts of the kingdom. Those of Dublin joined with eight hundred of the militia of Ulster, and marched to assist in the reduction of Sligo, the only place of any importance, except Limerick, now in the hands of the enemy. They were joined on the 9th of September, at Abbey Boyle, by Balderog O'Donnell, with about twelve hundred Irish, and, being placed under the command of lord Granard, after taking Ballymote, they marched laboriously over the Curlew mountains and sat down before Sligo. The garrison surrendered on the 16th, on condition of being conveyed to Limerick.

The news of the surrender of Sligo reached the English camp before Limerick on the 21st of September, and acted as a stimulant on the soldiers for their enterprise the following day, when it was resolved to pass the river in great force, and march into the county of Clare. Accordingly, on the morning of the 22nd, Ginckle, with the prince of Wirtemberg, Sgravenmore, and Rouvigny, marched over the bridge of boats at the head of a formidable force of horse and foot, and had all crossed to the other side by mid-day. As they marched towards the town on the other side, the advance guard was driven back by superior numbers of the enemy; but they were soon sustained by a stronger party of the English, and in turn repelled their assailants. Thus they continued their march, until, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the grenadiers, supported by four regiments, were ordered to attack the works which covered Thomond bridge.

These consisted of a fort to the right, about a musket-shot from the bridge, and another somewhat nearer to the left, with several natural fortifications, formed by stone quarries and gravel pits, which were occupied by about eight hundred men. The contest was at first hot, and was rendered more perilous to the assailants by the continued firing from the walls and defences of the town and castle, and the detached fort in the King's island (on which the English town stood); but at length they drove the Irish from their first position, and then the latter, although reinforced from the town, fell back upon the bridge. The grenadiers and their supporters rushed forward, regardless of the caution they had received, not to advance too near the walls, or the tremendous fire of musketry and cannon to which they were exposed, and soon broke and defeated their enemies, who now rushed headlong over the bridge to the town gates. So great was the consternation, that a French officer who commanded there, fearful lest the enemy should enter pell-mell with his own men, ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and thus stopped the progress of the Irish, many of whom were crushed to death, or precipitated into the river, and drowned. The rest cried out for mercy, but the eagerness of the assailants was so great, that, before the carnage could be stopped, about six hundred were slain, including those who had perished in the river. A hundred and twenty-six, officers and men, were taken prisoners.

The English had now made a lodgment within ten yards of the bridge, and had effectually cut off the town from communication with the county of Clare, on which the garrison depended for provisions. The latter were at the same time separated from their horse, which had been obliged to seek forage at a distance, as it was destroyed in the neighbourhood of the town. Ginckle was astonished that the enemy should not rather have drawn all their forces together, and risk a battle, than thus allow the town to be surrounded; but in truth the garrison was already disheartened, and the dissensions among their leaders were increasing daily. The conduct of the French officer at Thomond bridge, which exposed so many of their countrymen to destruction, had provoked the Irish to such a degree, that they determined at last on seeking terms from the enemy. During the following day, the 23rd of September, the Irish fired from their battlements with unusual fury; but in

the evening, they beat a parley on both sides of the town, and Ginckle agreed to a cessation of hostilities for three days, in order to give time to the garrison to communicate with the horse, that they might consult together, and the benefits of a capitulation might be extended to all.

A friendly intercourse was now opened between the two armies, and it was agreed that there should be an interchange of prisoners. There had been in Limerick about two hundred and forty protestants, taken in the county of Cork and other places, who had remained in prison during the siege. As long as the inhabitants were allowed to remain in the town, they had received charitable relief, especially from the protestants; but, after they were driven out, these miserable people were left unattended to, exposed to famine, disease, and the shots and shells of the besiegers. About thirty of them had been killed during the siege, and many of them had been wounded, and these latter were now suffering from wounds which had not even been dressed. On the afternoon of the 24th, these prisoners were sent to the English camp. Many of them, when they were taken from the prison, were unable to stand, and they were placed on miserable hacks; the others tottered feebly on, ghastly and hideous, and unable to bear exposure to the air, from which they had been so long excluded. Several dropped down dead on their way from the town to the camp; and the narrator of these events instances a dragoon, whose hand had been shattered to pieces and never dressed, and who died within an hour after he was set at liberty. A spectacle like this only served to exasperate the besiegers.

At length, on the last day of the cessation, when hostages had been given on each side preparatory to a further treaty, the Irish leaders sent in their terms of capitulation, which were these: 1st. That their majesties will, by an act of indemnity, pardon all past crimes and offences whatsoever. 2. To restore all Irish catholics to the estates of which they were seized or possessed before the late revolution. 3. To allow a free liberty of worship, and one priest to each parish, as well in towns and cities, as in the country. 4. Irish catholics to be capable of bearing employments, military and civil, and to exercise professions, trades, and callings, of what nature soever. 5. The Irish army to be kept on foot, paid, &c., as the rest of their majesties' forces, in case

they be willing to serve their majesties against France, or any other enemy. 6. The Irish catholics to be allowed to live in towns corporate and cities, to be members of corporations, to exercise all sorts and manners of trades, and to be equal with their fellow protestant subjects in all privileges, advantages, and indemnities accruing in or by the said corporations. 7. An act of parliament to be passed for ratifying and confirming the said conditions.

Willing as Ginckle might be to put an end to the war by granting favourable terms, he was astonished at the boldness of these demands, from a garrison which must now soon be reduced to extremities. He merely replied that, though he was in a manner a stranger to the laws of England, yet he understood that those things which they insisted upon were so far contradictory to them, and dishonourable to himself, that he could not grant them; and he immediately gave orders for raising new batteries, as though he were determined to proceed vigorously with the siege. At the same time, he ordered the Irish prisoners to be restored, in return for the English who had been sent to the camp at the beginning of the cessation, but they had been treated with humanity, and their sick and wounded carefully attended to. The contrast acted favourably upon the feelings of their comrades.

It was evidently not the intention of the garrison to expose themselves to the risk of further severity, and on the morning of the 28th, a second deputation waited upon Ginckle, to request that he would offer such terms as he could grant. The English commander willingly renewed the negotiations, and the Irish appear to have been as much surprised at the moderation shown in the terms now offered to them as he had previously been at the extravagance of their demands. He consented that *all* Irish Roman catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion as fully as they had done in the reign of Charles II., and promised that their majesties would endeavour to procure them further security in this particular, when a parliament could be convened; he engaged that all included in the capitulation should enjoy their estates and pursue their callings and professions freely, as they had held them in the same reign; that their gentry should be allowed the use of arms; and that they should be required to take no oath but that of allegiance. Those who

preferred exile to living in Ireland on these conditions, were to have free liberty to depart, and to be conveyed to the continent at the expense of the English government.

These concessions were readily accepted by the officers of the garrison, as the ground of a treaty, but an artful attempt was made to make them still more advantageous. An able and acute lawyer of the Irish party, sir Theobald Butler, was employed to draw up in a set of formal articles, the several points agreed to in different conferences. It is supposed that some of the popish prelates who attended the progress of the treaty, and were naturally anxious for the interests of their own church, had persuaded Butler to insert in his draft, various particulars which went beyond his instructions. These were soon discovered by Ginckle, who remonstrated warmly with Sarsfield, or, as he was now allowed to assume the title that had been given him by king James, lord Lucan, and the latter caused the articles of capitulation to be reduced to the original intention and agreements of the parties who had conducted the negotiations. These waited for final arrangement the arrival of the lords justices, sir Charles Porter, and Thomas Coningsby, who reached the camp on the 1st of October, and on the 3rd these important articles of capitulation were finally adjusted and signed. They were subsequently confirmed by the royal letters patent.

The military articles, which were signed by Ginckle, as commander of the English army, covenanted that all persons, without exception, of whatever condition or quality, who were desirous of leaving the kingdom of Ireland, were to have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas, except England and Scotland, with their families, household stuff, plate, and jewels; all officers and soldiers, including rapparees and volunteers, were to have the same liberty of departure, and might come to the place of embarkation "in whole bodies, as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediments, directly or indirectly; and that all persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz.—the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next, in Limerick; the horse, at their camp, on Wednesday; and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before Mon-

sieur Tameron, the French intendant, and colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither; and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly." They were all to be furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water, and were to be guaranteed against personal injury or robbery on the way. Other articles arranged the manner in which the transportation was to be arranged and effected. All prisoners of war were to be set at liberty on both sides.

The civil articles of the surrender of Limerick are of more importance, because they became the grand subject of political discussion through several succeeding reigns. They were signed by the two lords justices and the general, and were textually as follows:—

"1. The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion. 2. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms under any commission of king James, or those authorized by him to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them, [and all such as are under their protection in the said counties];* and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; and their and every of their heirs; shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges, and immunities, which they and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of king Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign

of king Charles II., and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his servants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for or for the use of them or any of them; and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles II.; provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised; provided, also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance made by act of parliament in England in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required. 3. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688 [*i.e.* 1689], shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants and reputed merchants do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof. 4. The following officers, viz.—colonel Simon Luttrell, captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Mays-town, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties' govern-

* The words within brackets were added when the articles were confirmed by the king.

ment, and take the above-mentioned oath. 5. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunures, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever by them or any of them committed since the beginning of the reign of king James II.; and if any of them are attainted by act of parliament, the lords justices and general will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees. 6. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts, and that, if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last; for the quiet and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences, which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded, at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandises, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses; and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides. 7. Every nobleman and gentleman, comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling. 8. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or pay-

ing any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof. 9. The oath to be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath above said, and no other. 10. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same. 11. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours that all the persons comprehended in the abovementioned articles shall be protected and defended from all arrest and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof. 12. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament. 13. And whereas colonel John Brown stood indebted to several protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyconnell and lord Lucan took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish and their army; for freeing the said lord Lucan of his said engagement, passed on their public account, for payment of the said protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices and the said baron de Ginekle shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman catholics by articles and capitulation in this kingdom charged with and equally liable to the payment of so much of the same debts as the said lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand that the effects taken from the said John Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated and the balance certified by the said lord Lucan in one-and-twenty days after the date hereof."

BOOK VII.

FROM THE SURRENDER OF LIMERICK TO THE INSURRECTION OF THE WHITE-BOYS
UNDER GEORGE III.

CHAPTER I.



STATE OF IRELAND IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF EIGHTY EIGHT;
THE WAR ENDED; THE IRISH IN FRANCE.

SCARCELY had the articles of Limerick been signed, when they became the subject of contention and discontent. The protestant party lamented the opportunity lost of entirely crushing the Irish papists; and many were disappointed that a part of the spoils to be furnished by confiscation was given up. They complained that they had themselves been ruined for their attachment to the English government by the catholic party, wherever the latter had been in power, and yet, by these articles, their enemies had been helped to carry off their plunder with impunity, and that they had been pardoned, treated with honour, and even protected against due justice for the crimes they had committed. Those who pretended to foresight, represented the danger that must arise from the expatriation of so many Irish subjects, who, when they had become experienced officers and soldiers in the service of our enemies, would return to make war upon the government at home.

To this last complaint a ready answer was furnished by the condition of the country, which had been so utterly desolated by the destruction caused by the war, that it was impossible that it could, for some time, afford subsistence to its inhabitants. From the disorders of the war, no grain had been sown in a great part of Ireland, and nearly all the cattle had long ago been destroyed by one army or the other. The numbers of French privateers who hovered upon the coasts, many of them commanded and partly manned by Irishmen, and the rigour of the

search after prohibited goods, had hindered the importation of provisions from England or Scotland; so that if the Irish troops had remained in their own country, they must either have perished quietly, or have been armed by despair against the rest of society. Indeed, from the excessive scarcity of provisions in Ireland, the king was obliged to allow some thousands of the Irish army to go into the service of the emperor, to take multitudes of them into the English army, and to hurry away his own army from Ireland the moment the Irish soldiers had departed.

The Irish catholics were themselves mortified at the arrival of a French fleet with supplies and assistance, immediately after the surrender of Limerick; for many of them believed that this tardy help would have enabled them to carry on the war with some prospect of success, whereas now they were reduced to the lowest grade of political debasement, utterly dependent upon their enemies, on the point of being treated in every respect as a conquered people. Their feelings of hatred towards their English rulers were rendered more bitter by the belief that they had incurred their present humiliation in a struggle to support the legitimate monarch, and to defend their religion and independence.

So complete, indeed, was the damp cast upon the Irish cause by the surrender of Limerick, that the Irish of all classes sank suddenly into a state of passive submission to their fate. Even the wild rapparees, who had considered themselves in some degree as dependent on the popish army, became less troublesome. Some of them surrendered and enlisted into the English army

which was serving on the continent. To encourage this spirit, a proclamation which had been just issued on the 18th of September, was repeated on the 14th of October, promising pardon and protection to all robbers, thieves, and rapparees, who before the 5th of November following, should surrender up their arms to any justice of the peace, and take the oath of fidelity to their majesties described in the articles of Limerick, and requiring the justices of the peace to make a return under their hands of their names, places of abode, their qualities, and arms, but forbidding all protected persons and others, relieving, concealing, or harbouring such of them as did not submit, on pain of forfeiting their own protections and being visited with the utmost severity of the law. At the same time, a reward of forty shillings was offered for every head of such rapparees as continued to infest the country, that should be brought in to the authorities. Another proclamation, which seemed to promise a more liberal policy on the part of the English government, forbade all officers and soldiers of the army, and others, to do any harm or injury to any of the Irish, or make any distinction of nations, declaring that every one who took the oath was to be esteemed a subject of the crown, and to be entitled to the full benefit of the law. "By which means," says Story, "all things became so calm on a sudden, as if there had been no storm at all in that kingdom." And a little further on, the same writer, excusing the lenity shown towards the Irish, which had been blamed by the protestants, adds, "Within one fortnight after our army was removed from Limerick, a man might have travelled alone through that whole kingdom, and that with as great safety as through any part of England; but if this had been delayed, and the reducing those scamperers attempted altogether by force, pray let it be remembered how securely the bandittos of Italy have lived between the power of the king of Spain and that of the pope, and how many men in all countries have prospered in doing mischief, but especially in Ireland, where there are so many difficulties to march an army, and the Irish so well acquainted with the bogs and other fastnesses, that it is impossible to beat them sooner out of one place than they will outstrip you to another, being by constant practice extremely well skilled in making use of those advantages. But the aforesaid articles and proclamations have remedied all those

inconveniences; and that kingdom never enjoyed a more profound peace than at present, since every insurrection, when it is subdued, makes an addition to the power of the government.

But this lenient policy towards the Irish catholics, was not long persevered in. Already, at the end of October 1691, the English parliament had brought forward an act so far altering the Irish law, as to abrogate the former oaths of supremacy and allegiance taken in Ireland, and substituting other oaths, which excluded Roman catholics from a seat in either house of parliament. This act, after some discussion in the house of lords, was finally passed on the 10th of December, and it was rigorously enforced in Ireland at the beginning of the next term, towards the end of January of 1692. About the same time, a further spirit of hostility towards the Irish was shown in an order addressed to all colonels and others in their majesties' army, who had entertained any Irish in their respective regiments, troops, or companies, commanding them forthwith to dismiss them, and not to keep any one Irish papist under their command, upon pain of having the regiments broken where any such were found.

Other orders and proclamations followed with the same design of rendering the Irish harmless, and securing the tranquillities of the country. One, issued on the 4th of February, commanded all persons that were not qualified by the articles of Limerick and Galway, (that is, all who possessed less than one hundred a year of freehold estate), to deliver up their arms of all sorts before the 10th of March, and if they failed therein they were to be prosecuted with the utmost severity of the law. A reward of ten shillings was offered to every one who should discover any fire-arms detained after the 10th of March, and five shillings for other arms, to be paid by the sheriff or justice of the peace to whom such discovery should be made. Another proclamation, published the same day, forbade all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, or other magistrates, from meddling with the rights or possessions of any who were protected by the articles of Limerick and Galway, and some vindictive proceedings were in consequence immediately stopped. But the number of arms brought in in consequence of the proclamation, was very small, and few informations were given, although it was well known that they were concealed in large quantities.

On the 23rd of March, 1692, a proclamation, signed by the king on the 3rd of the same month, was published at Dublin, announcing that the kingdom of Ireland was reduced to obedience, and that the war and rebellion were at an end. Thus closed a struggle which had cost a greater expenditure of blood and treasure, than any former war that had desolated this unhappy country. The only approximate calculation of the loss to both parties, appears to be that given by Story, founded upon facts within his own knowledge, and which appears to be rather under the true estimate than otherwise. He reckons the pay of the army under Schomberg in 1689, with the Londonderry and Enniskillen troops then taken into pay, at £869,410:7s.:6d. The pay of the king's army in 1690, he estimates at £1,287,630 2s. That of the army under Ginckle, in 1691, he estimates at £1,161,830:12s.:10d. The pay of the general officers, which is not included in the foregoing estimate, with the train, bread, waggons, transport ships, and other contingencies, he reckons at as much more, making thus a total of £6,637,742 5s. "And the Irish army," he adds, "living for the most part upon the product of the country, could not cost much less; besides the further destruction of the protestant interest in that kingdom, by cutting down improvements, burning of houses, destroying of sheep and cattle, taking away of horses, with infinite other extortions and robberies, as also the loss of people on both sides, most of which, however disaffected, yet they were subjects to the crown of England."

Story then proceeds to observe that, "as to the particulars of our and their losses of people in both armies since the landing of duke Schomberg in Ireland, the best computation I have been able to make by comparing accounts, and conferring on both sides with those that have made some observations on that matter, the thing runs thus. Irish officers killed, 617. Soldiers killed, belonging to the Irish army, 12,676. Rapparees killed by the army and militia, 1,928. Rapparees hanged by legal process or court martial, 112. Rapparees killed and hanged by soldiers and others, without any ceremony, 600. Officers killed in the English army, 140. Soldiers killed in the field, 2,037. Murdered privately, by the rapparees, that we had no account where they died, 800. English and foreign officers died during the three campaigns, 320. Soldiers

dead in the English army since our landing in Ireland, 7,000. Though it is to be observed that in the two last campaigns there died very few, except recruits, and such as died of their wounds. Nor are we to believe that the Irish did not lose a great many by sickness also, but no doubt the destruction of the people in the country would be more than double all these numbers; so that by the sword, famine, and all other accidents, there has perished, since first the Irish began to play their mad pranks, there have died, I say, in that kingdom, of one sort and another, at least one hundred thousand, young and old, besides treble the number that are ruined and undone."

"All which being considered," Story goes on to observe, "it is certainly most expedient to find out an eternal remedy, that the like may never happen again. And this I humbly suppose, must not be any endeavour to root out and destroy the Irish, but in the advancing the English interest both in church and state, in that kingdom, so as to make the Irish themselves in love with it."

It was now, indeed, a question much agitated, how to lessen the burthen which Ireland continued to be upon England, and at the same time bind it more closely and firmly to the English crown. Story's observations on this subject, as those of a contemporary interested in the subject, gives us a good notion of the state of public feeling on these points. The policy which finally prevailed in England, was that of keeping Ireland in a weak state, that it might not again be able to rise in rebellion, and that its prosperity might not, as was apprehended, interfere with English trade. "But in my humble opinion," this writer observes, "whatsoever may be allowed in this, as to the promoting the private advantages of a great many trading people and even men of estates in England, which all would suffer by the advancing of these in Ireland, yet it is so far from being the real interest either of the king or kingdom of England to cramp Ireland in its prosperity, that the wealth and greatness of Ireland in trade and manufactures is to be promoted both by the king and people of England as much as possibly it can. And first, as to the kings of England, it is the same thing to them whether they have their customs from Bristol or Dublin, from Cork or Newcastle, &c, or whether their levies of men, when occasion offers, are made in the coun-

ties of Wicklow and Waterford, Cumberland or Yorkshire, provided the interest were one and the same in both kingdoms. And as to the people of England in general, one should think it is their business to promote and encourage the trade and prosperity of Ireland, that thereby it might not only support itself in time of peace, but defend and maintain itself in war, which nothing but promoting its trade and wealth will do. For what Ireland cannot do in order to its safety, England must supply to prevent its own danger; since if ever a foreign enemy surprise and possess Ireland, especially the French, then England must maintain a greater standing force to secure themselves, than would have secured Ireland if employed in its defence."

Story then proceeds to show the necessity of protecting Ireland from foreign influence, and the evils that arose from that country while it remained in a state of distress and disaffection. "Which evils still remaining, the remedies are as yet to be found out, at least to be put in practice. For though the war be now happily ended, yet there are at this day at least three different interests on foot in that kingdom, the English, Irish, and Scots; the first of which seem to be the least concerned in their own advancement; but the last gain ground daily in the north, there being at least ten thousand people come thither out of Scotland within these twelve months, which in time will make their party considerable; for the people of England live better than the Scots at home, and so are not so easily invited to look abroad. Whereas the Scots their part of Ireland by this means in a few years is like to be more than it has been. And as to the Irish, every one sees their indefatigable industry in promoting the interest of their own party, no discouragements being able to blunt, but rather serve to sharpen their endeavours for the effecting of what they believe may be some steps towards their future prosperity, making every particular man's case a general grievance, and each assisting another, as being all concerned in the same general cause; whilst the English, even in that country, who still feel the smart of their former calamities, will yet rather let their lands to an Irishman or Scot, that shall give them sixpence in an acre more, and never improve it further, than to an English farmer, that, if he had encouragement, would, in a few years, make good improvements, which will still continue one

great reason why Ireland will not easily be made an English country.

"But I can carry the matter yet higher, and affirm, that it is the real interest of the Roman catholics of Ireland themselves, whether of Irish or English extraction, to promote that of England as much as they can in their country, if they will but consult the future safety of themselves and their posterity; since without the support of some other nation they can never hope of themselves to be an independent kingdom; and if they were, we can scarcely find out how they would agree among themselves who should command, or who obey, which they never could yet from the beginning do. And what did the Irish ever get by accompanying either their lords or followers into rebellion? or what should they have gotten if the late attempt had absolutely succeeded, but a more absolute servitude under the French? And therefore it is better for them to have their old English friends they have been so long acquainted with, than run the hazard of either setting up new tyrants of their own, or having them come to them from abroad.

"Besides, if the English interest were strong and powerful in Ireland, this would cut off the hopes of all disaffected people for ever thinking to withstand it, and would make them reject all tenders from abroad, and enticements from their jesuited priests at home, and never would they more run such desperate risks, which still fall upon upon their own heads at last. So that if the English interest were so fortified, that all hopes of removing it were cut off, the Irish would not be prevailed upon to make such destructive attempts to themselves and posterities, as they often have done hitherto by the insinuations of their priests, who have nothing to lose, nor families to provide for, but only hazard the lives and fortunes of others that have both."

"There are," continues Story, "only two objections that I know of, which seem to be considerable against this opinion of promoting the trade and wealth of Ireland. The first, that if Ireland should be encouraged so far as to make it altogether an English country, it would drain the wealth and inhabitants of England to that degree, that we should impoverish ourselves, by putting our trade into their hands who would be equal if not superior to us in a small time, since their country lies as convenient in all respects for trade as ours, and has several advantages above it. Answer—

This would rather encourage England to be more industrious in trade and manufactures, when they saw their younger sister of Ireland, by having the same privileges of trade with herself, begin to contend with her in this particular, and would create a profitable emulation amongst the people of both kingdoms; since I have not that opinion of trade, that some people have of motion, that there is a determinate quantity, and when it fails in one place, it increases in another. There is trade enough, no doubt, abroad in the world, for them all, if they will but be industrious. However, there can be no disadvantage accrue either to the king of England, or his people in general, by having this effected; nay, this would soon be more for the advantage of the crown of England than any poor customs that are got by dividing the nations can ever amount to. For who sees not the good effects of the union between England and Wales? But then those who are so hardy as to leave England, and venture their lives and fortunes at any time, for the reducing of Ireland, if they survive it, and once come to settle there, they are so far from having encouragement to trade and grow rich, that, by several laws made on the account of trade, they are under the same circumstances with the conquered Irish themselves, as all the English of that kingdom really are, in the point of all the western trade especially. The other objection is, that if Ireland were so far encouraged in trade and other advantages, as to become absolutely an English country, and equally entitled to the benefit of its laws, &c., the people there, after some time, would grow rich, and, consequently, proud, so that they would then set up for themselves, and deny all manner of dependence upon England, which would soon cause a more dangerous civil war than ever. *Answer.*—There can be no fear of this, since nothing would be got by such a revolt but their own destruction; and it is as probable that the English on the north of the Trent should, upon any disgust, endeavour to set up for themselves, which they are sensible could bring nothing but ruin to the whole. Besides, since the royal seats of the kings, the principal courts of judicature, and also the royal navy, are always on this side the water, all attempts of this kind would prove vain and fruitless, and the rest of the world laugh at such a destructive folly and madness.”

He then proceeds to remark on the ad-

vantages that would arise from dispelling the ignorance of the native Irish, and instructing them in good religious knowledge. “However,” says he, “true religion is not to be planted by penal laws, or the terror of punishment, which may fill a church with temporizing hypocrites, but never with sincere professors; for though human laws are a good hedge about religion, and an encouragement to virtue, yet that which is solely founded upon such, binds the conscience no longer than those laws are in force. But what I am sorry to see so true, is, that idleness is the *malus genius* of that kingdom; and except you can persuade the people to be industrious too, as well as religious, you are not much nearer the matter; for they are naturally a lazy crew, and love nothing so much as their ease; and if an Irishman has but a cow and a potato-garden, it is all the wealth he commonly aspires to; which way of feeding, a great many give for the reason that they are generally so mean-spirited; for you will see them in companies lie loitering in the streets of any country village, or by the highway sides, inquiring after and telling news to one another; but not one in twenty either at work in the fields or otherwise honestly employed; which is the reason that at this very day most of the gaols of the kingdom are filled with thieves, and the streets with incredible numbers of importunate howling beggars, who yet, most of them, had rather live so than otherways.”

Such were the sentiments expressed on the condition of Ireland, at a moment when much of the best part of its native population was hurrying into exile. The shipping and transportation of the soldiers who had chosen to follow the fortunes of their de-throned monarch were not effected without some trouble, and considerable discontent. They landed at Brest, at the end of November, where they were obliged to take up their uncomfortable quarters in the lanes and hedges about the town. A letter soon came from king James, addressed to the officer commanding them, in which the ex-king, with an empty affectation of royalty, assured him that, “having been informed of the surrender and capitulation of Limerick, and of the other places which remained to us in our kingdom of Ireland, and of the necessities which forced the lords justices and the general officers of our forces thereunto, we will not defer to let you know, and the res-
of the officers that came along with you,

that we are extremely satisfied with your and their conduct, and with the valour of the soldiers during the siege, but most particularly with your and their declaration and resolution to come and serve where we are; and we assure you, and order you to assure both officers and soldiers that are come along with you, that we shall never forget this act of loyalty, nor fail, when in a capacity, to give them above others particular marks of our favour. In the mean time, you are to inform them, that they are to serve under our command, and by our commissions; and if we find that a considerable number is come with the fleet, it will induce us to go personally to see them and regiment them. Our brother the king of France, hath already given orders to clothe them and furnish them with all necessaries, and to give them quarters of refreshment." In spite, however, of these promises, the exiles met with less consideration than they expected, and when the officers found that in new modelling their regiments they were all to be degraded in rank, their discontent was great.* The transport ships, on their return, brought intelligence, somewhat exaggerated, of their

ill-treatment, and increased the difficulty of getting their comrades on board. About twelve thousand are said at this time to have gone over to France.

Whatever treatment these emigrants may have met with at first, they found many imitators in succeeding years. Cut off by a succession of penal statutes from all hope of rising to distinction, the catholic gentry sought promotion in foreign service, and this practice continued, until there was hardly a catholic family in Ireland which had not relations or connections in the pay of France and other foreign countries. Many of these adventurers rose to fame and fortune, as the names of Sarsefield, O'Donnell, Nugent, Dillon, O'Reilly, McCarthy, and others, sufficiently attest. Many of them returned to their native soil, to witness the obscurity and degradation to which their countrymen were condemned at home, and to spread the feeling of discontent and consequent disaffection to the English government. They brought with them a natural and therefore excusable leaning towards the continental enemies of England.

CHAPTER II.

DISPUTES RELATING TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.



O sooner were the catholic party thus reduced to a state of helplessness, than the protestants began to raise disputes among themselves. The inclination shown by the parliament of England to legislate for Ireland without calling together the Irish legislature, was met with a feeling of determined resis-

tance in that country. The recent act changing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, was looked upon by some, as the commencement of a series of invasions of the rights of Ireland, which would ultimately lead to the degradation, if not to the abolition of its parliament. This and other questions were canvassed eagerly and anxiously, and it was evident that they would soon lead to bitter and irreconcilable faction. The old protestant inhabitants of the island at least, before they are sent into their quarters; and then they get neither money nor clothes, and but little of anything else. The major-generals, are made colonels, the colonels captains, the majors lieutenants, and the captains sergeants, and many of them but private men, insomuch that, as I pass along the streets, the soldiers wish they had died in Ireland before they came here, and many of the officers express themselves to the same purpose, and are extremely dejected and melancholy. Some of them hope this will be

* The following letter, written by one of the Irish officers who went with the first transport, to a correspondent in Ireland, is printed by Story:—

"Sir,—Never people that left their all to come hither to serve, were so meanly received as those miserable Irish were. They have been much longer than necessary in disembarking them, and will be at least three days more, though the intendant has been pressed with great earnestness to take them ashore. When they are landed, they lie in the fields a night or two

generally took up this view of the question, and, now that the struggle between the catholic and protestant interests was at an end, the latter separated into two rival interests; the independent Irish interest supported by the old protestant families, and the new interest of the later settlers, who considered themselves more as English than Irish, and advocated English supremacy to its utmost extent.

No parliament had now been held in Ireland since 1665, with the exception of the catholic parliament of king James. On the conclusion of the war, the temporary government of the lords justices was superseded, and viscount Sydney, who had been appointed to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland in the spring, arrived to assume the chief government on the 25th of August. It was already understood that one of his first measures was the calling of an Irish parliament, and the writs were immediately issued fixing the day of the meeting for the 5th of October. As the time for assembling approached, the various questions which were likely to occupy its attention were agitated publicly; people complained of the incroachments made upon the national independence by the interference of the English parliament during the long interval; and some believed that an Irish parliament would never have been called again, if the English parliament had dared to vote supplies from that country.

After so long a cessation of parliaments, we need not be surprised if all parties were but imperfectly acquainted with the former practice in Ireland. The Irish protestants were in general irritated against the articles of Limerick, and their temper was not mended when they understood that among the bills transmitted from England to be laid before the house of commons, were two money bills, in direct violation of the privilege the Irish commons claimed of determining in the first instance both the sum and the manner of raising every supply granted to the crown. Nevertheless, they showed a respectful submission in selecting, without opposition, the speaker recommended to them by the court, and agreed in a unani-

regulated, though I see no great reason for it, for this day there came a frivolous complaint against some of colonel Nugent's men, and the intendant threatened to break him for it; and I do not doubt but he will be as good as his word in a short time, for upon all occasions he uses their officers with the greatest insolence and contempt imaginable. Some of them having complained and told him they hoped

to have been advanced here, rather than thus reformed, he told them, if they did not like it, they might go back, the ships were in the harbour that brought them; though at the same time the owners on board the transport ships were ordered not to take any of them on board again, upon pain of death. This is all matter of fact, and a great deal more such usages they meet with, too tedious to relate."

now read; whereupon the said bill was read the first time, and ordered a second reading to-morrow morning at ten o'clock. *Resolved, nemine contradicente*, that the receiving or reading of the said bill, so transmitted as aforesaid, be not drawn into precedent hereafter."

The court appears immediately to have taken the alarm, and on the following day, the lord lieutenant announced in a message to the house, that the session would not continue above a fortnight longer, and therefore he recommended their speedy proceeding on such bills as were or should be brought before them. The additional excise bill was now carried through its different stages and passed, but not without further expressions of resentment; but on the 28th, the other money bill, by which a duty was to be raised on corn, was rejected, and the following entry made in the journals:—"A motion being made, and the question being put, that a bill now on the table, intituled, an act for granting to their majesties certain duties for one year, might be read, it passed in the negative. *Resolved*, that the said bill be rejected by this house. *Resolved*, that it be entered in the journal of this house, that the reason why the said bill was rejected is, that the same had not its rise in this house."

The fate of this session of parliament was now decided, and, after time had been given to make a bill for raising in some other manner the money lost by the rejection of the corn bill, the lord lieutenant went suddenly and unexpectedly on the 3rd of November, and prorogued the session to the 6th of April, 1693. Lord Sydney's speech, on this occasion, was in a very different temper from that with which he had opened the parliament. "Upon the opening of this session," he said, "I did acquaint you with the motives which induced their majesties to call this parliament, which were no other than what entirely regarded a happy settlement of this kingdom upon such foundations as might not only secure the peace, but bring you into a prosperous and flourishing condition. I am sorry I cannot say there hath been such a progress made by you, gentlemen of the house of commons, towards those ends, as their majesties had just reason to expect.* And I am the more troubled that you, who have so many and so great

obligations to be loyal and dutifully affected to their majesties, should so far mistake yourselves, as to intrench upon their majesties' prerogative, and the rights of the crown of England, as you did on the 27th of October last, when by a declaratory vote you affirmed, that it is the sole and undoubted right of the commons of Ireland to prepare heads of bills for raising money; and also again, on the 28th of the same month, when you rejected a bill sent over in the usual form, entitled, 'an act for granting to their majesties certain duties for one year,' you voted that it should be inserted in your journals, that the reason why the said bill was rejected was, that the same had not its rise in your house. These votes of yours being contrary to the statutes of the tenth of Henry the Seventh, and the third and fourth of Philip and Mary, and the continued practice ever since, I find myself obliged to assert their majesties' prerogative, and the rights of the crown of England, in these particulars, in such a manner as may be most public and permanent; and, therefore, I do here, in full parliament, make my public protest against those votes and the entries of them in the journals of the house of commons, which protest I require the clerk of this house to read, and afterwards to enter it in the journals of this house, that it may remain as a vindication of their majesties' prerogative and the right of the crown of England, in these particulars, to future ages." The lord lieutenant's protest, which merely insisted on the general terms of the old act relating to the holding of parliament, as including all particular cases, was read and entered in the journals.

The commons were astonished at this rebuke, and at the personal treatment which some of their members were said to have received, in consequence of their activity in this business, and on the 7th of November they sent a formal petition to the lord lieutenant for leave to send commissioners to England, in order to lay a full and impartial statement of their conduct before their majesties. He replied tauntingly, that "his majesty was the protestant's agent, and they should have leave to go for England, to beg their majesties' pardon for their seditious and riotous assemblies." To justify his conduct, lord Sydney procured an opinion of the judges against the right which the commons claimed; but his conduct, and this sudden prorogation of the

* The terms of the original speech are said to have been in this part much more severe than in the copy afterwards printed for circulation, from which it is here taken.

parliament, by which necessary bills were left unpassed, and many grievances unredressed, created great discontent, and rendered the lord deputy unpopular. The parliament never met again for business; after two prorogations, it was dissolved on the 5th of September, 1693.

In the meanwhile the feeling of discontent was not only increasing in Ireland, but the complaints reached England, and created some heat in the house of commons there. There was a warm debate upon Irish affairs in the English commons on the 24th of February, 1693, and it was resolved that it did appear that there had been great abuses and mismanagement in the affairs of that kingdom; and on the 19th of March these abuses and mismanagements were particularized in an address presented by the house in a body to the king. They were stated to consist—"1. In exposing his protestant subjects to the misery of free quarter and the licentiousness of the soldiers, to the great oppression of the people there; which they conceived had been chiefly occasioned by the want of that pay which they did hope they had fully provided for. 2. In recruiting his Majesty's troops with Irish papists and such persons as were in open rebellion against his majesty, to the great endangering and discouraging of his Majesty's good and loyal protestant subjects in that kingdom. 3. In granting protections to Irish papists, whereby protestants were hindered from the legal remedies, and the course of law was stopped. 4. In reversing outlawries for high treason against several rebels in that kingdom, (not within the articles of Limerick), to the great discontent of his protestant subjects there. 5. In letting the forfeited estates at under rates, to the lessening of his Majesty's revenue. 6. In the great embezzlements of his Majesty's stores in the towns and garrisons of that kingdom, left by the late king James, and in the great embezzlements which had been made in the forfeited estates and goods which might have been employed for the safety and better preservation of his Majesty's said kingdom. And—7. In the addition made to the articles of Limerick, after the same were finally agreed to, signed, and thereupon the town surrendered, which had been a great encouragement to the Irish papists, and a weakening of the English interest there." All these "abuses" they humbly besought the king to redress; "and," they added, "as to the additional article which opened so wide

a passage to the Irish papists to come in and repossess themselves of the estates which they had forfeited by their rebellion; they also besought his Majesty that the articles of Limerick, with the said addition, be laid before the commons in parliament, that the manner of obtaining the same might be inquired into."

This address was by no means agreeable to king William. He replied in general terms, "that he should always have great consideration of what came from the house of commons, and that he should take great care that what was amiss should be remedied." Five days after the presentation of this address, the parliament was prorogued. In the hope of appeasing the clamour in Ireland, where lord Sydney became more and more unpopular, William recalled that nobleman from the lord lieutenantancy, and early in July he entrusted the government of Ireland to three lords justices, lord Capel, sir Cyril Wyche, and William Duncombe.

It was soon found that this appointment brought dissension into the government itself; for while lord Capel warmly espoused the interests of the English settlers, and opposed the claims of the Irish under the articles of Limerick, which he took every opportunity of evading, his two colleagues incurred the jealousy of the court and the violent protestants by the inflexible honesty with which they sought to give those articles their full effect. After struggling on together during two years, Wyche and Duncombe were dismissed, and Capel was then (in 1695) appointed sole governor, with the title of lord deputy. The intervening period has left us few events of any importance in Irish history. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1693 to drag the English house of commons into an impeachment of the previous lords justices, lord Coningsby and sir Charles Porter, of high treason.

Soon after the appointment of lord Capel to the office of lord deputy, a new Irish parliament was called, and met at Dublin on the 27th of August. Care seems to have been taken in managing the elections, and the house of commons now showed itself sufficiently subservient to the court, which, indeed, merited their full confidence as far as it was occupied in protecting the protestant interests. In his opening speech to the two houses, lord Capel reminded them of the great obligations under which they lay towards their protestant monarch; how he had come in person to assist them, had

fought their battles, and, with the risk of his own life, restored them to their religion and estates. He told them that the king now called them together in parliament in order that by reasonable and necessary laws they might prevent the like dangers in time to come, and secure themselves and their posterity on the surest foundations. After assuring them that he doubted not of their readiness to make suitable returns of loyalty and affection by their zeal in such things as tended not only to the king's honour but to their own advantage, he acquainted them that the revenue had fallen short of the establishment, which had occasioned great debts to the civil and military lists, that it had been difficult, even with the strictest economy in other departments, to keep up the army in a state of efficiency, and that there were debts due from the crown, a statement of which would be laid before them, by which they would see what supplies were necessary for the support of the government and the discharge of its debts. He told the house of commons, that for raising some part of this money his majesty had sent them a bill for an additional duty of excise, and that he expected they would consider of ways and means for raising such other sums as were requisite for his service. He further recommended them to take some care for the rebuilding and repairing of churches in the several parts of the country, that the people, having decent places of public worship, might be better instructed in their duty to God and in obedience to the king. And he ended by informing them that the lords justices of England (the king was abroad) had with great application and dispatch considered and retransmitted all the bills sent to them; that some of these bills would more effectually provide for their future security than had ever been done before; that in his opinion the want of such laws had been one of the principal causes of their past misfortunes; and that it would be their own fault if they neglected the opportunity now offered them of making such a lasting settlement of the kingdom, that it might never more be in the power of their enemies to bring similar calamities upon them, or to put England to a new expense of blood and treasure."

The commons received this address in the most courtly temper; they passed a unanimous vote that they would, to the utmost of their power, stand by the king, and assist him against all his enemies, abroad

or at home; and they made no further complaints of the bills that were sent over to them. At the beginning of September they had passed the act for an additional duty of excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, which had been accepted by the former parliament, and several others. Lord Capel's promise of extraordinary security to be derived from some of the bills recommended to them was, no doubt, an allusion to the new penal statutes against the catholics, of which several very harsh ones were passed within a short space of time. Some of these were, an act to restrain foreign education; an act for the better securing the government, by disarming papists; an act for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy, out of the kingdom; an act to prevent protestants intermarrying with papists; and an act to prevent papists being solicitors. Some of these acts were contrary to the letter, as well as to the spirit, of the treaty of Limerick, which, nevertheless, was confirmed by this same parliament.

On the 9th of September the house of commons granted the king a supply of upwards of sixteen thousand pounds, to be raised partly by a poll tax; and on the 18th, after discussing the state of the nation, they showed their zeal for the English interest in a resolution, "that the great interest and countenance the Irish had in the court of England during the two last reigns, had been the chief cause of all the miseries and calamities that had since befallen this kingdom." Upon the 12th of October, the commons proceeded to the further consideration of ways and means, and they passed a vote that the excise should be continued two years longer, after the expiration of the present act. They then completed the business of the session, by laying duties upon tobacco, drapery, muslins, calicoes, and all sorts of linens, and on wine; and then adjourned.

Nor was the hostility of the party in place to the Irish catholics shown only in their acts of parliament; for sir Charles Porter, the Irish lord chancellor, incurred the vengeance of the castle for the courage with which he insisted on the full observance of the articles of Limerick; and an attempt was made to revive against him, in the Irish parliament, the prosecution which had already failed in England; but here also he was honourably acquitted. A still more

honourable testimony was given to the respect which he commanded from all classes, when, upon the death of lord Capel, on the 30th of May in the year following, the council, in the exercise of its prerogative, chose the lord chancellor Porter alone to govern as lord justice until the king's pleasure were known; and when, on the 27th of June, the Irish parliament met, after its adjournment, it gave its unanimous approval of the council's choice. A faction, in the court, had taken advantage of lord Capel's helplessness, during his last illness, to obtain the election of two violent advocates of the extreme protestant interest, lord Blessington and brigadier Wollesley, to the offices of lords justices; but their commissions had not been sealed, nor had they been sworn, when the death of the lord deputy rendered a new election necessary. On the 25th of July, the king named the earls of Mountrath and Drogheda as sir Charles Porter's colleagues in the government. In the spring of 1697, sir Charles Porter died, and the earl of Galway was appointed in his stead; and about three months afterwards a new change was made, and the government was entrusted to the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Galway, and viscount Villiers, as lords justices.

Soon after this last arrangement of the Irish government, on the 27th of July, 1697, the Irish parliament met, and the lords justices again reminded them of the king's exertions in their service, and of his love for the protestant establishment. They told the commons again of the great debt on the crown, occasioned by the revenue being short of the establishment, which debt had been constantly increasing, so that the army was in arrear of its pay, and some of the works most necessary for the defence of the country, such as the fortifying of Limerick, were necessarily neglected. "All think," they added, "the present occasion so favourable for inviting and encouraging protestant strangers to settle here, that we cannot omit to put you in mind of it, especially since that may contribute to the increase of the linen manufacture, which is the most beneficial trade that can be encouraged in Ireland." The commons returned an address full of loyalty; they declared their sense of the many great things the king had done for that kingdom, and the signal favours he had conferred upon them, and they said that they considered it their duty, on all occasions, to show their gratitude. They thanked the

lords justices for their speech, and promised that they would comply with all parts of it to the utmost of their power, more especially in regard of making good the deficiencies in the last aids, and providing such further supplies as should be necessary for the support of government. With such feelings the commons proceeded to the business of the session, and in a few days from its opening, they agreed to grant a sum of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds towards clearing off the debt. They then passed several bills for protecting and strengthening the protestant interest, and securing the forfeited estates, and others for repressing the papists. Among these was an act to prevent the return of Irish subjects who had gone into the dominions of the French king, which seems to show that at this moment there was a great tendency among the exiles to return to their native land. One of the last works of this session was an act "for the better execution of an act for the better suppressing of tories, robbers, rapparees," &c., which was afterwards famous under the name of the Rapparee Act. In December, the session closed, and the parliament was adjourned till the following summer.

Although the parliament, by its votes and acts, showed so much submission to the court, a zealous if not a strong party existed, who still firmly advocated its privileges, and opposed the invasion of its independence. Among the most courageous and popular of this party was Mr. Molyneux, one of the members for the university of Dublin, who, in the spring of 1698, just before the time at which it was expected the Irish parliament would meet, and while the English parliament was sitting, published a book, entitled, *The case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated*, which soon obtained great notoriety, and increased the reputation and influence of its author with his party. Molyneux entered upon the discussion of his subject with a spirit of freedom which startled his opponents. He considered how Ireland originally became annexed to the crown of England, and how far this connection was founded in conquest; what were the true and lawful rights of the conquerors over the conquered, and whether those rights extended to posterity indefinitely; and lastly, what concessions had been made to Ireland; and he closed with inferences in support of a perfect and reciprocal independence of each kingdom

upon the other; a position which was contrary to the first act passed by the Irish legislature under William and Mary, which especially recognized that "the kingdom of Ireland was annexed and united to the imperial crown of England, and by the laws and statutes of this kingdom (Ireland), was declared to be justly and rightfully depending upon and belonging and for ever united to the same."

When this book was known in England, the English house of commons took up the subject with a high hand. A committee was appointed to examine it, and to report such passages as they should find denying the authority of the parliament of England, and also what proceedings had taken place in Ireland to occasion this pamphlet. At the same time, in an address to the king, the commons prayed his majesty to give directions for the discovery and punishment of the author. On the 22nd of June, the committee reported the obnoxious passages, and stated, that on inquiry into the proceedings in Ireland which might occasion the pamphlet, they found in a bill transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, during the late parliament there, intituled, "A bill for the better security of her majesty's person and government," that the whole of an act passed in England for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths, was re-enacted with some alterations, and that in the same bill the crown of Ireland was styled the imperial crown of Ireland. Upon this report, the English house of commons agreed unanimously in the resolution, "That the said book was of dangerous consequence to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland has and ought to have upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm; and that a bill, intituled 'An act for the better security of his majesty's person and government,' transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, whereby an act of parliament made in England was pretended to be re-enacted, and alterations therein made, and divers things enacted also, pretending to oblige the courts of justice, and the great seal of England, by the authority of an Irish parliament, had given occasion and encouragement to the forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book." The English

commons followed up this resolution with an address to the king, in which they laid before him "the dangerous attempts that had been of late made by some of his subjects of Ireland to shake off their subjection to and dependence on this kingdom, which had manifestly appeared to the commons, not only by the bold and pernicious assertions in a book published and dedicated to his majesty, entitled, *The case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated*; but more fully and authentically by the votes and proceedings of the house of commons in Ireland in their late sessions, and whereby the aforementioned bill, sent hither under the great seal of Ireland, whereby they would have an act passed in the parliament of England, expressly binding Ireland, to be re-enacted there, and alterations therein made, some of which amounted to a repeal of what is required by the said act made in England; and in other of the said alterations, pretending to give authority to and oblige the courts of justice and great seal here in England. This," they said, "they could not but look on as an occasion and encouragement in the forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book; and that the consequences of such positions and proceedings would be so fatal to this kingdom, and even to Ireland itself, that they needed not to be enlarged on or aggravated." They therefore rested satisfied that his majesty by his royal prudence would prevent their being drawn into example; so they assured his majesty of their ready concurrence and assistance in a parliamentary way to preserve and maintain the dependence and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of this realm. And they humbly besought his majesty, that he would give effectual orders, to prevent anything of the like nature for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what was past, by punishing and discountenancing those that had been guilty thereof; that he would take all necessary care that the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland in their actings be not evaded, but strictly observed; and that he would discourage all things which might in any degree lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England.

Thus did the English house of commons embark in an open quarrel with the parliament of Ireland. The king replied coldly, that "he would take care that what was complained of might be prevented and re-

dressed as the commons desired ;” replies to Molyneux’s book were written ; and the dispute, after creating much noise for a moment, seems soon to have dropped. The English commons, however, were determined on showing their power, and they seized the opportunity of some complaints that the then staple trade of England was prejudiced by the woollen manufacture carried on in Ireland, to bring forward a bill to restrict the Irish trade. The bill, however, was eventually laid aside, and the matter ended in an address to the king, in which they represented, that being very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do in a great measure depend on the preserving the woollen manufacture as much as possible entire to this realm, they thought it became them like their ancestors to be jealous of the establishment and the increase thereof elsewhere, and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it. They said that they could not without trouble observe that Ireland, which is dependent on and protected by England in the enjoyment of all they have, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves and so profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations. The consequence thereof would necessitate his majesty’s parliament of England to interpose to prevent this mischief, unless his majesty by his authority and great wisdom should find means to secure the trade of England by making his subjects of Ireland pursue the joint interest of both kingdoms. They therefore implored his majesty’s protection and favour in this matter, and expressed the desire “that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland to use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland (except to be imported hither), and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland, to which the commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost assistance.”

The king, as before, promised to promote the wishes of the English parliament as far as lay in his power. An act had already existed during two years, having been passed by the English parliament in 1696, prohibiting the exportation of wool and

woollen manufactures from Ireland (except to England), under very severe penalties, and this, confirmed and strengthened by a new act during the present session, had excited considerable jealousy in Ireland, although the parliament of that country acted with moderation, under the influence, no doubt, of the lords justices. The latter, when, after further adjournment, they opened the Irish parliament at the end of September (1698), indicated the view which they wished to be taken of the matter. “Amongst the bills,” they said, “there is one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures. At our first meeting, we recommended to you that matter, and we have now endeavoured to render this bill practicable and useful for that effect, and as such we now recommend it to you. The settlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people in the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose ; whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged as consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England.” In their reply, the Irish commons merely stated, that they should heartily endeavour to establish the linen manufacture, and to render it useful to England, as well as advantageous to Ireland ; and that they hoped so to regulate their woollen trade that it should not be injurious to England. Measures were accordingly brought forward in the course of the session with this object.

The deficiency in the revenue and consequent debt still continued to weigh heavily on the Irish government, and this, with precautions against popery, were the most important matters agitated by this parliament. Their first act was to confirm the estates and possessions held and enjoyed under the acts of settlement and explanation. They next proceeded to prepare a bill for encouraging of plantations and improvements. Others were designed to prevent the estates of protestants from coming to papists, and to encourage persons to turn protestants. To meet the demands for money, they imposed an additional duty on drapery, and laid a further tax upon lands ; and then, at the end of October, the parliament was prorogued.

The English house of commons, in ill-humour with the king, was preparing, with the sole object of embarrassing his government, a new act of interference in the internal affairs of Ireland. King William had exercised his discretion in making grants of the forfeited lands in Ireland, some of which were no doubt given to persons who had no other claim than the favour or credit they enjoyed at court. A commission of seven persons was appointed by the commons to inquire into these grants, and the majority, Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton, and Langford, were chosen from among the most violent of the popular faction, while the other three, the earl of Drogheda, sir Richard Leving, and sir Francis Brewster, were guided by court influence. They proceeded at once to Ireland, and there carried on their inquiries in a spirit of the strongest resentment to the court, making a particular scrutiny into the gift of an estate to William's favourite, the countess of Orkney, which they expected would throw odium on the king. The three commissioners who were in the interest of the court, opposed their colleagues, refused to sign their report, and sent over to the house of commons a memorial to explain their reasons for dissenting; but they were only treated as persons factiously endeavouring to impede the house in its inquiries. The report signed by the four commissioners was laid before the house in the December of the year 1699. They stated, "that they met with great difficulties in their inquiry, which were occasioned chiefly by the backwardness of the people of Ireland to give any information, not out of any dislike to the business of their commission or disobedience to the authority that sent them, but out of fear of the grantees, whose displeasure in that kingdom was not easily borne, and by reports industriously spread abroad, and generally believed, that their inquiry would come to nothing, and was only the effect of a sudden resolution, which hindered many persons from making considerable discoveries." They said, "that nevertheless, it appeared to them, that the persons outlawed in England since the 13th day of February, 1688[-9], on account of the late rebellion, then amounted in number to 57, and in Ireland, to 3,921; that all the lands in the several counties in Ireland belonging to the forfeited persons, as far as they could reckon by acres, being added together, made 1,060,792 acres, worth per annum £211,623,

the total value being £2,685,130, esteeming a life at six years' purchase, and an inheritance at thirteen years, which was at this time the value of the lands of that kingdom; besides the several denominations in the several counties to which no number of acres could be added by reason of the imperfection of surveys." The report then went into particulars which it is unnecessary to repeat. Some of these lands, the commissioners stated, had been restored to the old proprietors, by virtue of the articles of Limerick and Galway, and by other grants and pardons, which they said had been chiefly obtained by gratifications to such persons as had abused the trust placed in them by the king. They further gave an account of numerous grants from the crown. Many deductions and allowances were made for the dishonesty of those who had underlet the lands at a low value, for destruction and waste, and for plunder. But after all these, there yet remained a sum of £1,699,343 14s., which they laid before the house of commons as the gross value of the estates since the 13th day of February, and not restored; "besides a grant under the great seal of Ireland, dated the 30th day of May, 1695, passed to Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, now countess of Orkney, of all the private estates of the late king James (except some small part in grant to the lord Athlone), containing 95,619 acres, worth per annum £25,995 18s., value total, £337,943 9s.; concluding, that there was payable out of this estate two thousand pounds per annum to the lady Susannah Bellasys, and also one thousand pounds per annum to Mrs. Godfrey, for their lives; and that almost all the old leases determined in May, 1701, and then this estate would answer the values above mentioned."

The reading of this report threw the house into a great heat, and caused no little annoyance to the king. It appeared from it that above a million and a half of money might be raised from the sale of the confiscated estates; and the house of commons ordered a bill to be brought in to resume the grants, and apply them to the use of the public. A motion was made to reserve one-third for the king's disposal, but it was overruled; and it was further resolved, that the house would not receive any petition from any person whatsoever, touching the said grants or forfeited estates, and that they would take into consideration the great services performed by the commissioners

appointed to inquire into the forfeited estates in Ireland. After another warm debate, it was resolved on the 16th of January, 1700, that the said four commissioners had acquitted themselves in the execution of their commission with understanding, courage, and integrity; that sir Richard Leving, one other of the commissioners, had been the author of the groundless and scandalous aspersions cast upon the four commissioners before-mentioned; and that the said sir Richard Leving be committed prisoner to the tower of London for the said offence."

Two days after these resolutions were passed, the commons, whose violence seemed to increase as they advanced in this business, passed another, "that the advising, procuring, and passing the said grants of the forfeited and other estates in Ireland, had been the occasion of contracting great debts upon the nation, and levying heavy taxes upon the people; that the advising and passing the said grants was highly reflecting upon the king's honour; and that the officers and instruments concerned in the procuring and passing these grants had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty." On the 21st of February, the commons went

to the king in a body, and presented this resolution to him in the form of an address. He replied, that he was not only led by inclination, but thought himself obliged in justice to reward those who had served well, especially in the reduction of Ireland, out of the forfeited estates.

The anger of the commons was increased, and they at once passed an act of resumption, with some new resolutions in defence of their own proceedings, which led to a dispute with the house of lords, and eventually to a change in the ministry, and helped to imbitter the remainder of king William's life. In Ireland, the proceedings of the English parliament caused great discontent, but the exposures to which the inquiry gave rise were calculated to produce a salutary effect. William's reign had produced little real amelioration in the condition of that country. Tolerant by inclination, he had not had the power to stem the current of intolerance into which his Irish protestant subjects hurried in the moment of triumph; and the country became more and more agitated by the incipient factions which have so long disturbed its repose.

CHAPTER III.

THE RAPPAREES AND THE RAPPAREE ACT; INDICATIONS OF TURBULENCE;
THE JACOBITES; THE BOUGHERS.



TORY no doubt over-rated the state of tranquillity in which Ireland was left by the surrender of Limerick. The force of the rapparees had of course been supported by the war, and

was broken by the peace; but still parties were scattered all over the country, who, trusting to their knowledge of the localities which offered refuge and protection, either remained in their old state of open lawlessness, or, concealing their arms, lived only as peaceful subjects while under surveillance, but were ready to resume their previous mode of life whenever the occasion was offered. There seems to have been an extensive union and intelligence amongst

them, and, from a variety of circumstances, we can hardly doubt that they received encouragement from agents from abroad. So convinced the government appeared to be of the power of the catholic population to restrain them, that by the rapparee act they made the catholic inhabitants liable alone for the losses caused by their depredations. Many of the disaffected took to the sea, and joining with French adventurers who fitted out privateers from French ports, they infested the Irish coast.

We have, unfortunately, very few accessible materials for the history of the internal condition of Ireland at this period, and we can only guess at it by a few scattered allusions in private correspondence and other documents. We thus learn from a letter written on the 20th of March, 1693,

by captain Waller, the governor of Kinsale, to sir Robert Southwell, that the rapparees had then become so numerous and formidable in the county of Kerry, that it was necessary to march against them with a body of soldiers.* The privateers generally carried commissions granted by James II., and, from the intimate local knowledge of the Irish officers or sailors on board, were the terror of the whole Irish coast. On the 7th of June, 1694, we learn that the yacht commanded by captain Pett, in which the lord chancellor and the lord chief justice were returning from England, was attacked by a privateer not far from the hill of Howth, and escaped with difficulty, after losing three of her crew. In the following year it was found necessary to fortify Cork harbour against these depredators, who had become so numerous and ruinous, that they drew some severe remarks from one of sir Robert Southwell's correspondents, in the month of June, 1695, "I do not understand the policy," he says, "of leaving our coast unguarded after this manner, thereby leaving the merchants, who bring in the wealth of the nation, to the mercy of our enemies. The least that can be done, in point of justice, is to forbid them trading; for after the rate 'tis now carried on, our enemies are more enriched thereby than the king's subjects." Captain Walsh, "a subject of England, but commanding a French privateer on these coasts," was taken, and hanged on the 15th of April in the same year. In the June of the year following, privateers landed at Beerhaven, and effected considerable devastation. On the 4th of August, 1696, a proclamation was published in Dublin for apprehending a notorious pirate named Henry Every, and his crew; and about the same time a French privateer was gallantly captured by a party of forty seamen and soldiers, sent out by the town of Youghal at the suggestion of Mr. Croker, the mayor. It appears that this privateer, which lay at anchor under Cable Island, just at the entrance of the harbour, had seized some boats belonging to the town, and sent one of them to the town with an insolent demand for a supply of provisions, detaining the others as hostages. A small vessel was immediately detached to attack the privateer, and, after a sharp engagement, in which the French had five killed

and sixteen wounded, brought her into Youghal. The name of the commander was Patrick Comerford, of course, an Irishman.

There are sufficient reasons for suspecting, that in 1697 there existed a conspiracy of some kind or other, for an invasion of Ireland by France. We find mention, at this time, in the Southwell papers, of a "story current that captain Waller was to give up Kinsale to the French for twenty thousand pounds;" and there is an allusion to "overtures for purchasing the office of governor of the fort of Kinsale from lord Inchiquin for five hundred guineas;" with other intimations of suspicion. It appears, also, that about this time several papists who were suspected, managed to return to Ireland as disbanded soldiers of the regiments in Flanders. The return of persons suspected of disaffection, continued to create uneasiness during the following year. In June, 1699, colonel Henry Luttrell, whose name was popularly called in question as having betrayed Limerick, wrote to the lord lieutenant concerning the return of his sister-in-law, the widow of his elder brother Simon, who, adhering to the cause of James II., and commanding an Irish regiment in foreign service, was killed at the battle of Landen, in 1693. Luttrell states that his sister-in-law had come back into Ireland with an old pass given her by lord Romney, and begs that he "may have permission to make use of the outlawry against her, in case she should give him trouble by an attorney. She is a very intriguing woman, and it was thought when she went for France, she went on a very intriguing message. I am sure," he adds, "I heard my lord Romney repent mightily the giving her a pass, and I need not tell your lordship, that there will be nothing left undone by the jacobites here to perplex me in this affair." This officer, who was hated by the party with whom he had formerly acted, seems to have lived under fears for his personal safety; eighteen years afterwards, on the 22nd of October, 1717, he fell a victim to one of those political assassinations at all times too frequent in Ireland, being shot in a sedan-chair, on his way home from Lucas' coffee-house, on Cork hill, Dublin.

The slow scattered war carried on between the government and the rapparees remained undiminished. The country was thus kept in a constantly unsettled state, for while these wild marauders were continually disturbing it by acts of violence

* I am indebted for my extracts from the Southwell and other papers, quoted in this and some of the following chapters, to the kindness of Mr. Croker.

and spoliation, men on the other side took advantage of the condition of the people, to perform, under cover of the laws against rapparees and the penal statutes, acts which were no less barbarous and unjust. A remarkable example occurred in the year 1700, which appears to have made a great noise at the time. One Patrick Hurly was residing at the time just mentioned, at the house of his father, a bed-ridden old man, at Moughna, in the county of Clare. At eleven o'clock one Sunday night, eleven men, masked, and armed with swords and pistols, burst into the house, and after firing several shots, and threatened further violence, they locked up or bound all the inmates, and proceeded to rifle the drawers, cupboards, and trunks. After having effected their purpose by completely plundering the house, the robbers left Patrick Hurly bound hand and foot, and made their escape.

Such was the account of this affair given by Hurly himself, next day, and he deposed before a magistrate, that the robbers had carried away about eight hundred and fifty pounds in gold, with diamonds to a considerable amount, and other property, which he estimated, altogether, at upwards of twelve hundred pounds. None of those who were in the house could identify the persons of the robbers; but Hurly swore that their voices proved them to be Irishmen, and that he believed them to be papists. As the house bore evidence of being rifled, Hurly became legally entitled to receive the value of which he had been robbed, which, by the terms of the rapparee act, was to be levied on the catholic inhabitants of the county of Clare.

But it appears that from the first there existed grave suspicions of Hurly's honesty; for he was known to be a scheming man, of very doubtful character, and it was reported that instead of being possessed of so much property, he had been compelled to hide himself from the clamours of his creditors. Inquiries were now set on foot; witnesses were found, who were acquainted with suspicious circumstances, or had been offered money to join in some plot such as the one which was suspected to be at the bottom of the robbery; and finally some of the persons concerned in it confessed. It then appeared that the robbers were men hired by Patrick Hurly himself, who had plotted the whole affair; that he had carried his ingenuity so far as to place in a bag in one of his trunks

a large quantity of gilt counters, which some of the household who were called as witnesses, seeing them taken out and spread forth by the robbers, supposed to be gold; and that the whole transaction was a mere fraud upon justice. Hurly was brought to trial on the 31st of May, 1701, on two indictments, the one for perjury, the other for conspiring to cheat the catholic inhabitants of the county of Clare. One witness declared that a little before the robbery, Hurly had remarked to him, that "there could not be a readier way to get money, than by the act of parliament against rapparees; if he could fix a robbery on the country, he could tax what sum he pleased;" and to another he said, "that rapparee act was a clever way to recover money from the country."

Hurly was found guilty on both the indictments, but there is every reason to believe that he was only one of a rather numerous class of offenders, and where one was convicted of the offence, multitudes escaped unpunished. It came out that this man had lived a life of intrigue both in his own country and abroad; that besides the name under which he was then known, he had passed under those of Adams and Murhilly, and that he had once figured as an imaginary earl of Mountcullan. He had been sent away from home young, on account of his misconduct; had been received into the university of Bordeaux, which also he was soon obliged to quit. In the late reign, when Ireland was under the rule of Tyrconnell, Hurly was said to have introduced himself to the favour of that nobleman by forged letters of introduction purporting to come from father Peters and others; and he had pushed himself forwards by intriguing in the quarrel with Sheridan. He thus rose into considerable power, and was rather notorious for his oppressive conduct towards protestant families during James's short reign in Ireland. Even then he narrowly escaped disgrace for his fraudulent conduct; after the battle of the Boyne, he retired to Galway, which place he left shortly before its surrender, and proceeded to France; from France he went to Holland, and from thence to London; and after a variety of discreditable adventures, he came back to Ireland to endeavour by some new scheme to replenish his empty purse, when he fell upon the expedient of turning to account the rapparee act in the manner described above.

Such were the men who were now preying on the miseries of Ireland; and if the

rapparee act could be made a cloak for plunder, the law which provided that the estates of catholic families should succeed to any younger branch who might be a protestant, to the disinheriting of all the other heirs, gave rise to crimes of a more monstrous character. We can easily understand the bitter hostility against the English government which was spreading among the Irish, and drove many of them to live the life of bandits, when we see the oppression to which, designedly or not, they were exposed. Sir Richard Cox, the lord chancellor and historian of Ireland, in a letter dated the 24th of October, 1705, preserved among the Southwell papers, gives the following description of the state of the Roman catholics of Ireland in the earlier part of the reign of queen Anne: "their youth and gentry," he says, "destroyed in the rebellion or gone to France; those who are left, destitute of horses, arms, and money, capacity and courage; five in six of the Irish are poor insignificant slaves, fit for nothing but to hew wood and draw water."

King James II. died at St. Germain's, on the 16th of September, 1701, after a tedious illness; upon which the monarch of France publicly acknowledged his son, the nominal prince of Wales, as king of England, to the great indignation of king William and his loyal subjects. The claims of the exiled family thus centred in a young prince, and the countenance given to him by so potent a monarch, revived the hopes of the jacobites throughout the three kingdoms, and inspired them with an unusual activity. As early as the summer of the following year, information was given to the Irish government that the catholics were preparing to take up arms; and, although the inquiries to which this information gave rise appear to have had no important result, it seems certain that there was a sudden movement among the Irish jacobites. It seems to have been encouraged chiefly by the popish clergy, who were all zealous in the pretender's cause, as the pope made all ecclesiastical appointments at the pretender's recommendation, and they were consequently filled with his most devoted adherents. We trace in the political correspondence of the time many proofs that the Irish catholics were secretly arming, and preparing to respond to a call to insurrection. They were encouraged and protected by the circumstance, that many of the people in power, and the duke of Ormond among others, were

secret favourers of the pretender's cause, and did all in their power to pave the way for his return. One of these was colonel Maurice Hussey, who, in a letter dated the 2nd of October, 1703, inquires, somewhat hypocritically, "the reason why so many of the popish clergy are coming from beyond sea into this kingdom; are they licensed or connived at? Is it their own inclination, and love to ease and idleness, to live in a country free from superiors, that commonly keep such men in awe and order, or are they sent and commanded hither upon missions, to be apprehended and sent back from whence they came? Is there any such thing as *anguis in herba*—a design, I mean a foreign one, to have these men trumpet in all catholic countries how romanists are persecuted here for religion, &c., and this on purpose, perhaps, to breed ill blood, and remove our allies' affection and assistance from us? I," adds Hussey, "suspect the latter most."

The unsettled state of the country, at this time, may be gathered from a letter of general Gustavus Hamilton, the officer so celebrated for his actions in the north, dated from Cork, the 29th of October, 1703, in which, speaking of the landing of certain regiments at Ventry, near Dingle, he complains that he "can get no money remitted to them from hence;" adding, "nor can I send it without a strong guard, there are so many rapparees, and it's nearly eighty miles from hence." Another correspondent, in a letter written from Cork on the 20th of the following February, makes allusions which show that the country, at that time, was overrun by foreign agents, and that the government was obliged to watch them actively. He states that he had received the duke of Ormond's letter "to the duke Stephano," a personage who appears to have come as a traveller from abroad, but was suspected by the authorities of being an impostor. The writer of the letter had been directed to pay the suspected duke a hundred pistoles, but he hesitated; "I waited on our mayor," he says, "who told me he had good reason to believe this gentleman was not what he pretended to be, for that he was well informed of several things not becoming a gentleman."

During the year 1705, the frequent insults and depredations of the French privateers on the Irish coast are particularly noticed in the Southwell papers; and a work published in 1748, under the title of *A Tour through*

Ireland, by two English gentlemen, supplies the following anecdote, illustrative of the adventurous spirit in which these attacks were conceived and executed. "We were informed," says this writer, "that in the late war with France in the reign of queen Anne, a small French privateer came and anchored over against the town of Cove [in Cork harbour], and all that were French carefully concealed themselves. The custom house officers came on board, and were invited into the cabin, where they were plied with good French claret. However, one of them detached himself from the rest, for fear her majesty should be cheated of her duty; but observing things with an eye too curious, he was secured without noise under the hatches. Even the boat's crew were on board, quaffing gratis with their countrymen in another cabin, without the least suspicion. There were two ships in the harbour, and most of their men on shore, which the cunning corsairs found out by the conversation they had with the boatmen from Cove. The Frenchmen had but one boat, but as soon as the tide began to ebb, they made bold with the queen's, manned them both, and, in sight of the whole town, slipped the cables of both the ships, hoisted French colours on board their own, and sailed off in triumph. Indeed, when they were out of the harbour's mouth, they stripped the officers as naked as they were born, and sent them adrift in their own boat, to teach them more art another time. Would not a reasonable man imagine (as there must be living witnesses of this action) the government of Cork much to blame not to think of providing for the safety of their commerce by fortifying their harbour, which is so well provided by nature for that purpose?"

Ireland, in fact, seems at this time to have been left in a most defenceless state, internally as well as externally. The impunity which marauders of all sorts were suffered to enjoy is exemplified in a letter from sir Richard Coxe, written on the 17th of November, 1705, who mentions, "Cornelius Murphy, the pirate, who goes by the name of Morgan, lives in Jermyn-street, and is an officer, perhaps a lieutenant of marines, and is well known at Youngman's coffeehouse, and all the coffeehouses thereabouts." The military in Ireland at this time were not numerous, and they were everywhere in a disgraceful state of insubordination and disaffection, from which the jacobites derived an additional degree of courage. In the

year 1708, when the pretender sailed for Scotland to raise the standard of rebellion in that country, we have a curious document showing the extent of disaffection in Ireland, in a report in French made to the wife of the pretender, who is addressed as queen of England, by father Ambrose O'Connor, the head of the Irish dominicans, who had been sent to Ireland as an agent of the jacobites, to sound the temper of the Irish catholics. In some things we can hardly avoid believing that father O'Connor was ill-informed with regard to persons with whom he had not held personal communication, but his report is singularly interesting from the circumstance of our possessing so little information on the movements of the jacobites in Ireland at this period.

"When I went to Ireland," says O'Connor, addressing the pretended queen, "his majesty the king, (*i.e.* the pretender), my master, desired me to obtain correct information of the state of affairs in that kingdom, and I executed my commission to the best of my abilities, as your majesty will see in the sequel. Having been ordered to sail from Brest, notwithstanding the unsuccessful attempt of the Scotch expedition, I arrived in Ireland on the 7th of May of the present year, 1708. I learnt, on landing, that an order had been issued to arrest the nobility, clergy, and gentry throughout the kingdom, and that their horses had been taken from them. I sent this intelligence to lord Claryclane by return of the same frigate which had conveyed me hither. The same day I went as far up the country as I could, in order to consult those persons with whom I was desired to confer upon the purport of my mission. I pass over in silence the risks I ran of being seized by the enemies of the king, who, having discovered that I had been brought over in a French frigate, watched me narrowly. After some days of fearful apprehension, I thought myself out of danger, and I went to visit the principal people in the province of Connaught; they were lords Claryclane, Dillon, Buffin, Riverton, le chevalier Unick Boureek, [Ulick Burke], and colonel Grenne Macdonogh. Lords Claryclane and Buffin were ill in bed, therefore I could not see them. I spoke to lord Riverton, who assured me that nobody was more attached to the interests of the king than himself. From thence I went in search of lord Dillon, and was informed that he was under arrest at Dublin, as was also colonel Grenne Macdonogh.

"From Connaught I set out for Dublin, and passing through the province of Leinster, I saw lord Limerick, who is one of the principal persons of that country; and at Dublin, I met lords Fingall, Dillon, and Trambleton, and colonel Grenne Macdonogh. After having revealed to them the object of my journey, they assured me that the king need not doubt their fidelity, that they desired nothing more earnestly than his re-establishment, and that they had but the power of contributing towards it; but that the king could not be ignorant that they wanted arms, with other necessaries, and a sufficient number of troops to assist his cause. I did not discover to any one else the object of my mission, though there were many more persons of equal rank and respectability who were also much attached to the king; but lords Limerick and Fingall gave me to understand, that it would be useless talking to them on the subject, since the descent upon Scotland had failed; but they assured me at the same time, that if his majesty could send them a small supply of troops, with arms and ammunition, they could raise a considerable number among themselves to support his cause, not having had for years so many fine young men fit to bear arms; and that all the old Irish families were ready throughout the kingdom to hazard their lives in the service of the king.

"I tried to discover how those people were disposed living in the north of Ireland, who were distinguished by the name of the Scotch residents of the province of Ulster, or Ultonia, and I learned from persons of credit and distinction, that they were generally well affected towards the king; and when they heard that his majesty was going to Scotland, they secretly assembled in retired situations to pray for his success. I heard this for a certainty from lord Fingall, who travelled into that province last June with lord Antrim, and I have been assured the same thing by persons of equal veracity, such as the bishop of Downe and colonel Cononeville, who have great interest in Ulster, and upon whose fidelity we may rely; they are either related to, or staunch friends of, many old and attached families in this northern province, and that is the reason I made myself known so particularly to these two gentlemen. As to lord Granat [Granard], I knew that he was as much attached to the king as any person in Ireland; but lord Limerick persuaded me not to call upon him, for fear of exciting sus-

picion either against him or myself, his residence being surrounded by protestants and presbyterians, who frequently visited him; but lord Limerick promised, on the first opportunity, to deliver to lord Granat the message with which I had been entrusted by the king.

"It is to be remarked that all the nobility and gentlemen to whom I spoke, expressed great surprise that the king had not dispatched some confidential messenger to inform them of his meditated descent upon Scotland, by which means many persons might have escaped imprisonment and have saved their horses; they therefore humbly entreated the king, should he meditate a second attempt upon Scotland, they might be apprised of it, through the medium of some faithful and discreet person, in order to put them on their guard, and also to give them an opportunity of offering assistance should it be in their power. I made acquaintance with a gentleman of great information, named Denis Macnemara, whom I found zealous and faithful; he was intimate with most of the nobility, and knew how things were going on in the counties of Clare, Galloway, Kerry, Mayo, and Coreke. He gave me a list of those persons on whom I might rely, and he assured me that in five counties only, the king might raise in a short time twenty thousand men, if he could but provide them with arms, for in those counties the greater number were Roman catholics. The counties of Roscommon, Sligo, and Leitrim are of this number, being full of zealous papists.

"I endeavoured to find out by what means we could obtain possession of Galloway. A gentleman of the Brorune family who resides in that county, and who formerly served in the army, assured me, that with five hundred well disciplined men, he would undertake to make himself master of the place; he knew all its ingresses and egresses, and that it was seldom defended by more than one battalion, till after the attempt upon Scotland, when they sent another, but both were even then but a weak defence. According to the opinion of those who are best acquainted with the kingdom and its situation, it is considered that the best counties to attempt a landing are those of Clare and Galloway, where, with a few troops which might be transported thither, we might soon make ourselves masters of Connaught, being assured that Galloway, Athlone, and Agrim, which are amongst the

strongest places, do not contain more than six hundred armed men, and the catholics being, as I have already remarked, by far the greater number, a considerable force might soon be levied. The troops now in Ireland consist only of six battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, and three of dragoons, and these not being complete, amount only to six thousand men. Orders have been lately issued to raise four regiments of infantry, and lord Glam has taken upon him to raise one."

"Such," says O'Connor, "is a brief account of the present state of Ireland. I hinted to the principal nobility, that it would be right in them to send some confidential messenger to the king to assure his majesty of their fidelity, and of all that I have stated above; but they dare not risk a deputation in these dangerous times, when so many spies are laying snares to entrap them; in short they almost tremble at their own shadows, and this is the reason that I have been solicited to return to France, and (myself) to communicate to the king all that I had seen and heard, and I considered myself bound in honour and conscience to undertake the commission, even if it had cost me my life. I quitted Dublin the 11th of last August. On my arrival in London I saw twenty-three lords, the earl marshal of Scotland, and lord Drummond—lord Fingal had just arrived with his wife; I had seen him before in Ireland, he and another nobleman solicited an interview with me, and I visited them in the tower of London where they were prisoners at the time I left London; and they knowing that I was going direct to France, entrusted me to assure his majesty from them, that they and the greater part of Scotland were faithfully attached to the interests of the king, their legitimate sovereign; and they hoped his majesty would make a second attempt upon Scotland, and the sooner the better, for the delay would only diminish the number of those who desired to welcome him; but that his majesty must bring with him, if possible, ten thousand men, and send before him a considerable sum of money to be invested in the hands of some faithful and trustworthy Scotch noble, to be distributed at his discretion, amongst those nobility and gentry who would best apply it to the advantage of the king. It would be necessary at the same time to send troops to Ireland to the number of five thousand men, if possible, with ammunition and arms for ten

thousand more, and to have at the same time ten thousand men ready to land in England on the coast nearest to Scotland.

"Ireland is at present so well supplied with common necessities, that an army might be maintained in whatever part of the kingdom they might land. Galloway has a fine port and harbour, in which a fleet might enter and anchor in safety, and in the town are to be found stores of wine from France, Spain, and Portugal, besides brandy, salt, and other provisions with which this city supplies the province of Connaught; and the adjacent counties of Clare, Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, and Leitrim would supply them abundantly with sheep and oxen. In England, also, are to be found an abundance of provisions, and at a reasonable rate, for the support of the army; and as there are not any fortified towns in that kingdom, it would be easy to enter the inland counties, and raise large contributions; besides which, the English are so overpowered with taxes, that they would joyfully embrace any opportunity of freeing themselves from the oppression. Upon the first report in England of the embarkation of the king for Scotland, everybody flocked in crowds to take their money out of the bank; and I was told by persons of veracity, that if his majesty had landed in Scotland, the then existing government would have been left without funds or credit. This enterprise produced at least one good effect amongst the lower orders, who had hitherto been kept in total ignorance, and whom they wished to persuade that there was no such person as a prince who had a legal claim to the crown; whereas they now know that there is a lawful sovereign, who watches only an opportunity to reascend the throne of his ancestors. The disputes amongst the episcopalians and presbyterians are more violent than ever; the latter are for the house of Hanover, but the greater part of the episcopalians are for the king, in opposition to their adversaries who are now in power, and who have joined with Marlborough, Godolphin, and others of the privy council. Some people of consequence told me, that if the king had landed in Scotland, his majesty might have turned these disputes greatly to his advantage.

"When it was known in Ireland," O'Connor says, in conclusion, "that the king meditated an attempt upon Scotland, there was great consternation amongst the protestants, who are very disunited. Those who have been settled there since the reign of

Elizabeth think their possessions exempt from forfeiture, and that they have acquired a kind of settlement. On the contrary, those who have enriched themselves upon the confiscated possessions of those faithful subjects who followed their king into France, fear being deprived of their ill-gotten wealth; and this accounts for their attachment to the present government; whilst the former, who have become, as it were, naturalized, look upon the new comers with jealousy; and consequently these two parties are mistrustful of each other."

This singular report can leave no doubt of the extent to which jacobitism was spread in Ireland, and of the eagerness of the Roman catholic population to seize upon any chance of relieving themselves from the oppressive policy of their English rulers. From this period, till the period of the Scottish rebellion in the following reign, we meet with frequent arrests for enlisting Irish soldiers for the pretender, and his cause was known to be secretly favoured by many of the chief men in the Irish government. The lord high chancellor of Ireland, sir Constantine Phipps, was notoriously active, and in letters written at this time, he speaks sneeringly of the alarm shown by the protestant party. "Our friends, the whigs," he says, in one of these letters, "are very industrious to possess the world of the great apprehensions they are under of the pretender's landing, and of our negligence in putting the laws in execution against the papists." Lord Wharton and the duke of Ormond, two of queen Anne's lord lieutenants, were both, in secret, warm favourers of the cause of the dethroned family; and the latter is said to have courted popularity by wearing a white rose on the tenth of June, (the pretender's birth-day), and decorating the collars of his dogs with rosettes of white satin.*

Amid this agitation, the depredations of the rapparees took a more definite form, popular risings began to show more of system, and, no doubt under the direction of political agents, they assumed a more distinctly political character. In the year 1711, the county of Clare was the scene of an

insurrection which bore so marked a resemblance to that of the white-boys of a later period, that we can hardly doubt of their being a continuation of the same system of popular agitation; and as it has been almost overlooked by former historians, it seems to deserve our more particular notice.†

It appears that some time previous to the date of which we are now speaking, a practice had arisen in the district of Eyre-Connaught, in the county of Galway, of houghing and maiming the cattle and sheep of the landholders and farmers of that country. In 1710, an act of parliament was passed, extending the rapparee act so as to apply to these houghers, and this seemed for a while to have produced a satisfactory effect. But in the October of 1711, the houghers commenced their operations again, on a more extensive scale, and with more system. It appeared afterwards that there were among the offenders men of some education, and there seemed sufficient reason for believing that they received encouragement from the priests. They acted, or pretended to act, under a chief, who assumed the name of Ever Joyce, which is said to have been the name of an offender against the government, dead two or three years before. Under this name appeared a variety of incendiary placards and proclamations, a few of which have been preserved among the private papers of sir Robert Southwell, and show us the spirit in which these outrages were carried on. The following appears to have been Ever Joyce's first proclamation; it is given in the original orthography, which is remarkably good for the time:—

"Whereas a parliament held in a certain place in the barony of Muckculin and county of Galway, from the second of October to the 16th of November, 1711, by me, EVER JOYCE, and the rest of my confederates, being 94 hands in number armed, by whom and wherein it was enacted, that any gentleman all over the kingdom of Ireland is or shall not be allowed to keep above 300 acres of his own land or estate in his own possession, whereupon they are allowed to keep 200 sheep, 20 milk cows, and two plows of

Our noble Ormond he is drest,
A rose is glancing at his breast,
His famous hounds have doff'd his crest,
White roses deck them over."

† The originals of the papers relating to this affair, with the proclamations of the houghers, are at present in the possession of Mr. Crofton Croker, who kindly communicated them to me.

* This circumstance, which was a subject of great exultation amongst the jacobites, was commemorated in the following popular jacobite rhymes, which have been given to me as taken down from the recitation of sir Walter Scott:—

"Of all the days that's in the year
The tenth of June I love most dear,
When sweet white roses do appear
For sake of James the rover;

horses, and no more; likewise that all farmers are allowed to farm 400 acres for their bread, and no more stock than the number abovementioned. Its further enacted that they shall set the rest of their lands to poor people according to the former rates, viz., from 1s. 6d. to 3s. the acre, according to the goodness of the lands. For non-performing and non-consenting to this act and deed, I am appointed a man of justice, to execute such as will not consent thereto, the punishment appointed for them is to begin on the first of January next with houghing their cows, sheep, and horses, as far as our courageous lances can proceed. Therefore to avoid such inventions, out of civility I thought fit to give a generall warning all over the kingdome, that I am to forfeit great fines if I do not bring this whole task to an end before the 18th of May following. Therefore I advise all friends to dispose of their stocks to their most advantage, for its further enacted that such gentlemen as will consent to pay the taxes allowed them for their losses by the former act of parliament, that their houses shall be set on fire on the four corners, so that a man, woman, or child may not escape, for its against the laws of God to ruine any deadly creatures, except such as are favoured by me, whome the Almighty was pleased to grace with the art of reviving now for the better proceeding of this act.

"I shall separate my forces into four parts, vizt., Sleave Boughty, Sleave Carn, and Sleave Murrey, the fourth part I hope will give them a fair example on both sides of Lough-Corib. Pray take heed of this, for I take God to witness it shall happen worse than any of you can imagine, and sir John Kirwan, the ruin of poor people, smooth Michael Lynch, innocent Anthony Deane, the destruction of Clonnternmane viledge, lame Bodkin, and blind Bodkin of Torloughmore, shall be wofully served, none of the rest excepted, only sir Robock Lynch, who may take care of himselfe for the future, and render his followers in Ire-Connaught thanks. Mr. Skirrett may be obliged to his steward Murrey, notwithstanding let him not wrong the poor. I am the man to serve thee by whom this shall be confirmed.

EVER JOYCE.

"I love no man whos heart inclines
To put up a stock, and ruin the exiles,
For that a snap I shall bestow
With a dureable slash to hough ewes.
I am a foe, but not a friend,
And with a courageous heart I do intend

To worke my vengeanee to and fro
Upon such as will not to this condole.
Take timely notice before the cry,
For I am the person that does defie
Both great and small, but God above,
Who loves a man beyond a cow.

The clerke and the rhimer, EVER JOYCE, invisible to all mankind.

"To the rev. father Edmond Burke, and to the rev. Richard Thomas, at Headford, to proclaim to their congregations, as also to all other papists and protestants clergy in generall, to give publick warning at their perills."

This extraordinary document was followed by a separate proclamation, expressed in the following terms:—

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas I am commanded by the Almighty God, as a man of justice, to serve the poore and destroy all stocks, I have given notice often to the owners to dispose of them as it was enacted, seeing they take no notice, let them be sure they will repent too late, for with the help of God and with my couragious men, I will have an end of them against the 18th of May, 1712. I declare I did not nor will not do anything against the queen and government no more. I have no designe upon one more than another, only those that are harder on the poore familys for the ruine and death of many thousands of poore familys, for the Almighty suffer'd as he did, for those that occasiond the ruine of the poore aforesaid deems themselves great, I find there are some rogues that goes about calling for money to honest people, writeing letters to some gentlemen to that purpose, stealing cows and sheep, pretending that to be done by some of my brigade, and signeing my hand to their letters, any such rascally act, and do order and command all justices of the peace, or any of those that administers the civil laws, to enquire after such persons, to execute the law against them as it is always done, for the better encouragement thereof, I do order 20 li. for the discoverer of any or either of those persons, I have ordered a man in every station in my long walk to enquire privately after those rogues, if ever they come under my lash or any of them, let him be sure of a sudden death, tho its none of my commands nor the commands of those concerned in the military affairs, being only caused by the queen, and I commanded by the Almighty in affaire. The pastors of every church in my long walk are to publish this my proclamation at their perrills.

Signed at my cold residence, man and no man.
EVER JOYCE."

This paper is without date, but it seems to be a parody on the proclamations of government. The proceedings of these people having excited great alarm, the government in Dublin entered into communication with the bishop of Tuam, John Carter (one of the local magistrates), and other active persons in Connaught; and the lord lieutenant, who was then the duke of Ormond, issued a proclamation on the thirtieth of November, offering a reward of ten pounds for the discovery of every person who should be legally convicted of the offence of houghing, with a free pardon to any of the houghers who would inform against their accomplices. This seems to have produced no effect, and the mischief increasing, the two lords justices, who at this moment succeeded Ormond in the government, sir Constantine Phipps and lieutenant-general Ingoldsby, issued a new proclamation on the thirteenth of December, increasing the reward from ten to twenty pounds, and at the same time they sent orders for some troops of soldiers to be dispatched to the scene of these disturbances, and to be placed at the disposal of the magistrates. These measures, however did not interfere with the activity of Ever Joyce. On the morning of the eleventh of December copies of the following proclamation were found posted up at the four corners of the town of Galway:—

"By Eavor Shoy, justicer for the poore christians, a warning to the undernamed persons, and all others of their kind.

"Whereas severall complaints and grievances hath been made unto me by many poore, distressed, and banished people, who were destroyed and banished by severall covetous, cruell landlords and farmers, to establish dairys to sell milk, which ought to be given to the poore, as also abundance of sheep, which took up all the lands, so that there is no room left for christians to live, but were forced to go with their wives and children to beg over all the kingdome, notwithstanding by the law of God and by the law of nations, tennants have as right a title to the tennatsy of the lands as the landlords to be landlords, for God made the earth and all the creatures thereupon for the use of man; yet, contrary to the will of God, the landlords will not give the poore the benefit of the earth, but ingross all into their own hands; therefore, to prevent any further tyranny, I do hereby

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straightly charge and command the undernamed persons, and others, to reduce their stocks forthwith, and to give over selling of milk, like huxters, or otherwise I will send those amongst them that will destroy their stocks to all intents and purposes. Signed by order, the first day of December, 1711. Rich. Mackowen, John Molkeary, Willm. Prenn."

This was followed by a list of ten gentlemen against whom this proclamation is specially directed, chiefly of the family of Lynch.

These proclamations certainly carry nothing on their face to connect them with the great political questions of the day. They picture to us simply a struggle between an old system of feudal idleness among the lower classes, and a new system of agricultural improvement; the peasantry, dependent formerly upon landlords who cared little for them, except in times of turbulence, when they were ready to follow their banners, resisted the encroachment upon their supposed rights by an active industry that sought to turn the land and its productions to the most profit; and they were encouraged in what became really a hostility between the two races, by those who, no doubt, were watching to turn the spirit of discontent to their own political purposes. About six weeks after the proclamation just given, appeared another manifesto of the formidable "Ever Joyce."

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas it is well known that I have, on mature deliberation and advice, erected a court of justice to relieve the poor of this province against severall enormous grievances they have a long time laboured under, so have I now received fresh information by persons of undoubted credit, that there is certain people within my jurisdiction, who take upon them the title of serjeants or overseers of land, who on every slight occasion of trespass on the land they pretend to have in charge, without regard to their masters interests, but to bring money into their own pockets, oppress their neighbours commons, them some of my relations and friends, driving and pounding their cattle, and exacting exorbitant fees for their enlargement, contrary to the laws of humanity.

"As I take this abuse to [be] cognizable in no other court within this province but mine; to prevent such abuse the farther, I do hereby strictly charge and command

all such serjeants or bayliffs, as they shall answer the contempt at their utmost perills, not formall process, but by military execution, not to take, after the date of these presents, any fees or rewards for the two first occasions of trespasses, and for the third trespass, take one penny a head for cows, horses, or ould bullocks, and one penny a score for sheep, and four pence a score for calves, and the same for any ensuing occasion that may hereafter happen, and no more, of which I have given notice to all officers within their respective quarters, with directions to disperse this my proclamation, that no person may plead ignorance. Done at our councill-chamber, by and with the consent and advice of our privy councill, this 16th day of January, 1711.

“For the towne and neighbourhood of Headford, and especially for Robert Parker, on whome I have a good eye.

“EVER JOYCE.”

During the time of these popular manifestoes, the depredations of the houghers were extending rapidly throughout the county of Galway, and into Mayo, Fermanagh, and the neighbouring counties. In a night, whole troops of cattle and sheep were maimed in this manner, and the evil did not end here, for as the owners were glad to dispose of the carcasses at any price, crowds of the peasantry assembled to buy them, sometimes not less than five hundred in one place, and they had thus the opportunity of conspiring together, and the fact of their getting meat for next to nothing, to use the words of one of the magistrate's letters, “made the people love the crime, and made 'em wanton, idle, and lazy, and use all that's in their power to conceal the crime.” Ingoldsby, one of the lords justices, died about the end of January, leaving the chief power in the hands of sir Constantine Phipps, who was accused of showing no great diligence in his proceedings against this insurrection. But at this time the depredations became so serious, and the complaints were so loud, that it was necessary to take some steps of a more active description. In a letter, imploring the assistance of the government, the archbishop of Tuam wrote on the 22nd of January: “I beg you to present my most humble service to their excellencies the lords iustices; I doubt not but they have frequent accounts of the deplorable estate of this country by the houghers. The practice began in the county of Galway, but it is now spread

into the county of Mayo, in which there were near three hundred cows and bullocks slaughtered by night in the fields last week, near half of which belonged to a tenant or mine and were killed on my land; and another of my tenants is threatened by a letter conveyed into his house and signed as pretended by one Aver Joice, a man that died several years since. None knows where the next stroke will fall, or on whom, but all people are in terror, and complain that they are not protected, neither by civil or military power, that not only their cattle are destroyed in the fields, but themselves threatened, by letters and proclamations as they call them dropped in the fields, to be burnt in their houses, so that they must be forced to retire into garrisons for their safety, and leave their flock and tillage, by which the kingdom and trade is supported, to be devoured by others, while they want bread; or must do so in a little time, if some stop be not speedily given to this unheard of depredation, in a time of peace, if one may call it so. It is certain, if I should leave my house, few would stay in theirs, and yet I do not think myself very safe, lying open and unarmed. I wish their excellencies would order some firelocks and pistols and ammunition out of the stores at Galway for my defence. I know not how to propose the arming of the militia, or appointing a foot company at Castlebar, at Ballinrobe, and at Tuam, near which they made havoc of two good flocks of sheep on last Sunday night; their lordships are best judges of these things, but some course must be speedily taken to suppress these oppressions, which are the beginnings of a rebellion, as the common Irish hope will follow, for they are grown very saucy and uppish in their countenances of late.”

This earnest expostulation of the archbishop seems effectually to have roused the government, and the matter was warmly debated before the privy council, which approved of most of the suggestions offered by that prelate and the magistrates. They were informed that if the justices of the peace and grand jury would order the cattle thus destroyed to be bought and burnt, to prevent the country people from buying them up at low rates, the government would assist the country in bearing the charge; fresh troops were sent into the neighbourhood, arms were placed in the hands of the loyal inhabitants, and orders despatched to visit the houses of the disaffected, and seize

their arms, and if necessary, their persons. The council ordered further, "that the country should know that these offenders are tories and rapparees, and may be presented and proclaimed," in consequence of which, the rapparee act was to be applied to them, and those who suffered by their depredations were to be reprimanded on the catholic inhabitants. On the 8th of February, a new proclamation was issued by sir Constantine Phipps, in which these resolutions and orders were embodied, and the reward offered for the discovery of offenders was raised to a hundred pounds. As heavy suspicions had arisen against the popish clergy, some of them were seized and committed to prison, and others absconded or concealed themselves, upon which, another proclamation was issued requiring them on pain of severe penalty, to surrender themselves by a certain day. In the hope of securing some of the offenders, two serjeants of an English regiment, who had been condemned by a court-martial to be shot for

mutiny, were pardoned on condition that they should go into the disturbed districts in the character of spies. They were conveyed secretly into Eyre-Connaught, where the Irish eagerly received them and gave them protection as fugitives from the justice of the English government, but they returned to Dublin unable to obtain any satisfactory information relating to the houghers. Subsequently, however, some of these offenders were captured, and committed to Galway jail, "and among them, one Eagan, and one Mannin, two of their leaders, who, speaking French, and sometimes making use of that language, when they had aimed to conceal anything from their comrades, a report was raised and spread, that several French officers were among the houghers." We have no further information relating to this affair, nor do we know the result of the trials at Galway, but it is probable that the houghers were suppressed by the execution of some of their leaders.

CHAPTER IV.

PENAL STATUTES OF QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN; THE POPEY BILL.



WHILE the provinces were in this unquiet state, Dublin was the scene of political faction, which raged there with more violence than in England, where for several years it was to a certain degree restrained by the splendour of Marlborough's victories. During the greater part of this time, as we have already observed, the rulers of Ireland were concealed tories, who, under cover of attachment to the protestant government, seem often to have harboured ulterior designs. During the closing years of the reign of king William, Ireland had been governed generally by lords justices; in the autumn of 1701, this form of administration was again changed for that of a lord lieutenant in the person of Lawrence Hyde earl of Rochester. In the year following, shortly before William's death, the govern-

ment was again entrusted to three lords justices, the archbishop of Dublin, the earl of Drogheda, and the earl of Mount Alexander. The last only of these was retained in his office on the accession of queen Anne, and received for his colleagues lieutenant-general Earl, and Thomas Keightley. In the year 1703, the lord lieutenantcy was conferred on the duke of Ormond.

The new lord lieutenant was received in Ireland with the utmost joy, and it was hoped that he would contribute much towards allaying the factions which had been fomented by the government of the earl of Rochester. He had no sooner arrived, than he announced his attention of calling a new parliament, which was accordingly opened on the 21st of September, and was assured by Ormond, of his attachment to Ireland, and his desire to promote its welfare. Allen Broderick was chosen speaker, in accordance with the wishes of the court, and the commons then voted addresses filled with warm

expressions of affection to the queen and to the lord lieutenant, in the former of which they complained that their enemies had misrepresented them as desirous of making themselves independent of the crown of England, from which false aspersions they earnestly vindicated themselves, declaring and acknowledging that the kingdom of Ireland was annexed and united to the imperial crown of England.

One of the great causes of discontent was the conduct of the trustees of the forfeited estates, who had published a report which gave universal dissatisfaction. One of the first proceedings of the Irish house of commons was to pass a resolution that all the protestant freeholders of that kingdom had been falsely and maliciously misrepresented, traduced, and abused, in the book entitled, *The Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Irish Forfeitures*, and they resolved further that, Francis Annesley, member of that house, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, who as the commissioners appeared to be authors of that book, had scandalously and maliciously misrepresented and traduced the protestant freeholders of that kingdom, and endeavoured to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the people of England and the protestants of Ireland. Annesley was expelled the house, but of the others two at least were beyond the reach of their resentment, for Hamilton was dead, and Trenchard had returned to England. They had, before the meeting of parliament, finished the inquiry, and sold the best of the forfeited estates at an under value to the sword-blade company of England. That company now petitioned the parliament assembled in Ireland that heads of a bill might to be brought in to enable them to take conveyance of the lands; but the Irish commons, little inclined to confirm the company's bargain, turned a deaf ear to their prayers. One of the members of the house, who was also a member of the English parliament, John Asgill, had offered, as agent to the sword-blade company, to lend money to the public in Ireland on condition that the parliament would pass an act to confirm the company's purchase of the forfeited estates. This proceeding was resented as a breach of privilege, and Asgill was expelled the house; but when summoned to appear before its bar, he pleaded his privilege as a member of the English house of commons.

The Irish commons were not yet satisfied;

they drew up a representation of the state and grievances of the nation, in which they informed the queen that the constitution of Ireland had been of late greatly shaken, and their lives, liberties, and estates called in question, and tried in a manner unknown to their ancestors; they stated, that the expense to which they had been exposed by the late trustees for the forfeited estates, in defending their just rights and titles, had exceeded in value the current cash of the kingdom; that their trade was decayed and their money exhausted, and that they were hindered from maintaining their own manufactures; that many protestant families had been constrained to quit the kingdom in order to seek subsistence in foreign countries; that the want of frequent parliaments in Ireland had encouraged evil-minded men to oppress the subject; that many civil officers had acquired great fortunes by the exercise of corruption and oppression, in spite of the impoverished state of the country; while others, holding considerable employments, remained nevertheless resident in England, neglecting personal attendance to their duties, while their offices were ill executed in their absence. The house of lords had also resolved itself into a committee upon the state of the nation, which, discontented apparently at the factious violence of the Irish commons, and aware of the steps that were then taking for the union with Scotland, passed a resolution, "that it was the opinion of that committee, upon due consideration of the present constitution of that kingdom, that such a humble representation be made to the queen of the state and condition thereof, as might best incline her majesty, by such proper means as to her majesty should seem fit, to promote such a union with England as might qualify the states of that kingdom to be represented in the parliament there."

The most important act of this session was the bill for preventing the further growth of popery, the most severe and oppressive statute in the Irish penal code. It assumed that the Roman catholics of Ireland, universally, were the natural and inveterate enemies of the state, and placed them under restrictions and regulations which it was calculated would render them incapable of any kind of hostility. By this bill, a popish father, merely on account of his religion, without having committed any crime against the laws, was deprived of all power over his estate, if his heir was or became a protestant

even though it were the purchase of his own hard labour and industry; he was deprived of the right of selling, mortgaging, or otherwise disposing of it, or of charging it for payment of his debts, or of leaving portions of it to his other children or relations, or of raising money out of it to portion his daughters, or for any other purpose; in fact, he became only the tenant for life of the property which he had purchased himself, all control over which was given to his protestant heir. A popish father was debarred from being guardian to or having the tuition or custody of his own child or children, for, if the child pretended to be a protestant, however young or incapable of judging of the principles of any religion, it was to be taken from its father and placed under the care of the nearest protestant relative, even though he were the declared enemy of the father; and in case a legacy or estate fell to any of the children, being minors, the popish father was incapable of having the care of it, but it was to be placed in the custody of a protestant. By the fifth clause of the bill, which was a repetition of an act of parliament of the previous reign, no protestant, having any estate real or personal, could intermarry with papists. By the clause which followed, every papist, or any person professing the popish religion, was made incapable of purchasing any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents or profits out of the same, or any lease, except under severe restrictions. Another clause actually destroyed all entails and settlements in the families of catholics; for, on the death of a papist, if there were no protestant heir enrolled as such within three months, the estate or property was to be divided equally among all the sons, and for want of sons, among the daughters, and, in default of daughters, among the collateral kindred of the father, or, if there were none such, among the collateral kindred of the mother. Other clauses followed, equally oppressive to those who conscientiously adhered to the religion of their forefathers.

The only opposition which this act encountered in the Irish house of commons, arose from the voluntary resignation of their seats by members who, condemning the measure in their hearts, had not the courage to avow openly their disapproval. These resignations became so frequent, that the house passed a resolution, "that the excusing of members, at their own request,

from the service of the house, and thereupon issuing out new writs to elect other members to serve in their places, was of dangerous consequence, and tended to the subversion of the constitution of parliament." This was followed by another resolution, carried unanimously, "that it might be the standing order of the house, that no new writs for electing members of parliament in place of members excusing themselves from the service of the house, do issue at the desire of such members, notwithstanding any former precedents to the contrary." The popery bill, having received the approval of the Irish parliament, was dispatched to England to be approved by the ministers of the crown. To them, however, the measure was anything but agreeable, and, afraid to reject such a bill, especially with the English parliament sitting, they had recourse to the uncandid expedient of adding to it a clause, by which all persons in Ireland were rendered incapable of any employment under the crown, or of being magistrates in any city, who should not, agreeably to the English test act, receive the sacrament according to the usage of the established church of Ireland; for they expected that, as this would be as heavy upon the protestant dissenters as upon the catholics, the Irish parliament would not accept it, and that thus the bill would be lost. In this, however, they were disappointed, for the parliament sacrificed all other feelings to their hostility to the Roman catholics, and they accepted the additional clause without hesitation. From the first to the last, this bill seems to have met with so little opposition, that it does not appear to have given rise to a single division in the house.

The catholics, however, had watched its progress with great uneasiness; but they met with no sympathy in their endeavours to hinder it from being, in the first place, transmitted to England. When it was sent back to Ireland, lord Kingsland and other leading men among the catholics petitioned the house of commons to be heard against it by their counsel, for which purpose they desired to have a copy of the bill, and a reasonable time to speak to it, before it passed. Their petition was granted; and on the 22nd of February, 1704, sir Theobald Butler, counsellor Malone, and sir Stephen Rice, with others, appeared at the bar of the house of commons, to state their reasons for appealing against the bill. They

protested against the general infraction of the articles of Limerick implied in this measure, articles which they alleged had been granted to them while they had the sword in their hands, and were in a position to defend themselves, and which had been granted on conditions that they, on their part, had fulfilled. They pleaded against the injustice of robbing men, who had committed no crime, not only of their own estates, but of all control over their own families, and of protection against designing relatives—in fact, of encouraging the children against the father. With regard to the clauses which exacted conformity with the established church and the sacramental test, sir Theobald Butler, who was the chief advocate of the catholics, said “they related to offices and employments which the papists of Ireland could not hope for the enjoyment of, otherwise than by grace and favour extraordinary; and which, therefore, did not so much affect them as it did the protestant dissenters, who, if this bill passed into a law, were equally with the papists deprived of bearing any office, civil or military, under the government, to which by right of birth and the laws of the land they are as indisputably entitled as any of their protestant brethren; and if what the Irish did in the late disorders of the kingdom made them rebels (which the presence of a king they had before been obliged to own and swear obedience to, gave them a reasonable colour of concluding it did not), yet surely the dissenters did not do anything to make them so, or to deserve worse at the hands of the government than other protestants; but, on the contrary, it is more than probable that if they (the dissenters) had not put a stop to the career of the Irish army at Enniskillen and Londonderry, the settlement of the government, both in England and Scotland, might not have proved so easy as it thereby did; for if that army had got to Scotland (as there was nothing at that time to have hindered them but the bravery of those people, who were mostly dissenters, and chargeable with no other crimes since, unless their close adhering to and early appearing for the then government, and the many faithful services they did their country, were crimes), I say,” said he, “if they had got into Scotland, when they had boats, barks, and all things else ready for their transportation, and a great many friends there in arms, waiting only their coming to join them, it is easy to

think what the consequence would have been to both these kingdoms. And these dissenters then were thought fit for command, both civil and military, and were no less instrumental in contributing to the reducing the kingdom than any other protestants; and to pass a bill now to deprive them of their birth-rights, for those their good services, would surely be a most unkind return, and the worst reward ever granted to a people so deserving. Whatever,” concluded sir Theobald, “the papists may be supposed to have deserved, the dissenters certainly stand as clean in the face of the present government as any other people whatsoever; and if this is all the return they are like to get, it will be but a slender encouragement, if ever occasion should require, for others to pursue their examples.”

The catholics seem to have snatched at the same hope which was entertained by the English ministers, that this clause which affected the dissenters would overthrow the bill; but they were soon undeceived. The interests of the dissenters were entirely overlooked; and the expostulations of the catholics were only treated with disdain. It was merely observed, in reply to their arguments, that “any right which the papists pretended to be taken from them by the bill, it was in their own power to remedy by conforming, as in prudence they ought to do; and that they ought not to blame any but themselves.” The bill was sent next day to the house of lords, where the petitioners again obtained leave to be heard by the same counsel, who appeared on the 28th of February, and advanced the same arguments, stating that it had been objected by the commons that the passing that bill would not be a breach of the articles of Limerick, as had been suggested, because the persons therein comprised were only to be put into the same state they were in in the reign of Charles II., and because in that reign there was no law in force which hindered the passing any other law which might be considered needful for the future safety of the government. This bill, it was alleged by the commons, was needful at present for the security of the kingdom, and they asserted that there was nothing in the articles of Limerick to hinder them from passing it. The petitioners admitted that the legislative power could not be confined from altering and making such laws as should be thought necessary for securing the quiet and safety of the

government; and that in time of war or danger, or when there should be just reason to suspect any ill designs to disturb the public peace, no articles or previous obligations should tie up the hands of the legislature from providing for its safety, or bind the government from disarming or securing any who might reasonably be suspected of favouring or corresponding with its enemies, "or indeed," said sir Stephen Rice, "to enact any other law that may be absolutely needful for the safety and advantage of the public; such a law cannot be a breach either of these or of any other like articles. But then such laws ought to be in general, and should not single out or affect any one particular part or party of the people, who gave no provocation to any such law, and whose conduct stood hitherto unimpeached, ever since the ratification of the aforesaid articles of Limerick. To make any law that shall single any particular part of the people out from the rest, and take from them what had been confirmed to and entailed upon them, will be an apparent violation of the original institution of all right, and an ill precedent to any that hereafter might dislike either the present or any other settlement which it should be in their power to alter; the consequence of which is hard to imagine."

The lords paid no more attention to the petitioners than the commons had done before. The bill was read through and passed, and it received the royal assent on the 4th of March, 1704. Subsequently the duke of Ormond received the thanks of the Irish parliament for having procured them "this barrier to the protestant religion."

This parliament did not, however, display in all its proceedings the same satisfaction with their chief governor, or with the management of public affairs. The commons appointed a committee to inspect the public accounts, and they discovered that above a hundred thousand pounds had been falsely charged as a debt upon the nation. This fraud upon the state was charged upon the duke of Ormond's subordinate ministers. The commons next abolished pensions to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds a year. They passed an act settling the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and several other bills of less general importance. Their zeal against popery and the pretender was exhibited in other matters besides the bill for preventing the further growth of popery; for they passed a vote

against a book entitled *Memoirs of the late King James II.*, as a seditious libel, ordering it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the bookseller and printer to be prosecuted. When this motion was made, a member informed the house that the Irish papists in the county of Limerick had begun to form themselves into bodies, to plunder the protestants of their arms and money, and to maintain a correspondence with the disaffected in England. At this moment an attempt in favour of the pretender was apprehended, and the Irish house of commons came to a hasty resolution, that "the papists of this kingdom still retained hopes of the accession of the person known by the name of the prince of Wales in the lifetime of the late king James, and now by the name of James III." The court itself seems to have been alarmed at the excited feelings which had been aroused, and the parliament was suddenly adjourned, in the midst of great animosity against the lord lieutenant.

When the Irish parliament was called together again on the 5th of March in the year following, the house of commons became involved in a warm dispute with the lower house of convocation, on a question relating to the tithes of hemp and flax, arising from a clause of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures. The lower house of convocation presented a memorial against this clause, as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy; upon which, the commons voted the person who brought it in, guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered him to be taken into custody. They then passed a resolution, declaring the convocation guilty of a contempt and breach of the privilege of the house of commons. The convocation, in return, ventured to justify their memorial, upon which the commons, more irritated than ever, resolved that all matters relating to the affair should be razed out of the journals and books of convocation.

Ormond became alarmed, and he attempted to put an end to this heat by adjourning the parliament to the 1st of May. When they met again, the commons, without absolutely renewing the quarrel, came to some resolutions reflecting indirectly on the convocation as enemies to her Majesty's government and the protestant succession. The clergy now took the alarm, and in order to relieve themselves from suspicion, they passed a resolution, that the church and

nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny, by king William; that the continuance of these blessings was due (under God) to the auspicious reign and happy government of queen Anne; that the future security and preservation of the church and nation depended wholly (under God) on the succession of the crown as settled by law in the protestant line; and that if any clergyman should by word or writing declare anything in opposition to these resolutions, they should look upon him as a sower of divisions among the protestants, and an enemy to the constitution. Another resolution was aimed against the presbyterians; it declared that, to teach or to preach against the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or to maintain schools or seminaries for the education of youth in principles contrary to those of the established church, was a contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom, of pernicious consequence, and serving only to continue and widen the unhappy schisms and divisions in the nation.

In the month of June the duke of Ormond prorogued the parliament to the same month of the following year, and then embarked for England. The government was entrusted to sir Richard Coxe, who had succeeded Phipps as lord chancellor, and lord Cutts, the commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, who were appointed lords justices. Lord Cutts died in the beginning of the year 1707, and the archbishop of Armagh was appointed one of the lords justices in his place; but they were almost immediately superseded by the appointment of Thomas Herbert, earl of Pembroke, who came over as lord lieutenant.

The earl of Pembroke opened an Irish parliament in 1707, soon after his appointment, in a speech which breathed the spirit of bitter hostility to the catholics which characterised the whole policy of the reign of queen Anne. He spoke of the body of the Irish catholics as the domestic enemies of the state, and intimated that he was commissioned by the queen to inform the parliament there, that, considering the *number of papists* in Ireland, she would be glad if they could suggest an expedient for strengthening the interest of her protestant subjects in that kingdom. These sentiments were addressed to men who were quite ready to receive them and to act upon them, and they chiefly employed themselves in strengthening and providing for the ri-

gorous execution of the penal laws. On the 9th of July, the Irish commons voted an address of congratulation to the queen, on the union between England and Scotland, by which, they said, she had given a further security to the peace and safety of her government, the protestant succession, and the church as established by law in England and Ireland; and they took the opportunity of presenting an address, at the same time, to the earl of Pembroke, acknowledging thankfully the benefits they enjoyed in that happy opportunity of meeting under his excellency's government to enact such laws as were yet wanting to strengthen the protestant interest in Ireland. The lords voted an address on the same subject a few days afterwards, and they again intimated a wish that the union might be extended to Ireland.

Faction was, indeed, at this time, gaining head rapidly in Ireland; and men of foresight and liberal feelings, who gave any attention to the welfare of that country, began to see that its independent parliament was becoming its greatest curse. In Ireland, it was considered that the only safe way to support the government was by crushing the catholics, and raising an insuperable barrier to keep them from political influence; while in England it was considered that the only way to retain Ireland in quiet subjection to the English crown, was to keep it in a state of permanent debility. With this aim, a succession of rulers had been promoting disunion and faction among the protestants themselves; and the war between high church and low church, or tory and whig, was now raging in the sister island with more intensity even than at home. Thus was Ireland sacrificed in every way to mere English interests, if not to mere English faction. It had become the practice to give the government nominally to a lord lieutenant, who looked upon the appointment only as a lucrative office, from which he drew as much money as he could, to the further impoverishment of the country. He sometimes went over for two or three months, to hold a parliament, or for some other special purpose, and during the rest of the time the actual management of the government was left in the hands of lords justices, chosen from among the principal officers of state. The chief object of the earl of Wharton, in accepting the lord lieutenancy, in 1709, was notoriously to repair his private fortune, shattered by his

unprincipled extravagance; and in this he was so successful, that, Swift assures us, in two years he drew into his own pocket forty-five thousand pounds from that country.

It is understood that when the popery bill was passed, the dissenters were induced to waive their opposition to the clause relating to the sacramental test, by a private promise that it should not be enforced vexatiously against them. This promise, however, was never fulfilled, and the presbyterians were soon made to feel the error they had committed in allowing it to pass. The prejudices of lord Wharton were, however, supposed to be in their favour, and it was generally expected that he would obtain the repeal of this objectionable law. The high church party immediately raised a loud cry of alarm, and the feeling was, at this time, so strong, that a pamphlet having been published in England, proposing the taking off of the sacramental test, the English house of commons voted it to be a scandalous and seditious libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The dissenters were disappointed in their expectation of relief from lord Wharton, who merely amused them with hopes of a repeal of the obnoxious clause in a future session, when it might be done with less fear of giving umbrage to the numerous body of Irish catholics. After having passed an act for "explaining and amending" the act to prevent the further growth of popery, the lord lieutenant prorogued the parliament on the 30th of March, 1709, with a speech in which he told them that he made no question but that they understood too well the true interest of the protestant religion in that kingdom, not to endeavour to make as easy as they could, all such protestants as were willing to contribute what they could, to defend the whole against the common enemy, under which term he described the Irish catholics. It was not, he said, the law then passed (that for explaining and amending the popery act, which rendered it more stringent on the catholics), nor any law which the wit of man could frame, that would secure them against popery, whilst they continued divided amongst themselves; it being demonstrable, that unless there were a firm friendship and confidence amongst the protestants of that kingdom, it was impossible for them to be happy, or even to be safe. He added that he was directed to declare to them, as her majesty's fixed resolution,

that as her majesty would always maintain and support the church as by law established, so it was her will and intention, that the dissenters should not be persecuted or molested in the exercise of their religion. The dissenters were satisfied, and waited patiently in the delusive hope held out to them of future relief.

The divisions among the protestants, to which lord Wharton alluded in his speech, were increasing daily, and were fomented by those in high office, who secretly or openly espoused the cause of the party which was at this moment intriguing in England to wrest the reins of government from the whigs. The trial of Dr. Sacheverell, in 1710, produced a great sensation in Ireland, where many of the dignitaries of the established church appear to have been violent supporters of high church principles, while a large proportion of the protestant population, and even of the army, were either dissenters from the church, or, at least, no friends of Sacheverell. The animosity thus generated, appears to have broken out, in some places, in riotous acts of turbulence. This was particularly the case at Limerick, where both the bishop, and the mayor and chief members of the corporation, appear to have been notorious sticklers for high church, whilst the officers of the garrison were no less violent whigs. This led to rather serious feuds between the two parties. On the 12th of September, 1710, in the dead of the night, the principal officers of the garrison, with other persons, assembled, and marching about the town in a riotous manner, with wine and other liquors, drunk political toasts. Their hostility was pointed especially against the bishop, before whose residence they raised a great uproar, drinking what they termed, in derision, the "litany health," the words of which were, "confusion, damnation, plague, pestilence, and famine, battle, murder, and sudden death, to Dr. Sacheverell, and all his adherents and well wishers;" to which they added, "confusion to all archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons;" They also drank "confusion to all who do not love the memory of king William." They then proceeded to the house of one alderman Higgins, who appears to have cut a prominent figure as a violent stickler for high church, and there repeated the obnoxious toasts, and added, "confusion to Higgins the tory." In the night of the 20th of October, these disturbances were

renewed, and the officers, having obtained at the tavern where they had been drinking, a sufficient number of warming-pans, stew-pans, brass-candlesticks, and other instruments, marched round the town, beating them to a discordant music, which they accompanied with songs of a political and others of a disreputable character. The bishop was again the person chiefly molested. In the night of the 23d, which was the anniversary of the Irish rebellion, or rather, early on the morning of the 24th, when the principal members of the corporation were assembled at the house of the mayor to a feast, the officers went thither, insulted the company, and dragged away some of the musicians. Then, having caused a fox to be led in a string backwards and forwards along the streets of the town, and especially before the bishop's palace, they hunted on the scent with three horns and a pack of about thirty hounds, in full cry, to the great disturbance of the bishop and the peaceful citizens. On search at the tavern where the officers were in the custom of drinking, it was found that they had cut on the glasses with a diamond, "confusion to the corporation of Limerick," and other similar devices. The bishop complained

further, that "besides these abuses, I and my family have been frequently alarmed and awakened in the dead of the night, by soldiers (as they afterwards appeared to be) who feigned themselves to be spirits, some by stripping themselves naked, and others by putting on white garments, and throwing stones at the sentinel at my door; and, at other times, by throwing stones on the slates of my house, which made an unusual noise when they were tumbling down; and one night, particularly, the sentry was so much affrighted, and made such a noise, that I was forced to rise out of my bed to encourage him, and to assure him they were no spirits." These disturbances were carried to such a height, that an inquiry was instituted, and a formal complaint, accompanied with the depositions of witnesses, sent to the lords justices, who were, at this time, the lord chancellor Freeman and general Ingoldsby. The officers of the garrison of Limerick were summoned to Dublin, and suspended from their duties and pay, until they made a very humble submission and apology. Thus ended an affair which affords strong evidence of the turbulent spirit engendered by the struggle of factions which were now going on in the state

CHAPTER V.

WHIGS AND TORIES; THE SCHISM ACTS; FOREIGN ENLISTMENT.



IN England, meanwhile, the trial of Sacheverell had been quickly followed by the overthrow of the whig party, and the appointment of a tory ministry. Analogous changes were made in the government of Ireland, where the tory Phipps was restored to the chancellorship, and lord Wharton was not only recalled, but he was even threatened with impeachment for his misgovernment of the country committed to his charge. The duke of Ormond was again appointed to the office of lord lieutenant. The religious divisions were now widened by the power given to the high church party, and the accession of the

tories was marked by the commencement of a violent persecution of the dissenters, both in England and Ireland.

In the new parliament called by the duke of Ormond, the whigs were still in a majority in the house of commons, but the lords were devoted to the court. This soon led to a quarrel between the two parties. The jealousy with which the latter regarded the presbyterians, a term which they looked upon as equivalent with revolutionists, was shown in an address of the lords spiritual and temporal to the queen, presented on the 7th of September, 1711. They first complained of the earl of Wharton, for having abused her majesty's name in ordering *nolle prosequi* to stop proceedings against one

Fleming and others, who were charged with disturbing the peace of the town of Drogheda, by setting up a meeting-house where there had been none for the last twenty-eight years. They represented that these complainers against persecution, whilst themselves enjoying ease and security, had exercised great severities towards their conforming neighbours, by denying them common offices of humanity, and by threatening and actually ruining several who had conscientiously left their sect and conformed to the church. They complained that the dissenters in Ireland had stigmatized the episcopal order as anti-scriptural: that they had called the worship authorised by the established church superstitious and idolatrous, and had even censured the legislature itself, in a book in which it was stated "that the sacramental test is only an engine to advance a state faction, and to debase religion to serve mean and unworthy purposes." They pretended that amidst repeated provocations they (the high church party) had long continued to show forbearance towards the dissenters, and that they had endeavoured by gentle usage to melt them down into a softer and more complying temper, but that all their attempts had proved unsuccessful, for they said the dissenters had returned them evil for good, and that the lenity of the government had increased their rage and obstinacy. They further represented that the northern presbyterians had, in their zeal for proselytism, sent missionaries into several parts of the kingdom, where they had no call, nor any congregation to support them; and that they had turned the twelve hundred a-year given them by her majesty (it was the old grant of king William) from its original purpose, to make it instrumental in spreading schism, which had formerly been confined to the north, over other parts of the country where it had never been seen before. They concluded that they would fail in their duty if they did not acquaint her majesty with the danger they apprehended from the great advances which presbyterianism and fanaticism had made, which, if not checked, they doubted not, would end in the destruction of the constitution both in church and state; and they recommended the queen to put a stop to these growing evils by

withdrawing the grant of twelve hundred a-year.

In this same address, the lords alluded in very strong terms to their disagreement with the house of commons, and to the whig principles manifested by the latter. Sincere veneration for her majesty's royal person and prerogative, they said, and the tender regard they had for the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, could alone induce them thus long to forget the high indignities offered to their house by the commons, and to submit their private injuries to her majesty's more public concerns, lest, by their just resentment of their behaviour, when so industriously provoked, her majesty's affairs might be obstructed, and thus the malicious designs of evil-minded men rendered effectual. They complained, that the commons had used them in a manner wholly unknown to former parliaments, and had addressed them in a language more indecent and opprobrious than was given by another house of commons at a time when they voted the house of lords useless. They said that, however her majesty might justly approve the conduct of the college of Dublin in the late revolution, still they conceived that her majesty did not extend her bounty to them to promote in general revolutionary principles, and such as, in the manner they were explained by the pamphlets and libels publicly avowed by men of factions and seditious tempers, and particularly in a sermon preached on the 30th of January, dedicated to that very house of commons without censure or animadversion, did in a great measure maintain and justify "the execrable murder" of king Charles I., and on which might be founded any rebellion against her majesty and her successors. They insisted upon their right of construing the words and terms used by the commons in their address, namely, that the commons having in their vote mentioned the steady adherence of the provost and fellows of the college to the late revolution,* as one consideration of their application for the five thousand pounds granted to them by the queen, the subsequent motive mentioned in their vote, namely, for the encouragement of sound revolution principles, could not in good reason or grammar be referred to the late

* Revolutionary principles had certainly not obtained exclusive possession of Trinity College, Dublin; for in the June of the preceding year (1710) the statue of king William on College Green was defaced in the night, and, a proclamation having been issued offer-

ing a reward of a hundred pounds for the discovery of the offenders, two students of Trinity College were convicted of the fact, and were sentenced to a fine of a hundred pounds each with six months' imprisonment. They were expelled the College.

revolution, since adherence to the late revolution was a distinct motive of itself; and it is the known nature of principles to be as well the rule and guide of future, as of past actions. The lords disclaimed every intention of misrepresenting the commons, and they solemnly assured her majesty that they were heartily thankful to Almighty God for the late happy revolution, the necessity and justice of which they fully acknowledged; promising, at the utmost hazard of their lives and fortunes, to defend, support, and maintain her majesty's sacred person and government, her just prerogative in the choice of her ministers, the church of Ireland as by law established, and the succession of the crown in the illustrious house of Hanover, against the pretender, and all those who design revolutions, either in church or state; against all her enemies abroad, and against all papists, jacobites, and republicans at home.

From this time the animosity between the two parties was increased, and continued to disturb the peace of Ireland during the rest of the queen's reign. The government was directed chiefly by sir Constantine Phipps, as lord chancellor and one of the lords justices, a man notorious for his jacobite prejudices, and for his hatred of whigs and dissenters. Phipps had lately distinguished himself in England by his zeal and activity in defence of Dr. Sacheverell; and his demeanour, and official conduct in Ireland, confirmed all the apprehensions with which his conduct had filled the whigs in that island. He associated only with tories and churchmen, and was entertained by the nobility and gentry of that party with extraordinary hospitality. The high church clergy everywhere treated him as the patron of their order, and the champion of the rights of the church; and under his auspices, every legal check on the party he patronized was suspended; and not only were the most malignant attacks on the Irish dissenters published daily, but even publications which in England had been condemned for their seditious tendency, were allowed by the Irish government to be reprinted, and dispersed abroad. "No sooner did he (Phipps) appear in that kingdom," says a political pamphlet published in Dublin after the accession of George I., "but his levee was crowded with papists and dispensation converts, whose eloquent foot was seen by the venom they used to spit against whigs and dissenters; but every one who made his court to Phipps,

would previously show his zeal by treating the whigs as ignominiously as formerly under Talbot; nor would sir Constantine employ a man of them, no, not in ordinary work. Accordingly he brought those new converts into all business, places, and preferments, receiving the most secret information from priests and friars, who were likely to do wondrous service to the English interest. He stifled and discouraged all informations against the insolent practice of papists, whom he was ever backward to disarm, though straightly required to do it after the queen's death. He granted *nolli prosequi* for writers on behalf of the pretender, and favoured all he could those who treasonably listed soldiers for him. The archbishop of Armagh, promoted for this very purpose to that see (in 1713), was his chief abettor. This prelate, not very nice in other matters, and much better acquainted with the mothers than the fathers, would not be concerned in blood, forsooth, refusing to sign the order for the execution of the listed and listers for the pretender. This behaviour of churchmen gave rise to another toast, 'To the prosperity of the church in spite of the clergy.' The spirit of chancellor Phipps's government was exhibited in the case of a clergyman, named Higgins, who had been a great ally of Sacheverell in England, and was well known for his violent writings against the dissenters. He had been put out of the commission of the peace by the late chancellor Coxe, on account of his indecent and turbulent behaviour; but he was immediately restored by sir Constantine Phipps, on his accession to the office. On the very day of resuming his authority, Higgins gave such offence to his colleagues by his insolent and unguarded expressions, that he was presented by the grand jury of the county of Dublin, as a sower of sedition and groundless jealousies among the queen's protestant subjects; but he was acquitted by the lord lieutenant and privy council, to the great joy of the high church party.

The factions raised and embittered by Phipps's conduct, remained unabated during the period of tory ascendancy, and the other interests of the kingdom seem to have been almost lost sight of. To such a degree had these factions taken hold of the public mind, that the English parliament was allowed to legislate for Ireland, as though the latter country had had no parliament of its own. It was the legislature of Great Britain which passed acts to sell the estates of Irish rebels,

and to disqualify catholics from buying them; to make void leases made to papists; to augment small vicarages, and confirm grants made to the archbishop of Dublin; to allow Ireland to export linen to the plantations; to prohibit the importation of linen into Ireland from Scotland; and to appoint the town of New Ross, in the county of Wexford, as the port for exporting wool from Ireland to England.

But the act of the English parliament which was of most importance to Ireland at this moment was the famous schism act, which was brought forward in the English house of commons by the great supporter of the high church party, sir William Wyndham, in the last year of queen Anne's reign. The object of this bill was the entire destruction of the dissenters, and it passed the house of commons by a large majority. When in committee in the house of lords, the earl of Anglesey proposed the insertion of a clause, providing that as "where law is the same, the remedy and means for enforcing the execution of the law should be the same, be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the remedies, provisions, and clauses, in and by this given, made, and enacted, shall extend, and be deemed, construed, and adjudged to extend to Ireland, in as full and effectual a manner as if Ireland had been expressly named and mentioned in all and every the clauses of this act." This clause was agreed to by a majority of one, and the bill itself only passed the lords by a majority of five. It met with considerable opposition in both houses, and it was stigmatized in the commons by sir Joseph Jekyll as having a tendency to raise as great a persecution against their protestant brethren as the primitive christians ever suffered from the heathen emperors. On the other side, the secretary of state, Bromley, declared that "the dissenters were equally dangerous both to church and state; and if the members who spoke in their behalf would have this bill drop, he would readily consent to it, provided another bill was brought in to incapacitate them either to sit in that house, or to vote in elections of members of parliament. Twenty-six of the principal whig lords, including four bishops, entered a warm protest against the bill, in the concluding paragraph of which they said, "Lastly, the miseries we apprehend here are greatly enhanced by extending this bill to Ireland, where the consequences of it may be fatal;

for since the number of papists in that kingdom far exceeds the protestants of all denominations together, and that the dissenters are to be treated as enemies, or at least as persons dangerous to that church and state, who have always, in all times, joined, and still would join, with the members of that church against the common enemy of their religion; and since the army there is very much reduced, protestants, thus unnecessarily divided, seem to us to be exposed to the dangers of another massacre, and the protestant religion in danger of being extirpated; and we may further fear that the sects in Britain whose national church is presbyterian, will not so heartily and zealously join with us in our defence, when they see those of the same nation, same blood, and same religion, so hardly treated by us; and this will still be more grievous to the protestant dissenters in Ireland, because, whilst the popish priests are registered, and so indulged by law as that they exercise their religion without molestation, that the laws are by this bill enforced against them."

It is more than probable that, at that time, an act against the dissenters could not have passed the Irish parliament, for every effort of the government had been found insufficient to reduce the whig majority in the Irish commons. At the end of October, 1713, the duke of Shrewsbury was appointed lord lieutenant, partly, perhaps, in the hope that it would be a popular appointment, and tend to soften down the opposition in the house of commons. He assembled the Irish parliament on the twenty-fifth of November, and found that the hostility between the two houses was not appeased. The commons, having chosen Alan Broderick, a staunch whig, for their speaker, ordered a bill to be brought in to attain the pretender and all his adherents, and prosecuted the author of a book entitled *Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George*, the name by which the pretender was usually known. They then voted an address to the queen, humbly beseeching her to remove sir Constantine Phipps from the office of lord chancellor, as a measure necessary for the peace and safety of her protestant subjects. The lords immediately sent a counter address, in which they pleaded earnestly in favour of the chancellor, entering minutely into the charges preferred against him, and assuring her majesty that they were strengthened in their opinion of the honour and integrity with which he had acquitted him-

self by the further inquiries they had since made. They concluded with assurances of unanimity and temper in the dispatch of public business, and promised to do their utmost to establish the peace of that kingdom, by discountenancing the restless endeavours of those "factious spirits" who attempted to sow jealousies and raise groundless fears in the minds of her people. This was aimed at the whigs and their party in the Irish house of commons, and the queen's reply to the address of the latter, which was almost an echo of the address of the upper house, showed that the government was determined at all risks to support toryism and high church. The clergy, who had now assembled again in both houses of convocation, espoused the cause of the lord chancellor, and also presented their addresses, wishing her majesty might never want a servant of equal courage, uprightness, and abilities; and that that church and nation might never be without such a friend for the suppression of vice, schism, and faction, and for the support of the royal prerogative. The house of lords presented a second address, justifying Phipps against some charges which had been brought against him, of having been a promoter of the dissensions which had lately happened in Ireland. The queen replied, that she had always looked upon the lord chancellor as a faithful servant to the crown, and a true lover of the constitution in church and state; and that she was pleased to find that the lords concurred in the same opinion of him. Disappointed in their design of removing Phipps, the commons now made a complaint against Mr. Molesworth, a member of the privy council, who, when the members of the house appeared in Dublin castle to present their address, insulted them by saying, "They that have turned the world upside-down have come hither also." Molesworth was removed from the privy council; but the commons becoming more and more discontented, the duke of Shrewsbury received orders to prorogue the parliament, and, having obtained leave to return to England, he reached London just in time to raise his voice in the English house of lords against the clause of the schism act which related to Ireland. The government of Ireland was again left in the hands of chancellor Phipps and the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam as lords justices.

There can be little doubt, that at this moment, the leaders of the tory party in

England were contemplating the restoration of the exiled family, in case of a vacancy of the throne, of which the precarious state of the queen's health held out a near prospect. As far as we can judge, they appear to have calculated on effecting their purpose by taking the nation by surprise. It is still more certain, that the jacobite party, independently of any project of the present ministers, but equally in expectation of the queen's death, were actively preparing for a rising in favour of the pretender. A variety of isolated notices, scattered through the pamphlets and correspondence of the time, leave no room for doubting that the catholics in Ireland were secretly agitating in the pretender's cause, and that numbers of men were enlisted in his name. Many persons, both enlists and enlisted, were arrested, and some of them executed, although the whig party complained bitterly of the Irish government for its remissness. That the catholic population of Ireland at this time should be discontented and disaffected, was not only natural, but excusable, under the provocations to which they were subjected, and the misery to which they were reduced; and if they did not rise in open rebellion, we must seek for an explanation of their forbearance in the want of power, and not in the want of will. The protestants in general were alarmed, and the fears of many were excited to no slight degree, when it was discovered in Dublin, on the morning of the 17th of June, 1714, not long before the queen's death, that, during the night, the doors of the protestant inhabitants had all been marked with chalk. The authors, or the object, of this strange proceeding were never discovered.

The death of the queen, however, was attended with an unexpected revolution; for by the able management of the principal whig leaders, the kingdom was saved from the designs of the jacobites, the house of Hanover was established on the English throne, and, as a natural consequence, the tories were expelled from the government, which was placed again in the hands of the whigs. One of the first acts of the regency appointed by king George before his arrival, was to remove sir Constantine Phipps from the chancellorship of Ireland, and both him and the archbishop of Armagh from their places of lords justices. The archbishop of Dublin and the earl of Kildare, were joined with the archbishop of Tuam, as lords justices; the chancellorship was given to the speaker of the Irish house of commons, Alan Brode

rick; and another privy council was formed. The king afterwards appointed the earl of Sunderland lord lieutenant, but he never went over to assume the government, which, in the November of 1715, was entrusted to the duke of Grafton and the earl of Galway, as lords justices.

On this latter appointment the parliament of Ireland was again convened, and it exhibited the utmost zeal for the succession of the house of Hanover and the whig administration. The supplies were voted without reluctance, and acts were passed for recognising the king's title, for the security of his person and government, for setting a price of fifty thousand pounds on the pretender's head, and for attainting the duke of Ormond, who had been proceeded against in England for high treason. In the last year of queen Anne a similar bill against the pretender had been brought into the Irish parliament, which was believed to have been suddenly prorogued by the queen's command, in order that that bill might not pass. At the same time the greater part of the army in Ireland had been disbanded, under pretence of economy, but it was now said to have been part of a design for facilitating the entrance of the pretender. Much of the blame of these transactions was laid upon the earl of Anglesey, the same with whom the Irish clause in the schism act originated, and the Irish house of commons accordingly presented a strong address to the king against that nobleman, praying that he might be removed immediately from his majesty's councils and service in that kingdom. They declared their firm resolution of supporting the king against the designs of the jacobites, who had at this time raised the standard of rebellion, and the new attempt of the pretender, who was on his way to Scotland; and then offered their opinion as to the means by which they alleged that the pretender's cause had been promoted in Ireland. "Your faithful commons," they said, "do hereby humbly take leave to acquaint your majesty, that soon after the meeting of the late parliament in this kingdom, the then house of commons received information that many Irish papists had been and continue to be daily shipped off from Dublin and other ports for the service of the pretender; which traitorous practice, and the remissness observed in discovering or preventing it, together with the countenance shown to those who were remarkable for nothing but their disaffection to

your majesty's succession and the late happy revolution, made such an impression on that truly loyal house of commons, that they humbly addressed the late queen to remove one of the great supporters of the pretender's interest in this kingdom out of her service, and also ordered heads of a bill to be brought in to attain the pretender of high treason, which was soon after done; but the house was prevented proceeding thereon by an unseasonable prorogation, notwithstanding they had, with great unanimity and cheerfulness, granted such supplies as were desired for the support of the government. That parliament being prorogued in so unusual a manner, and for no other reason, that your commons can apprehend, but the warm zeal they expressed for your majesty's succession, and their resolution to inquire into, and as far as in them lay to prevent, the designs of those who endeavoured to defeat it; the next step taken was to advise her late majesty to break a great part of her army in this kingdom, which was accordingly done in an extraordinary manner, several regiments being broken, without any regard to their services or the dates of their commission, and chiefly, as we conceive, for their steady adherence to your majesty's interest, and known aversion to the pretender."

The animosity of the commons against the lately triumphant tories was exhibited in other acts. They had already voted the earl of Anglesey an enemy to the king and kingdom, and all those who had addressed the queen in favour of sir Constantine Phipps were now brought upon their knees and censured as guilty of a breach of privilege. Their alarm lest the papists might be encouraged by the rebellion in Scotland to make some attempt against the government, led them to address the lords justices, praying them to give directions for securing the persons of such papists and other persons as they should suspect of being disaffected to the government of king George; in reply to which they were informed that the lords justices had written letters in council to all the governors of counties, sheriffs, mayors, and chief magistrates of corporations, to put the militia in immediate condition for service, requiring them at the same time strictly to execute the laws against papists. The commons themselves passed a variety of resolutions which marked their apprehensions of the papists, and their hostility towards the whole catholic body. They resolved,

first, "That it is the indispensable duty of all magistrates to put the laws in immediate execution against all popish priests who shall officiate contrary to law, and that such magistrates who neglect the same be looked upon as enemies to the constitution." It was then resolved "That an humble address be presented to their excellencies the lords justices, that they will be pleased to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to such who shall discover any person who is enlisted or shall hereafter enlist in his majesty's service to be a papist, in order to their being turned out and punished with the utmost severity of the law." On the other hand, the parliament now showed a decided partiality for the dissenters. There was, no doubt, party feeling and a spirit of retaliation for the persecution of the latter part of queen Anne's reign, in the resolution of the commons, "That such of his majesty's protestant dissenting subjects of this kingdom as have taken commissions in the militia, or acted in the commission of the array, have hereby done a seasonable service to his majesty's royal person and government and the protestant interest in this kingdom;" and "that any person who shall commence a prosecution against a dissenter who has accepted or who shall accept of a commission in the array or militia, is an enemy to king George and the protestant interest, and a friend to the pretender." They at the same time passed an act to restrain papists from being high or petty constables. The consequence was that the penal laws against the catholics were enforced with increased rigour; many of the priests were seized, often at their altars, thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost indignity; and orders were given by the lords justices for apprehending the earls of Antrim and Westmeath, the lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, and many of the principal catholic landholders, as persons suspected of disaffection to his majesty's government.

It is ridiculous to imagine, with some party writers, that the body of the Irish catholics were not favourable to the cause of the pretender; but the men of most influence reflected upon the disastrous results of the war of the revolution, and were unwilling

to engage in any new attempt unless they were well supported from abroad; and the catholic population, in general, had been reduced to so helpless a condition, that they were unable to show their discontent otherwise than by a few robberies and outrages performed by parties of the old rapparees and other marauders, by partial outbreaks like that of the houghers, or by secretly enlisting in the service of the pretender, and quitting their native land to be ultimately employed in Scotland or England. This latter practice was carried on to an alarming extent, although an act of the Irish parliament had made enlisting for foreign service without the consent of the crown high treason. During the latter end of the late reign the whigs had complained bitterly of the remissness of the tory government in carrying this law into effect, which they considered as a proof of the partiality of the tories for popery and the cause of the Stuarts; and there can be no doubt that when their party was so entirely broken by the accession of the house of Hanover, the tories did give encouragement to the jacobite faction, either out of spleen against king George, or with the aim of embarrassing the whigs. The tories in Ireland, therefore, were looked upon as not much better than papists, and many of them were closely watched as suspected persons. Among other persons involved in these suspicions was the celebrated dean Swift; a packet directed to him, and containing papers of a treasonable character, were seized on the person of a man named Jeffries, at Dublin, and Swift found it necessary to conceal himself.

After the accession of king George the prosecutions for enlisting in foreign service were carried on with more rigour, yet, although many persons were hanged, this severity appears not to have been sufficient to put a stop to the practice, even after the failure of the rebellion of 1715. Many active agents were employed through the country raising these recruits, who appear generally to have been driven to enlist by the distress to which the Irish population had been reduced.* Some of these recruits were sent to Spain, where the duke of Ormond, who had fled from England and joined the pretender, was preparing an expedition

* Among some curious ballads and broadsides of this period, in the possession of Mr. Crofton Croker, is one with the following title: "A New Song, called the sorrowful lamentations of Anthony Bolger, James Costolow, Edward Quin, John Allen, Chris-

topher Farrel, Edward Higgins, John Weasly, Peter Duff, William Lyons. John Gaffany, Patrick Barnwell, Owen Connelly, James Barry, James Mathews, Thomas Mullan, Patrick Murphy, and James Shehy, who were taken on board a sloop at the bar of Dub-

against king George under the protection of the Spanish minister, cardinal Alberoni. Others were sent to France. Towards the close of the reign of the first George this enlistment was carried on with increasing activity, and seems to have given considerable alarm to the government. On the 14th of May, 1726, archbishop Boulter, one of the lords justices, wrote to the duke of Newcastle (the English minister):—

“We [the lords justices] have from time transmitted to his excellency the lord lieutenant [lord Carteret] an account of all we have learnt relating to the ship *Patience*, seized at Killibegs, and by this mail have sent the copy of a letter to one Deaz, a Jew, that probably discovers the truth of the captain's design. I find the papists are in several parts here employed in fasting and prayers, by an order from the pope, as they say, and a promise of indulgences, but on what occasion they do not own. There seem likewise to be men listing in several parts, but whether for France or Spain is uncertain, though they pretend for the former; but by the laws here, it is capital to list, or be listed in any foreign service, without leave from the crown.” Five days later the archbishop writes again: “In my last I gave your grace a hint that numbers were listing here for foreign service. We have daily new accounts from several parts that the lusty young fellows are quitting the country, on pretence that they are going to England for work. Such as have occasion to employ many hands, begin to feel the effects of this desertion, and nobody here questions but that all these really are going into foreign service. We [the lords justices] shall not be wanting in our endeavours to keep all quiet here: but as accounts from all hands seem to forebode some mischievous designs among the papists, I am very apprehensive that before some months are past, there will be a necessity of putting the militia here in

lin on Fryday the 19th of this instant January, 1721-22, who were supposed to be listed for the Pretender or some Foreign Prince, contrary to Proclamation; and are confined in the Barracks of Dublin. Tune of Sarsefield's Lamentation.” A few lines of this homely composition will show the excuse at least which was made for their departure, and the mere existence of such a ballad shows the popular interest which was taken in the fate of these foreign recruits. It commences thus,—

“Good people all, we pray give ear,
Our lamentations you shall hear,
Now that we all confined be
For one that we did never see.

Sing oh, oh, hone.

good order to prevent any surprize, especially since six regiments have been drawn from hence.” On the eleventh of June, the primate gives an account of a tumult which had occurred on the previous day, the pretender's birth-day, which shows us the turbulence of the mob in Ireland. “As we had some disturbance in this town last night, I thought it my duty to give your grace a short account of it, to prevent its being taken for an affair of greater consequence than it proved. As there had been various reports spread about the town, that the papists intended to make a rising about the 10th of June, though we had no reason to apprehend any such thing would be attempted, yet we thought ourselves obliged in prudence to give the proper directions to the forces here to be in readiness, if any thing should happen either on Thursday night, yesterday, or last night. All things were quiet till yesterday in the evening, when a very numerous rabble assembled in Stephen's Green, as they usually have done on the 10th June, and between eight and nine (upon a message to the lord mayor from some of the inhabitants of the green, complaining of such riotous assembly), the lord mayor, sheriffs, and some aldermen, attended with a number of constables, came on the green to disperse the rabble, but meeting with opposition, and being assaulted with stones, bricks, and dirt, the lord mayor sent for assistance to the forces, and had first a detachment of about forty foot, and afterwards about the like number of horse: at first the rabble would not disperse, but upon some of the foot firing with ball, and wounding three or four of them, and the horse appearing soon after, they dispersed, and about thirty of them are taken and imprisoned. They will very speedily be examined; and we are not without hopes of finding out some gentlemen, who by some circumstances are thought to have had a

“Nor never came it in our mind;
To seek for work we were inclined,
Because that we could get none here
We fain would travel far and near.

Sing oh, oh, hone.

“But our designs were all in vain,
For fortune drove us back again;
And now we all confined are,
Where we shall starve, we greatly fear.

Sing oh, oh, hone.”

Two persons who were said to have enlisted these men, and who were known as active instruments in this service, captains Henry Ward and Francis Fitzgerald, were hanged and quartered at the Gallows Green, Cork, on the 18th of April of this same year

hand in occasioning this disturbance. If we are able to come at any design of importance, we shall send you advice of it; but at present I do not find that there was much more in it than the popish rabble coming down to fight the whig mob, as they used to do on that day, only that upon the prospect of a war the papists are better in heart, and so might come in greater numbers. We have given the necessary orders, without any noise or show to have everything ready to prevent the prisoners being rescued, if any such attempt should be made." On the eleventh of the following March, he wrote to lord Carteret, telling him that, "Our foot is now reduced to eleven battalions, and there can be no doubt but the emissaries of Spain are at work here to dispose the papists to make a disturbance." And on the 30th of the same month, he informed the duke of Newcastle, "Everything here is very quiet, except that in spite of all our endeavours, recruits are still going off for Spain, as well as France." On the 1st of April, archbishop Boulter wrote to lord

Carteret: "Though we [the lords justices] have in common this day put your excellency in mind of our being without any guard against Spanish privateers, yet I cannot help further suggesting, that there is no doubt but that we have too many here who neither want the disposition nor opportunity to give an account of our nakedness to Spain, and that it may be a temptation to the enemy, if it be only for the disgrace of the thing, to come and insult us in the very harbour of Dublin." And on the sixth of July, 1727, after the king's death, he complained, in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, of the jacobitism of Trinity College; "The power he [Dr. Baldwin, provost of Trinity College] has, is indeed beyond anything any head of a college has in Oxford, but is all little enough to keep the college here from being a seminary of jacobitism, through the strength of a faction in the college against him." All these circumstances show sufficiently that, during the reign of George I. there was a strong jacobite agitation in Ireland.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTINUED DISPUTES RELATING TO THE DEPENDENCE OF IRELAND
ON ENGLAND; WOOD'S HALF-PENCE.



GENERALLY speaking, when the annalists and writers of the period now under review talk of the people of Ireland, they embrace under that term only the protestant population of the island, for the catholics were hardly looked upon as entitled to rank under the same appellation. It was the two divisions of the protestants of Ireland, whether under the title of whigs and tories, or of low church and high church, whose quarrels and intrigues were alone considered of any public importance. The tories, who had been particularly overbearing in their conduct to the whigs and dissenters during their short triumph at the end of the late reign, were completely subdued under George I., and were treated with somewhat of the same animosity which

they had before shown to their political enemies. They took their revenge in a bitter opposition to the measure of government, and, forming themselves into a party which assumed the name of "the patriots," they revived all the subjects of complaint which were so abundantly furnished by the condition of that unhappy country. Dublin thus became, both in parliament and out of parliament, a scene of everlasting faction, which was encouraged by the absence of the lord lieutenant, who seldom went to Ireland unless his presence were required to carry through some measures of special importance to the minister in England.

Among subjects of contention thus brought into debate, the question of the independence of the Irish parliament was now revived with considerable animosity. It arose in 1719, from a private cause which threw the legislative bodies of the two countries

into direct collision. A dispute between Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesly, relating to an estate, was tried before the Irish court of exchequer, and judgment was given in favour of the latter, which, on the appeal of Sherlock, was reversed by the Irish house of lords. Annesly appealed from their sentence to the English house of peers, who confirmed the judgment of the Irish court of exchequer, and issued an order to put him in possession of the disputed estate. Sherlock immediately petitioned the Irish house of lords against this determination, and they, considering their dignity and privileges threatened, proposed to the consideration of the judges whether, by the laws of the land, an appeal lay from a decree of the court of exchequer in Ireland to the king in parliament in Great Britain, a question which the judges determined in the negative. The lords then resolved, that they would support their honour, jurisdiction, and privileges, by giving the petitioner, Hester Sherlock, effectual relief, pursuant to a former order; notwithstanding which, a petition was afterwards presented to the house by Alexander Burrowes, sheriff of Kildare, setting forth that his predecessor in office had put Hester Sherlock in possession of the premises; that, upon his entering into office, an injunction agreeably to an order of the English peers issued from the exchequer, commanding him to restore Maurice Annesly to the possession of the above-mentioned lands; that, not daring to act in contradiction to the order of the house, he was fined; and that, in consequence of this, being afraid lest he should be taken into custody, he durst not come in to pass his accounts, for which he was fined twelve hundred pounds. Upon this the lords resolved, "that Alexander Burrowes, esquire, in not obeying the injunction issued from his majesty's court of exchequer, in the cause between Annesly and Sherlock, had behaved himself with integrity and courage, and with due respect to the orders and resolutions of the house; that the fines imposed upon him be taken off; and that the barons of the exchequer, namely, Jeffrey Gilbert, esquire, John Pocklington, esquire, and sir John St. Leger, had acted in violation of the orders of that house, in diminution of the king's prerogative, as also of the rights and privileges of the kingdom of Ireland and the parliament thereof." Orders then passed the house, that the barons of the exchequer for this offence should be

taken into the custody of the black rod, which was accordingly done.

The lords then proceeded to vindicate their conduct in a declaration to be presented to the king, in which they represented that it appeared, by many ancient records and sundry acts of parliament, that the kings and principal men of Ireland did, without compulsion, submit to Henry II. as their liege lord, who, at the desire of the Irish, ordained that the laws of England should be of force and observed in that kingdom; that by this agreement, the Irish obtained the benefit of English law, with many other privileges, particularly that of having a distinct parliament, in which weighty and important matters relating to the kingdom were to be treated, discussed, and determined; that this concession and compact, ratified by succeeding kings, encouraged the English to come over and settle in Ireland, where they were to enjoy the same laws, the same liberties, and a constitution similar to that of England; that, by this constitution, and these privileges, his majesty's subjects had been enabled to discharge their duty faithfully to the crown, and therefore they insisted upon them, and hoped to have them preserved inviolable; that though the imperial crown of that realm were annexed to that of Great Britain, yet, being a distinct dominion, and being no part of the kingdom of England, none could determine with respect to the affairs of it, but such as were authorised by its known laws and customs, or the express consent of the king; that it was an invasion of his majesty's prerogative, and a grievance to his Irish subjects, for any court of judicature to take upon them to declare that he could not by his authority in parliament, determine all controversies between his subjects of that kingdom, or that when they appealed to his majesty in parliament in Ireland, they did not bring their cause before a competent judicature; that in relation to the removal of causes by appeal from that kingdom, the Irish judges being sometimes ignorant of the common law of England, which was the rule of their decisions, did apply to his majesty for information, which he gave them by the advice and with the assistance of the justices of the king's bench, who in ancient times constantly attended his person; that, when the king's bench came to be fixed, appeals were made to it, although the king were not present in person; that from hence it could not be inferred upon any ground,

that appeals from the parliament of Ireland might be brought before the house of peers in England. They represented that but two instances had ever occurred of appeals from the Irish court of chancery to the English peers prior to the revolution, and two instances subsequent to it, until the year 1703, none of which ought to affect the jurisdiction of the Irish lords; as, by the principles and nature of their constitution, whatever judicial powers were lodged in the British parliament, with respect to Great Britain and its inferior courts, the same must likewise be vested in the parliament of Ireland, with respect to that kingdom and its inferior courts; that therefore, in the year 1703, upon a complaint of the earl and countess of Meath, that, during the interval of parliament, an order of the English peers had dispossessed them of certain lands which had been decreed them here, the Irish parliament restored them effectually to the undisturbed possession of them; and that there was just reason to conclude that they would have acted in the same manner respecting an appeal of the bishop of Derry, had he not been removed, and a composition made by his successor with the London society prevented it. They went on to state the appeal of Maurice Annesly from their judgment, with all the particulars of the interference of the English lords in that cause injurious to their privileges, representing the pernicious consequences of this usurped jurisdiction of the British peers, and observing to his majesty, that it was the right and happiness of his subjects in that kingdom as well as in Great Britain, that by their respective constitutions justice was administered to them without much trouble or expense in the kingdom to which they belonged; but if his majesty were deprived of the power of finally determining causes in his court of parliament in Ireland, those who were unable to follow them to Great Britain, must submit to whatever wrongs they might suffer from the more rich and powerful. They further represented, that if all judgments made in his majesty's highest court within that kingdom were subject to be reversed by the house of lords in Great Britain, the liberty and property of all his subjects of Ireland must thereby become finally dependent on the British peers, to the great diminution of that dependence which by law they ought always to have on the English crown; that if the interference of the English lords in receiving appeals

from Ireland should be recognised and supported, it would deprive his majesty of the power of determining causes in his parliament of that country, and confine it entirely to the parliament of Great Britain; that the writs for summoning the lords and commons in both countries being the same, they must in each kingdom be possessed of equal powers, or else the peerage of their nation would be little more than an empty title, and the commons stand for ever deprived of the privilege of impeaching in parliament, which right could not possibly be maintained, if there were not within the realm a parliamentary judicature; that if the power of judicature could by a vote of the British lords be taken away from the parliament of Ireland, no reason could be given why the same lords might not in the same manner deprive them of the benefit of their whole constitution; that the peers of Great Britain had not in themselves any way, either by law or custom, of executing their decrees in Ireland, which could only be accomplished by an extraordinary exertion of royal power that must be highly prejudicial to the liberties of the Irish nation. They informed his majesty, in conclusion, that to prevent the appellant, Hester Sherlock, from making further application to the Irish parliament, his deputy-receiver had paid her the sum of above eighteen hundred pounds, which he expected would be refunded by government, to the prejudice of his majesty's subjects; and that these proceedings of the English peers had greatly embarrassed his parliament of Ireland, disgusted the generality of his loyal subjects, and must of necessity expose all sheriffs and officers of justice to the greatest hardships, by such interference of different jurisdictions. They hoped that, all these things being duly considered, his majesty would justify the steps they had taken for supporting his prerogative, and the just rights and liberties of themselves and their fellow-subjects.

Some of these arguments seemed more specious than real, especially since the avowal by Irish parliaments of the close dependence of Ireland upon England, and the Irish lords appear to have gained nothing by dragging in the king as a party to their quarrel. Their declaration was laid before the British house of lords and read; and the latter, instead of departing from the line of conduct they had hitherto pursued, resolved that the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, in their proceedings in the cause

between Annesly and Sherlock, in obedience to their orders, had acted with courage according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain; and that a humble address be presented to his majesty, to confer on them some mark of his royal favour, as a recompense for the injuries they had received by being unjustly censured and illegally imprisoned for doing their duty. The English lords then proceeded to a further step for asserting their superior authority, by ordering a bill to be brought in for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain. This bill, which was very brief, began by assuming that "attempts had been lately made to shake off the subjection of Ireland unto and dependence upon the imperial crown of this realm, which will be of dangerous consequence to Great Britain and Ireland;" adding that "the lords of Ireland, in order thereto, have of late against law assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice in the kingdom of Ireland." It was therefore enacted, "for the better securing of the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain," that "the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed therunto; and that the king's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland. And be it further enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the house of lords of Ireland have not nor of right ought to have any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

This bill passed into a law, though not without some warm opposition. In the lords, the duke of Leeds entered a protest against the resolutions of the house which led to it; and in the commons it was opposed by Mr. Pitt, who said, it seemed

calculated for no other purpose than to increase the power of the British house of peers, which, in his opinion, was already but too great. He was followed on the same side by Mr. Walter Plummer, lord Molesworth, lord Tyrconnell, and others; but on a division the bill was carried by a hundred and forty against eighty-three.*

The Irish parliament was at this time distinguishing itself by acts of indulgence towards the dissenters. The commons, in 1719, addressed the king in their favour, in reply to which, he stated, that he was "glad to find them sensible of the danger of the established church of Ireland, from the great number of papists, and other disaffected persons, hoping this consideration will incline them to enter upon such methods as may make the protestant dissenters not only more easy, but also more useful to the support of the constitution, both in church and state, and will prove a great addition of strength to the protestant interest." Accordingly, an act was passed in the same session, for exempting the protestant dissenters of that kingdom from certain penalties to which they were then subject; in the preamble to which his hope was expressed, that "the granting some ease and indulgence to the protestant dissenters in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite his majesty's protestant subjects." When the lord lieutenant, who at that time was the duke of Grafton, closed the session, his speech contained an expression which seemed to indicate a more conciliatory spirit towards the catholics. "The advanced season of the year," he said, "makes it proper to put an end to this session, that you may have an opportunity to take care of the public peace in your several counties, and so keep a vigilant eye over those who may have a desire to disturb it; but of this you will have less occasion to be apprehensive, if you shall use your endeavours to cultivate that which will be your best security against all foreign and domestic enemies, and which for that reason I must in a special manner recommend to you in the words of one of those excellent bills passed this day; I mean, an union in interest and affection amongst *all* his majesty's subjects." The bill alluded to was that for the relief of the dissenters, and we might be almost inclined to doubt whether the catholics of Ireland

* I have taken the account of this dispute almost verbatim from Plowden's *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*.

were intended to be included under the title of the king's subjects, for the jealousy with which the government looked upon them seemed to be increasing. At the close of the next session, the same lord lieutenant said to the parliament, "I persuade myself that the same principles which have influenced your actions in parliament, will excite you to put the laws in execution when you return to your several counties. I think it incumbent upon me particularly to recommend it to you to keep a watchful eye over the papists, since I have reason to believe that the number of popish priests is daily increasing in this kingdom, and already far exceeds what, by the indulgence of the law, is allowed."

The Irish parliament in 1723 was opened again with a speech in a similar spirit, in which lord Grafton said, "I cannot but think it a matter deserving your serious attention, to provide some laws for the further strengthening of the protestant interest of this kingdom, particularly for preventing more effectually the eluding of those in being against popish priests, it being too notorious that the number of such is of late greatly increased." In accordance with this recommendation, a committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the growth of popery, and the most effectual means of preventing it. The result of their deliberations was embodied in eight resolutions, which were: "1. That it is the opinion of this committee that popery has greatly increased within these few years in this kingdom, occasioned by the many ways found out and practised by the papists to evade the several laws already made to prevent the further growth of popery. 2. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the neglect of several magistrates and officers of the peace in executing the laws against papists has greatly contributed to the growth of popery. 3. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the recommending of persons converted from the popish religion, by which they may be put too early into the commissions of peace, is highly prejudicial to the protestant interest of this kingdom. 4. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly prejudicial to the protestant interest, and an encouragement to popery, that any person married to a popish wife should bear any office or employment under his majesty. 5. That it is the opinion of this committee, that no person who is or shall become a convert from the popish to the protestant religion, ought to be capable of any office or

employment under his majesty, unless he shall breed up all his children to the age of fourteen years to be of the church of Ireland as by law established. 6. That it is the opinion of this committee, that no person that is or shall be converted from the popish to the protestant religion be capable of any office or employment under his majesty, or practise as a barrister, attorney, or solicitor, for the space of seven years after his conversion; and unless he brings a certificate of having received the sacrament thrice in every year during the same term. 7. That it is the opinion of this committee, that no person who is or shall be converted from the popish religion ought to be deemed or taken as a protestant in any respect whatsoever, that has not already, or shall not within a year, produce a certificate of his conversion, and enrol the same. 8. That it is the opinion of this committee, that notwithstanding the laws now in being against popery, the number of popish priests and friars has of late years increased in this kingdom, to the danger of the protestant religion."

These resolutions were agreed to by the house of commons, and leave was given to bring in heads of a bill for explaining and amending the acts to prevent the further growth of popery, and for strengthening the protestant interest in that kingdom. Thus was introduced a new penal statute much more severe than those which already existed, as may be judged from the circumstance that one clause ordered every catholic priest who should be found within the realm to be emasculated. This bill was presented by the commons to the lord lieutenant on the 15th of November, 1723, and they most earnestly requested his grace to recommend the same in the most effectual manner to his majesty, humbly hoping, from his majesty's goodness, and his grace's zeal for his service and the protestant interest of that kingdom, the same might be obtained to pass into a law. The lord lieutenant assured them of his concurrence with their wishes, but the bill was received in England with indignation, and was suppressed. Grafton prorogued the parliament with a speech, in which he ascribed the failure of this bill to its having been brought in at so advanced a period of the session, and he recommended to them a more vigorous execution of the penal laws against the catholics, and assured them that he would contribute his part, by giving strict directions that henceforward such persons only should be put into the

commission of the peace as had distinguished themselves by their fidelity to his majesty, and by their steady adherence to the protestant interest.

The catholics, as far as we can discover, were very far from being at this time in a condition to give the protestant government any serious uneasiness, and it is probable that these continual declarations of danger were designed chiefly to alarm the tory opposition, and make its leaders believe that their own interests required them to support the present government. It seems, however, that the tories or high church party paid little heed to those threats, in their eagerness to embarrass the party in power with every popular question which could be raised up as an instrument of faction, for we can hardly doubt that faction rather than patriotism was the real motive of their actions, though they professed the contrary. Immediately after the failure of this attempt to increase the severity of the penal statutes against the catholics, a new subject of agitation arose, which was made the most of by the party who termed themselves the patriots. Ireland had been many years without a small copper coinage, and the want of halfpence and farthings had been felt so much that on several occasions application had been made to the English government, though in vain, for liberty to coin new ones. At last, in 1723, a patent, under the broad seal, was given to an Englishman named William Wood, for furnishing Ireland with the copper currency of which it was deficient, and he was authorised to coin ninety thousand pounds in copper for the use of that kingdom. No sooner did the news of Wood's patent get abroad than a violent clamour was raised against his coin. It was said that Wood's halfpence were made so small, and of such base metal, that the whole ninety thousand pounds were not worth in real value more than eight or nine thousand; and it was further represented that there was nothing to hinder Wood from exceeding the terms of his patent with regard to the quantity of his coinage, and that the kingdom would be deluged with this base money, in exchange for which it would be exhausted of its real wealth. The parliament, which met in September, took up the cry, passed a series of resolutions against Wood's money, and addresses on the subject were presented by both houses to the king. The commons represented to him that the importing and uttering the copper farthings

and halfpence by virtue of the patent lately granted to William Wood under the great seal of England, would be highly prejudicial to his majesty's revenue, destructive of the trade and commerce of that nation, and of the most dangerous consequence to the properties of the subject. They were fully convinced, they said, "from the tender regard his majesty had always expressed for their welfare and prosperity, that this patent could not have been obtained had not William Wood and his accomplices greatly misrepresented the state of this nation to his majesty; it having appeared to them, by examinations taken in the most solemn manner, that though the terms thereof had been strictly complied with, there would have been a loss to this nation of at least a hundred and fifty per cent. by means of the said coinage, and a much greater in the manner the said halfpence have been coined." They informed him "That the said William Wood had been guilty of a most notorious fraud and deceit in coining the said halfpence, having, under colour of the powers granted unto him, imported and endeavoured to utter great quantities of different impressions and of much less weight than was required by the said patent." They professed to have found by experience "that the granting the power or privilege of coining money, or tokens to pass for money, to private persons, had been highly detrimental to his loyal Irish subjects;" that they were "apprehensive that the vesting such power in any body politic or corporate, or any private person or persons whatsoever, would be always of dangerous consequence to the kingdom," and entreated "that whenever he should hereafter think it necessary to coin any farthings or halfpence, the same might be made as near the intrinsic value as possible, and that whatever profit should accrue thereby might be applied to the public service." They, therefore, beseeched the king, in the present case, to give directions "to prevent the fatal effects of uttering any farthings or halfpence pursuant to the said patent."

The address of the lords was, if possible, more severe than that of the commons. They said "We, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, are under the utmost concern to find, that our duty to your majesty and our country indispensibly calls upon us to acquaint your majesty with the ill consequences which will inevitably follow from a patent for coining halfpence and farthings to be uttered in this kingdom,

obtained under the great seal of Great Britain, by one William Wood, *in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by a gross misrepresentation of the state of this kingdom.* We are most humbly of opinion, that the diminution of your majesty's revenue, the ruin of our trade, and the impoverishing of your people, must unavoidably attend this undertaking; and we beg leave to observe to your majesty, that from the most exact inquiries and computations we have been able to make, it appears to us, that the gain to William Wood will be excessive, and the loss to this kingdom, by circulating this base coin, greater than this poor country is able to bear." The king replied coldly, "His majesty is very much concerned to see that his granting the patent for coining halfpence and farthings, agreeable to the practice of his royal predecessors, has given so much uneasiness to the house of lords; and if there have been any abuses committed by the patentee, his majesty will give the necessary orders for inquiring into and punishing those abuses, and will do everything that is in his power for the satisfaction of his people."

Wood appears to have been supported by strong influence in England, and it was soon known that he was proceeding with his coinage, and that the petitions of the houses of parliament had been in vain. The clamour now increased, and produced a multitude of pamphlets, ballads, and caricatures. Among these productions, the most remarkable were the celebrated *Draper's Letters*, by Dean Swift, who took a very active part in this agitation. The first of these letters was addressed "to the tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, and common people in general of the kingdom of Ireland;" and is a very able address to the passions and sentiments of the multitude. Under the fictitious character of a draper of Dublin, Swift began by assuring his countrymen that the subject to which he was calling their attention was, "next to their duty to God and the care of their salvation, of the greatest concern to themselves and their children," inasmuch as their "bread and clothing, and every common necessary of life, entirely depended upon it." After having described the object of the patent granted to Wood, whom he describes as "a mean ordinary man, a hard-ware dealer," "Now you must know," he says, "that the halfpence and farthings in England pass for very little more than they are worth; and if you should

beat them in pieces, and sell them to the brazier, you would not lose above a penny in a shilling. But Mr. Wood made his halfpence of such base metal, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brazier would not give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his; so that this sum of four-score and ten thousand pounds in good gold and silver, must be given for trash that will not be worth above eight or nine thousand pounds real value. But this is not the worst, for Mr. Wood, when he pleases, may by stealth send over another and another four-score and ten thousand pounds, and buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve under the value. For example, if a hatter sells a dozen of hats for five shillings apiece, which amounts to three pounds, and receives the payment in Mr. Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of five shillings."

"Perhaps," continues the pretended draper, "you will wonder how such an ordinary fellow as this Mr. Wood could have so much interest as to get his Majesty's broad seal for so great a sum of bad money, to be sent to this poor country, and that all the nobility and gentry here could not obtain the same favour, and let us make our own halfpence, as we used to do. Now I will make that matter very plain. We are at a great distance from the king's court, and have nobody there to solicit for us, although a great number of lords and squires, whose estates are here, and are our countrymen, spend all their lives and fortunes there. But this same Mr. Wood was able to attend constantly for his own interest; he is an Englishman and had great friends, and it seems knew very well where to give money to those that would speak to others that could speak to the king and could tell a fair story. And his majesty, and perhaps the great lord or lords who advised him, might think it was for our country's good; and so, as the lawyers express it, the king was deceived in his grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am sure if his majesty knew that such a patent, if it should take effect according to the desire of Mr. Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given such great proofs of its loyalty, he would immediately recal it, and perhaps show his displeasure to somebody or other; but a word to the wise is enough. Most of you must have heard, with what anger our honourable house of commons received an account of this Wood's patent. There were

several fine speeches made upon it, and plain proofs that it was all a wicked cheat from the bottom to the top, and several smart votes were printed, which that same Wood had the assurance to answer likewise in print, and in so confident a way, as if he were a better man than our whole parliament put together."

It appears that Wood's money when put in circulation, had been refused by the collectors of the customs, and that the patentee was now endeavouring to obtain an order to make it current in government payments. "Wood is still working under-hand," said the draper, "to force his halfpence upon us, and if he can by help of his friends in England prevail so far as to get an order, that the commissioners and collectors of the king's money shall receive them, and that the army is to be paid with them, then he thinks his work shall be done. And this is the difficulty you will be under in such a case: for the common soldier, when he goes to the market or alehouse will offer this money, and, if it be refused, perhaps he will swagger and hector, and threaten to beat the butcher or alewife, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad halfpence. In this and the like cases, the shopkeeper, or victualler, or any other tradesman, has no more to do than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money; for example, twenty pence of that money for a quart of ale, and so in all things else, and not part with his goods till he gets the money. For suppose you go to an alehouse with the base money, and the landlord gives you a quart for four of these halfpence, what must the victualler do? His brewer will not be paid in that coin, or if the brewer should be such a fool, the farmers will not take it from them for their beer, because they are bound by their leases to pay their rents in good and lawful money of England, which this is not, nor of Ireland neither, and the squire, their landlord, will never be so bewitched to take such trash for his land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and wherever it stops it is the same thing, and we are all undone."

The draper's estimate of the inconveniences that would arise from this coin becoming the principal currency of the island, after the good money had been drained out in exchange for it, is equally homely. "The common weight of these halfpence is between four and five to an ounce; suppose five, then three shillings and fourpence will

weigh a pound, and consequently twenty shillings will weigh six pounds butter weight. Now there are many hundred farmers who pay two hundred pounds a-year rent, therefore, when one of these farmers comes with his half-year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, it will be at least six hundred pounds weight, which is three horses load. If a squire has a mind to come to town to buy clothes, and wine, and spices, for himself and family, or perhaps to pass the winter here, he must bring with him five or six horses laden with sacks, as the farmers bring their corn; and when his lady comes in her coach to our shops, it must be followed by a car loaded with Mr. Wood's money. And I hope we shall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth. They say squire Conolly has sixteen thousand pounds a-year; now if he sends for his rent to town, as it is likely he does, he must have two hundred and fifty horses to bring up his half-year's rent, and two or three great cellars in his house for stowage. But what the bankers will do I cannot tell. For I am assured, that some great bankers keep by them forty thousand pounds in ready cash, to answer all payments, which sum, in Mr. Wood's money, would require twelve hundred horses to carry it."

"The current money of this kingdom," the draper proceeds to state, "is not reckoned to be above four hundred thousand pounds in all; and while there is a silver sixpence left, those blood-suckers will never be quit. When once the kingdom is reduced to such a condition (*i. e.* when all the good money has been drawn off, and Wood's coinage substituted in place of it) I will tell you what must be the end. The gentlemen of estate will all turn off their tenants for want of payment, because, as I told you before, the tenants are obliged by their leases to pay sterling, which is lawful current money in England; then they will turn their own farmers, as *too many of them do already*, run all into sheep where they can, keeping only such other cattle as are necessary; then they will be their own merchants, and send their wool, and butter, and hides, and linen, beyond sea for ready money, and wine, and spices, and silks. They will keep only a few miserable cottiers. The farmers must rob or beg, or leave their country. The shopkeepers in this and every other town must break and starve. For it is the landed man that maintains the merchant, and shopkeeper, and handicrafts-man. But when

the squire turns farmer and merchant himself, all the good money he gets from abroad he will hoard up to send for England, and keep some poor tailor, or weaver, and the like in his own house, who will be glad to get bread at any rate. I should never have done, if I were to tell you all the miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so foolish and wicked as to take this cursed coin. It would be very hard if all Ireland should be put into one scale, and this sorry fellow Wood into the other, that Mr. Wood should weigh down this whole kingdom, by which England gets above a million of good money every year clear into their pockets, and that is more than the English do by all the world besides."

After reciting opinions of lawyers on this subject, the draper concludes, "I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you in short what the law obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to. First, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the king, and is of the English standard or weight, provided it be of gold or silver. Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of gold or silver, not only the halfpence and farthings of England, or of any other country; and it is only for convenience or ease, that you are content to take them, because the custom of coining silver halfpence and farthings hath long been left off, I will suppose on account of their being subject to be lost. Thirdly, much less are we obliged to take those vile halfpence of that same Wood, by which you must lose almost eleven pence in every shilling. Therefore, my friends, stand to it one and all, refuse this filthy trash; it is no treason to rebel against Mr. Wood; his majesty, in his patent, obliges nobody to take these halfpence; our gracious prince hath no so ill advisers about him: or, if he had, yet you see the laws have not left it in the king's power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right standard, gold and silver; therefore you have nothing to fear. And let me, in the next place, apply myself particularly to you who are the poor sort of tradesmen. Perhaps you may think you will not be so great losers as the rich, if these halfpence should pass, because you seldom see any silver, and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but brass, which you likewise find hard to be got; but you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you,

you will be utterly undone. If you carry those halfpence to a shop for tobacco or brandy, or any other thing you want, the shopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave the key under the door. Do you think I will sell you a yard of tenpenny stuff for twenty of Mr. Wood's halfpence? No, not under two hundred, at least; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump. I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr. Wood's project should take, it would ruin even our beggars; for when I give a beggar a halfpenny, it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a halfpenny will do him no more service than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve. In short those halfpence are like the accursed thing, which, as the Scripture tells us, the children of Israel were forbidden to touch; they will run about like the plague, and destroy every one who lays his hands upon them." The facetious pamphleteer adds, in a postscript,— "N.B. The author of this paper, is informed by persons who have made it their business to be exact in their observations on the true value of these halfpence, that any person may expect to get a quart of two-penny ale for thirty-six of them!"

In the mean while the clamours raised by such publications as this, and the address of the Irish parliament, had caused some alarm to the English ministers, and it was found necessary to take some steps with respect to defending or recalling the patent. A committee of the privy council was appointed to listen to the complaints sent over from Ireland, and examine into their truth. A message was at the same time dispatched to the lord lieutenant, "that he should give directions for sending over such papers and witnesses as should be thought proper to support the objections made against the patent, and against the patentee, in the execution of the powers given him by the patent." The letter conveying these orders was dated on the 10th of March, 1721; on the 20th of the same month the lord lieutenant wrote to represent the great difficulty which hindered his complying with them; and four days after he wrote again, declining to send over any persons, papers, or materials whatever, to substantiate the complaint against Wood and his patent. He said that he had consulted the principal members of both houses, who were members of the privy-council, or otherwise in the king's service, and that

"none of them would take upon them to advise how any material persons or papers might be sent over on this occasion; but they all seemed apprehensive of the ill temper any miscarriage in a trial upon *scire facias* brought against the patentee might occasion in both houses, if the evidence were not laid as full before a jury as it was before them." This proceeding, to use the words of the committee, "seemed very extraordinary, that in a matter that had raised so great and universal a clamour in Ireland, no one person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in support of the united sense of both houses of parliament of Ireland; that no papers, no materials, no evidence whatsoever of the mischiefs arising from this patent, or of the notorious frauds and deceit committed in the execution of it, could now be had." The king accordingly repeated his orders to the lord lieutenant, "that by persuasion and making proper allowances for their expenses, new endeavours might be used to procure and send over such witnesses as should be thought material to make good the charge against the patent." The answer was the same as before; the discontented party were satisfied with the evidence they professed to have heard, but they would not send it over to England; and the committee of the privy-council could only proceed to an examination of the money itself. A report was made by sir Isaac Newton and other officers of the mint, which was, "That the pix of the copper monies coined at Bristol by Mr. Wood for Ireland, containing the trial pieces, which was sealed and locked up at the time of coining, was opened at your majesty's mint, at the Tower; that the comptroller's account of the quantities of halfpence and farthings coined agreed with Mr. Wood's account, amounting to fifty-nine tons, three hundred one quarter eleven pounds and four ounces; that by the specimens of this coinage, which had from time to time been taken from the several parcels coined and sealed up in papers, and put into the pix, sixty halfpence weighed fourteen ounces troy and eighteen pennyweight, which is about a quarter of an ounce above one pound weight avoirdupois; and thirty farthings weighed three ounces and three quarters of an ounce troy and forty-six grains, which is also above the weight required by the patent. It also appears, that both halfpence and farthings when heated red hot, spread thin under the hammer without cracking; that the

copper of which Mr. Wood's coinage is made, is of the same goodness and value with the copper of which the copper money is coined in your majesty's mint for England; and worth in the market about thirteen pence per pound avoirdupois; that a pound of copper wrought into bars, or fillets, and made fit for coinage, before brought into the mint at the Tower of London, is worth eighteen-pence per pound, and always cost as much, and is coined into twenty-three pence of copper money, by tale for England. It likewise appears, that the halfpence and farthings coined by Mr. Wood, when compared with the copper money coined for Ireland in the reigns of king Charles II., king James II., and king William and Mary, considerably exceeds them all in weight, very far exceeds them all in goodness, fineness, and value of the copper; none of them bearing the fire so well, not being malleable, wasting very much on the fire, and great part of them burning into cinder of little or no value at all; specimens of all which, as likewise of Mr. Wood's copper money, upon trials and assays made by sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Southwell, and Mr. Scrope, were laid before this committee for their information."

The result of the inquiries of the committee of the privy council seems to have made it satisfactory enough, that the charges which had been made against Mr. Wood and his coinage were entirely without foundation. But in truth it had been made a party question, a popular ground of agitation for the political faction opposed to the one which was now in power, of which Swift was the unscrupulous advocate. It was evident that, from the sort of control to which Wood was subjected, he could not at will exceed the quantity of the coinage which was fixed by his patent; and instead of desiring to do this, he voluntarily offered to limit his coinage to forty thousand pounds instead of ninety. But this was not what the "patriots" wanted; they determined that the coinage should not be struck in England, and above all they resolved to thwart the whig government. The publication of the report of the privy council produced a second *Draper's Letter* from Swift, if possible more disingenuous and more bitter than the former, but equally calculated to work upon the popular feelings. Its general tone may be imagined from the observations on the assay which had been made by the officers of the mint. "How impudent and insupportable," says Swift's draper, "is this?

Wood takes care to coin a dozen or two halfpence of good metal, sends them to the Tower, and they are approved, and these must answer all that he hath already coined or shall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gentleman often sends to my shop for a pattern of stuff, I cut it fairly off, and if he likes it, he comes or sends and compares the pattern with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy a hundred sheep, and the grazier should bring me one single wether, fat and well fleeced, by way of pattern, and expect the same price round for the whole hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good security to restore my money for those that were lean, or shorn, or scabby, I would be none of his customer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried a piece of brick in his pocket, which he showed as a pattern to encourage purchasers; and this is directly the case in point with Mr. Wood's *assay*."

There was manifestly an intention to deceive in this mode of argument. A third *Draper's Letter*, which followed immediately the second, and was addressed not as formerly to the middle and lower classes, but to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, entered into a more detailed consideration of the privy council, and was written in the same spirit. A fourth letter, addressed to the whole people of Ireland, was still more intemperate, and, entering rather boldly upon the definition of the king's prerogative, and other subjects, so far provoked the government as to draw upon it a judicial prosecution. In this, alluding to some of the subjects of dispute at that time between Ireland and England, Swift says: "One great merit I am sure we have, which those of English birth can have no pretence to, that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of England, for which we have been rewarded with a worse climate, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not consent, a ruined trade, a house of peers without jurisdiction, almost an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of Wood's halfpence."

A reward was offered for the discovery of the author of this fourth letter, and, as he remained concealed, a prosecution was ordered against the printer. It was well known that the letters were written by Swift, but no one would give evidence sufficient to convict him, and the punishment fell en-

tirely on the printer, against whom one grand jury refused to give a verdict, on which it was dismissed, and a new one more subservient to the government sworn. This was followed by a fifth *Draper's Letter* which was addressed to lord Molesworth, and entered more particularly into the question then much agitated, of the nature of the dependence of Ireland upon England, which Swift, in his previous letter, had treated in a manner peculiarly offensive to the English government.

There can be no doubt that this project of a copper coinage was objectionable, although there was nothing in it contrary to the practice of the royal prerogative; but the real evils to arise from it were no doubt much exaggerated in the popular outcry against it, and the latter would probably never have been heard if the subject had not been taken up by a faction. The lord primate, Boulter, who came over to Ireland as archbishop of Armagh, in the November of 1721, in the midst of the agitation on this subject, and who was strongly opposed to Swift's party, has left us in one of his letters a picture of the state in which he found the country. He wrote to the English minister, the duke of Newcastle, on the 3rd of December, 1721, "We are at present in a very bad state, and the people so poisoned with apprehensions of Wood's halfpence, that I do not see there can be any hopes of justice against any person for seditious writings, if he does but mix something about Wood in them. I must do the better sort of people here the justice to say, they speak with great concern of the imprudence of the grand juries and the ill stop to justice; but those who would hinder it now are unable. But all sorts here are determinately set against Wood's halfpence, and look upon their estates as half sunk in their value, whenever they shall pass upon the nation. Our pamphlets, and the discourses of some people of weight, run very much upon the independency of this kingdom; and in our present state that is a very popular notion. But others, who possibly have had a hand in raising this ferment at first, declare publicly against all such notions, professing the utmost loyalty to his majesty, and are very uneasy at the ill humour and insolent behaviour of the people. I am satisfied many here think ten or fifteen thousand pounds worth of halfpence would be of service, but they dare not say so to any Irishman; nor at present does there seem to be any way of composing matters,

all fearing, or pretending to fear, the parliament; and, except things cool a little, I am apt to think the parliament would fear the madness of the people. Though all people are equally set against Wood here, yet many of the present madnesses are supposed to come from papists mixing with and setting on others, with whom they formerly had no manner of correspondence."

The agitation about Wood's patent increasing rather than abating, the primate wrote again to the duke of Newcastle on the 19th of January, 1725, describing the animosities to which it had given rise. "It is now some weeks since I had the honour of writing to your grace, as I was desirous to learn as much as I could from all hands before I gave your grace the trouble of another letter. I have in the meantime made it my business to talk with several of the most leading men in parliament, and have employed others to pick up what they could learn from a variety of people; and I find by my own and others' inquiries, that the people of every religion, country, and party here, are alike set against Wood's halfpence, and that their agreement in this has had a very unhappy influence on the state of this nation, by bringing on intimacies between papists and jacobites and the whigs, who before had no correspondence with them; so that it is questioned whether (if there were occasion) justices of the peace could be found who would be strict in disarming the papists. The apprehension of the loss they shall suffer if these halfpence are introduced has too much cooled the zeal of numbers that were before very well affected; and it has appeared by some occurrences since my arrival, of which your grace had no doubt a particular account at the time they happened, and I fear on any new occasion it would still more appear, that the uneasiness against the halfpence is a protection for any sedition, uttered or published, that has anything against the halfpence intermixed with it. So that it is impossible for the government, in our present state, to have justice against any such delinquents, nor do I believe that any witnesses in such a prosecution could be safe in their persons. That there has been a great deal of art used to spread this general infection, and that the papists and jacobites have been very industrious in this affair for very bad ends, I find most of the men of sense here will allow. It is likewise certain, that some foolish and other ill-meaning people have taken this

opportunity of propagating a notion of the independency of this kingdom on that of England, but I must at the same time do justice to those of the best sense and estates here, that they abhor any such notion, and that they esteem the great security of all they have here to lie in their dependency on the kingdom as well as king of England. And I hope the folly of some, and the wickedness of others, in spreading such pernicious principles, will not provoke any on the other side of the water to take any angry steps to distress a nation where the protestants are generally well affected to his majesty, and where the title to their estates is visibly interwoven with that of his majesty to the crown, and where no great damage can be done them without sensibly hurting England; and I the rather hope so, because there are other methods of preventing any ill consequence of such notions, which are very obvious, and of which I shall, if desired, speak more particularly another time."

"At present," continues the primate, "I shall only proceed to acquaint your grace what are the apprehensions people generally have here of what they shall certainly suffer by the new halfpence being introduced, and which keep a spirit of uneasiness in them till the patent is absolutely sunk; for whilst that subsists, though not pushed into execution, 'tis considered here as a storm that will some day break over their heads. By the best computations or conjectures here, the current coin of this nation, in gold, silver, and copper, is thought not to exceed four hundred thousand pounds. The addition of forty thousand pounds in new copper to the present copper money, will make the copper money of this nation at least one-eighth of their whole specie. They think when the copper money is so considerable a part of the whole specie, it is impossible to keep it from making a sensible part in all payments, whether of rents, debts, or the purchase of goods; that if it be once admitted to have a currency, it will the more work its way into all payments, as men of substance in trade will be tempted by a premium (from the patentee) of twenty, thirty, or forty per cent. to force its currency among the meaner people; and they again can only pay their landlords and others in such as they receive; that (when, instead of serving for change, it enters into all payments), it will be impossible to hinder the Dutch or others from pouring in large quantities of counterfeit copper; that the consequence of this must be

the loss of our silver and gold, to the ruin of our trade and manufactures, and the sinking the rent of all the estates here. This is the substance of what the men of sense and estates here are fully possessed with. And when I tell them the copper money of England is considerably short of the intrinsic worth of what it goes for, and that yet I never could hear of any surmise of the Dutch pouring in any counterfeit copper there, nor was it ever attempted to make payments in copper there; what they answer is, that probably all the copper money there in being at once seldom exceeds one-hundredth part of the whole specie of money, and so is kept barely for use of change. I have been talking with them, whether there could not be room for admitting from ten to twenty thousand pounds in copper, which I have reason to believe they want, or at least that it would be a kindness to the nation if they had it. But they all agree, in the present ferment, it is impossible to admit any; and they all express a jealousy, that the admitting any new copper would open a door for such a quantity as would prove ruinous to this nation.

"These are the present notions of people here, which 'tis in vain to try to remove; and, as long as the fear of the new halfpence lasts, there is no hope of any peace and quiet in people's minds, and much less of any so much as decent proceedings if a parliament were to sit. This has made me talk further with the same persons, what compromise can be offered to have Wood's patent sunk. I have told them there can be no doubt but Wood must have been a very great sufferer by the obstructions he has already met with, and must be still a much greater if his patent be resigned; that I did not find anybody in England doubted of the legality of the grant; that where the patentee was not proved to have contravened the conditions of the grant, it could not in justice be revoked [to this they unanimously reply, that he has uttered worse than his patent allows] that Wood could not be supposed willing to resign it without a proper compensation; and that the seditious and clamorous behaviour of too many here must rather tend to provoke his majesty and his ministry to support the patent, than to take any extraordinary steps to sink it; and that, therefore the most proper way seemed to be, the proposing some reasonable amends to Mr. Wood, in order to his resigning the patent. What those of sense and interest in parlia-

ment, and that are well affected, all agree in is, that, while the fear of these halfpence hangs over this nation, it is impossible to have things easy here; but that they dare not offer any expedient, nor make any such proposals to those on the other side of the water, for fear of being fallen on, as undertaking for the parliament; but that if the ministry will please to make a computation of what it may be reasonable to give Mr. Wood for resigning his patent, and for his past losses, and to send an order from his majesty to pay anybody (really in trust for Mr. Wood, but without mentioning his name in the order) such a sum per annum for such a term of years as they judge a reasonable equivalent, they do not doubt being able in parliament to provide for such payment (if his patent has been first resigned), whatever suspicions there may be that the payment is to Mr. Wood, or whatever opposition is made to it in the house. And if the nation is gratified in this, they do not question but by degrees public justice will again flourish, and the former zeal for his majesty and family revive. And I cannot but say that without doing something like this, there is no prospect of any end of our present heats and animosities."

In spite of these recommendations, ministers in England seem to have hesitated, and the dread of Wood's halfpence continued to agitate Ireland during the summer of 1725. As the time approached for calling an Irish parliament, the necessity of adopting some decisive course became more apparent. On the third of July archbishop Boulter again pressed the recal of the patent, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle. "If," he said, "the dread of Wood's halfpence is effectually removed, I hardly doubt of a good issue of the sessions." Upon this requisition, after the country had been kept in a state of turbulent agitation for a year, tranquillity was at length restored by the revocation of the patent; and on the 4th of September the archbishop wrote to lord Townshend, to express his feeling of satisfaction at the course which had been followed. "I must acknowledge the obligations we all lie under here for your procuring so great an instance of his majesty's goodness as the revoking Wood's patent; I cannot say everybody here is as thankful as they ought to be on this occasion, but do not doubt but both houses will make the most profound return of gratitude to his majesty." Less than a week after this he said, in a letter to the duke of

Newcastle, "I can assure your grace that it was with the greatest pleasure I saw the exemplification of the surrender of Mr. Wood's patent at the council, because I am sure it will make his majesty's business go on smoothly in parliament, and quiet the minds of all his majesty's well-affected subjects here. His majesty's enemies, and those who want to be considerable by making an opposition to his majesty's business in parliament, could not disguise their looks enough not to show their great disappointment by this great instance of his majesty's goodness and condescension to this nation. And though some have laboured to disguise the fact, and given out that the patent was surrendered to my lord Abercorn, yet when the sessions [of parliament] open on Tuesday se'night, there will be no more room for deceiving the people as to the fact, and I am satisfied his majesty will then receive the utmost returns of gratitude from both houses, which will be no other than the sense and voice of all the people of this nation that do not wish for disturbances. I have discoursed with several members of parliament, who all express the utmost thankfulness for this signal instance of his majesty's favour, and give the greatest assurances of an easy session."

The only opposition the court experienced on this matter in parliament came from the house of lords, and not from the commons. "My lord lieutenant," says archbishop Boulter, "was pleased to appoint me to be the mover of an address to his majesty, upon his speech, and to prepare proper heads on that occasion. Accordingly, after his excellency's speech from the throne, I proposed an address, and in a short speech run through the several heads I thought proper, and then gave in a written resolution to be an instruction to the committee that were to draw up the address. Upon reading the resolution, after some opposition to the offering such a resolution in writing, his grace of Dublin proposed an amendment to the resolution, by inserting the words *great wisdom*, so that the part where they stood would have run thus, 'and to express the grateful sense they have of his majesty's great wisdom, royal favour, and condescension, in putting so effectual an end to the patent formerly granted to Mr. Wood,' &c. And the reason he gave was, in effect, that the ministry had been the authors of that patent, but that his majesty had been wise enough to see the ill conse-

quences of it, and so had revoked it. This I opposed, as declared to be intended as a reflection on the ministry, and so a debate ensued; but several of the house thinking it a compliment to his majesty to own his wisdom, and not seeing the impropriety of it, where we were thanking him for what we ought to ascribe to nothing but his goodness, his amendment was carried. On Wednesday I brought into the committee an address somewhat differing in form from the resolution of the house, and without the words *great wisdom*; but they insisting that the committee were bound down to those words as having been upon debate settled by the house, I was forced to add them. But as it appeared more in the committee that they were intended to reflect on the ministry, yesterday a motion was made in the house upon the report to leave them out of the address, and after a long debate (in which my lord Middleton laboured to revive the former heat about Wood's patent, and where he and others evidently showed those words were intended as a reflection) they were thrown out by twenty-one against twelve. I have in these debates done my part according to my abilities to support his majesty's service. I am sensible one thing that in part disposed some to be peevish, was the seeing an English primate here. My lord lieutenant was under great concern about this affair, that there should be an attempt against thanking his majesty in the more decent manner, and spoke to several of the lay lords to bring them to temper, without which we had been worsted."

Thus this troublesome business concluded, and Ireland was left for a moment without any considerable subject of agitation. But people's expectations of the ease with which the parliament would be managed were not fulfilled, for the opposition had gained, by the outcry against Wood's halfpence, a force and union which it had not known before. In fact it was this question which first gave extent and influence to the Irish patriotic party, which continued until the union to struggle against what we are obliged to call English misgovernment. They opposed the court on almost every question that was brought forward; and the court exclaimed against this opposition of what they termed the "discontented party" as an ungrateful return for the king's "condescension" in cancelling the patent for Wood's coinage. "I am concerned," said primate Boulter on the eleventh of November, 1725, "at the

ungrateful return here made to his majesty's late signal favour to us; but I hope all will end well, as the discontented party seem every day to lose ground in the house of commons; and I can assure your grace (he was writing to the duke of Newcastle) no endeavours are wanting in his majesty's friends and servants to open the eyes of the honest and well-meaning country gentlemen, who had been very much prepossessed by those that want to embarrass affairs here." On the sixteenth of the same month, he wrote again to the English minister, "I am very sorry that I must send your grace word that yesterday the discontented carried everything before them, and have falsely stated the debt of the nation, and (in effect) closed the committee of supply; and I am the more troubled at this behaviour of the commons, because it is so unworthy a return to his majesty's late goodness to us. The army is like to be in great distress by what they have done, to prevent which they talk of doing a most unjust and unreasonable thing, the voting that the payments of the civil list shall be postponed, to supply the exigencies of the army. Great pains have been taken by my lord lieutenant, and by all his majesty's servants and friends of consequence, to bring the members to reason, and much has been said in the house in debates on these occasions on the side of his majesty's service; but it was only saying that the carrying such a question would bring on new taxes, and the question, however true or reasonable in itself, was sure of being lost. My lord, I must take the liberty to acquaint your lordship, that the ill-success his majesty's affairs have met with, is owing to the indefatigable industry and art of two leading men of the house of commons; the interest of the first of them must every day decrease, as the father [lord Middleton] is now out of post and upon retiring to England, and as the son himself [the hon. St. John Brodrick] is far from being beloved here: the other has no personal interest, and, if he has not the support of a new place or new countenance, will soon sink in his weight. Whatever uneasiness is created here by any turbulent or designing persons, whilst his majesty and his ministers think proper any ways to employ me in the public service, will at least light as heavy upon me as anybody here; but I am very willing to undergo my share of any such trouble at any time, if no new encouragement is given to such doings by buying off any discontented persons here;

for if anybody is bought off, there will always arise a succession of people to make a disturbance every session; and there wants no accident here to furnish a bottom of popularity, every one having it always in his power to grow popular, by setting up for the Irish in opposition to the English interest. And there is no doubt but some occasion of things going, as they have, has been an unwillingness in too many to see an English administration well established here, and an intention to make all the English already here uneasy, and to deter others from coming hither. But if those who have places here, and yet have joined in the late measures, are remembered after the sessions, and if nobody finds his account in having headed the opposition made now to his majesty's service, I do not doubt but the face of affairs will here gradually alter, and we may hope that the next sessions will be more easy and successful."

It had now been long felt that a great difficulty in ruling Ireland as a viceroyalty consisted in the unavoidable factions which the nature of the government itself seemed to generate. If natives of Ireland were placed in office, nearly all who were out of place united together to oppose them, and the management of affairs was neither satisfactory nor advantageous to either country. When rulers and statesmen were sent over from England, they were too apt to act only for the advantage of England, or for the English interest (as it was termed), and then all parties of the natives were hostile to the court. This was the case at the time of which we are now treating; and the question of independence was in reality merely one of having English or Irish in the chief offices of state—the patriots were those out of office, and who were opposed to the English interest.

In February, 1726, the house met again after its adjournment, and as the renewed session approached, archbishop Boulter wrote (on the 10th of February) to the English minister thus:—"I hope," he said, "our bills that we have sent from hence will meet with all convenient dispatch at the council, that our sessions may be brought to a conclusion. I do not despair of seeing a vote of credit carried in the house of commons at our next meeting, which will make things pretty easy. The poor opposition that was made here on occasion of the last address to his majesty by Mr. Brodrick and his friends, has given a new spirit to the whigs, and

Mr. Speaker and others have assured me they will omit nothing in their power that may bring a good appearance of his majesty's friends together against the seventeenth of this month. The general report is, that dean Swift designs for England in a little time; and we do not question his endeavours to misrepresent his majesty's friends here, wherever he finds an opportunity. But he is so well known, as well as the disturbances he has been the fermenter of in this kingdom, that we are under no fear of his being able to dissuade any of his majesty's faithful servants, by anything that is known to come from him. But we could wish some eye were had to what he shall be attempting on your side of the water." The parliament met again, not much improved in temper, and on the 24th of February the primate wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury—"As our bills arrived here on Tuesday, the parliament met, according to their adjournment, on this day, to proceed on business, and the first thing done in both houses was acquainting them with his majesty's answer to their several addresses. In our house nothing happened, as nothing was expected; but in the house of commons (as his majesty in his answer expressed his hopes that they would take care to put the army in a condition for service, if there should be occasion) there came on a debate of several hours. What was designed to be carried there was an address to his majesty to apply so much of the money given this session of parliament as might pay two years' interest, at seven per cent., of the arrears of the army from Midsummer, 1724, to Midsummer, 1725, and likewise two years' interest of the arrears due to the half-pay officers from Christmas, 1724, to Midsummer, 1725. The arrears of the army for the time mentioned amount to about fifty-one thousand pounds; the arrears due to the half-pay officers for the six months amount to about eleven thousand pounds; and there would then have been left due near nine months to both of them. But after great debates, it was found it would be but by a small majority things could be carried in that way, and that much the same thing could be compassed in another way, into which the house came at last without a division; which was to address his majesty to apply ten thousand pounds for the use of the army, in what manner he shall think proper; so that what is understood here is, that their several debentures for the time

mentioned will be struck so as to carry interest for two years; and there is no doubt but the officers will then be able to part with them as ready money. I think they have likewise engaged to provide for these ten thousand pounds, together with the arrears themselves that shall be found then standing out, at the next sessions of parliament. I was willing to send your grace an account of this, as being the best thing that was passed in the house this sessions, though with as ill a grace and with as perverse an opposition as such a thing could be done with." On the 22nd of March, the archbishop announced the close of the session. "We have, indeed," he said, "at last put a pretty good end to a troublesome session of parliament; but without somewhat done to show that the opposing his majesty's service here is not the way to make court in England, we can hardly fail of having as uneasy a sessions the next. In obedience to his majesty's letter upon the address of the commons here, my lord lieutenant is issuing the debentures of the army for one year, and of the half-pay officers for six months, so as to carry quarterly payments of interest for two years from Christmas last, till the parliament meets again to pay off the principal; and I hope those arrears will, by this method, be circulated for those two years, whilst the current service is answered by the revenue coming in in the mean time. But I cannot but observe that those who have made the great disturbance in parliament, are as busy now in frightening the bankers and other monied men from having anything to do with these warrants, and advancing any money upon them, as they were in hindering the payment of our debts in the house. I hope it will be without any effect; but I think their past and present behaviour requires that the government should show their resentment of such proceedings; and the more so, because one of the arts by which they have drawn too many well-meaning members to join with them in parliament, has been, telling them that by their opposition they were making court on the other side of the water. I am very sensible that by the language some from hence, who talked in that way, have met with at their arrival in England from the ministry, they know the contrary. But the country gentlemen here will never be persuaded of this, but by seeing those men turned out of our privy council. And I would hope that the disobliging two or three members of the

house of commons in England, will not be thought of greater consequence than the keeping things quiet here by showing a just displeasure against those who would embroil this kingdom."

Thus, amidst the heats generated by a powerful and violent opposition in parlia-

ment, with a widely-extending spirit of discontent among the Irish people, and with new apprehensions of the designs of papists and foreign enemies, the reign of the first monarch of the house of Hanover came to a close.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF IRELAND AT THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.



It will not be unprofitable to consider for a moment the condition of Ireland at the time of which we are now writing, as represented in the political writings of Swift, one of the most prominent and most violent advocates of the then Irish party. In these writings we see the popular objects of complaint put boldly forward, many of them new, and most of them growing out of the political state of the country which had sprung from the revolution. Most of the old griefs of Ireland, especially those arising from the turbulence of the Irish chiefs, had disappeared.

Foremost in the list of present grievances was the canker of absenteeism, which drained the country of its money and strength. The custom for men of estates to live and spend their incomes in London had become so general, that it was calculated that not less than one-third of the whole income of Ireland was drawn annually into England for their support. "Upon this subject of perpetual absentees," says Swift, banteringly in one of his *Draper's Letters*, "I have spent some time in very insignificant reflections; and, considering the usual motives of human actions, which are pleasure, profit, and ambition, I cannot yet comprehend how those persons find their account in any of the three. I speak not of those English peers or gentlemen, who, besides their estates at home, have possessions here, for in that case the matter is desperate; but I mean those lords and wealthy knights or squires whose birth, and partly their education, and all their fortune (except some trifle, and that in a very few instances) are in this kingdom.

I knew many of them well enough during several years, when I resided in England; and truly I could not discover that the figure they made was by any means a subject for envy, at least it gave me two very different passions. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an opera, or sometimes appearing behind a crowd at court, or adding to the ring of coaches in Hyde Park, or losing their money at the chocolate-house, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in Dublin, I say, besides these, and a few other privileges of less importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I used to wonder, how a man of birth and spirit could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a foreign country, when he might live with lustre in his own; and even at less than half that expense which he strains himself to make, without obtaining any one end, except that which happened to the frog when he would need contend for size with the ox. I have been told by scholars, that Cæsar said he would rather be the first man in I know not what village, than the second in Rome. This, perhaps, was a thought only fit for Cæsar; but to be preceded by thousands and neglected by millions, to be wholly without power, figure, influence, honour, credit, or distinction, is not in my poor opinion a very amiable situation of life to a person of title or wealth, who can so cheaply and easily shine in his native country. But, besides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country seats and plantations, the cutting down all the woods to supply expenses in England; the absence of so many

noble and wealthy persons hath been the cause of another fatal consequence, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that very considerable number of lords, who possess the ablest fortunes here, had been content to live at home, and attend the affairs of their country in parliament, the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble house, would in all human probability have prevented certain proceedings, which are now ever to be lamented, because they never can be remedied; and we might have then decided our own properties among ourselves, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by sea and land to another kingdom for justice, to our infinite expense, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of servitude without example, from the practice of any age or nation in the world."

The question of absenteeism was much discussed in the closing years of the reign of George I., and at the commencement of that of his successor, and several pamphlets on the subject appeared. Some proposed that a heavy tax should be levied on the incomes of those who lived abroad, for all agreed upon the numerous evils which arose from it. With landlords who lived at a distance and in a way which obliged them to raise the highest possible rents from their estates, their tenants were distressed and left to the mercy of agents and stewards, agriculture itself was discouraged, and the country was filled with poverty. Improvements had been going on in all parts of Ireland previous to the revolution, but these were now in many cases relinquished, and in few were they pursued with any vigour. "The exaction of landlords hath indeed been a grievance of above twenty years' standing," says Swift, in one of his political tracts, published in 1729, "but as to what you object about the severe clauses relating to the improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other side; for the landlords, either by their ignorance or greediness of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter so ill, as we see by experience that there is not one tenant in five hundred who hath made any improvement worth mentioning; for which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and desolation; the cabins of the Scotch themselves, in Ulster, being as dirty and miserable as those of the wildest Irish. Whereas good firm penal clauses for improvement, with a tolerable easy rent and

a reasonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have increased the rents of Ireland at least a third part in the intrinsic value." "It was," says Swift in another pamphlet, printed in 1728, "the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers, to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself; and when their leases were near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havoc, that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it. This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who, upon expiration of the farmers' leases, were ready to engross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land worn out of heart, were too easily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them security for payment. Thus, a vast tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers in their several cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys, whereby the master grazier, with little trouble, seized to himself the livelihood of a hundred people. It must be confessed, that the farmers were justly punished for their knavery and folly. But neither are the squires and landlords to be excused, for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vast number of beggars, and the ruin of those few sorry improvements we had. That farmers should be limited in ploughing, is very reasonable, and practised in England; and might have easily been done here by penal clauses in their leases; but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a most stupid way of thinking." The landlords had, to remedy the evil alluded to above, adopted penal clauses absolutely forbidding their tenants from ploughing. "Had the farmers," the dean continues, "been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four last years of their leases, all this evil had been prevented, the nation would have saved a million of money, and been more populous by above two hundred thousand souls."

While agriculture was thus neglected at home, the mistaken and jealous policy of

the English government crippled the commerce and manufactures of Ireland with vexatious restrictions and hindrances. While articles of foreign manufacture were almost forced upon them, the Irish were scarcely permitted to manufacture for themselves, and for foreign commerce they were not even allowed to trade for themselves. A pamphlet by Swift, in which he recommended the Irish people of all ranks to league together in refusing to consume anything but home manufactures and produce, provoked a prosecution against the printer. In another pamphlet, the same writer proposed some remedies which help to shew us the real character of the wants of Ireland at that time, many of which have never ceased to exist. "Ireland," says he, "is, I think, computed to be one-third smaller than England; yet, by some natural disadvantages, it would not bear quite the same proportion in value, with the same encouragement. However, it hath so happened for many years past, that it never arrived to above one-eleventh part in point of riches; and of late, by the continual decrease of trade and increase of absentees, with other circumstances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part; at least, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our side." He recommends first, the mending of the roads, which in general appear to have been almost impassable, in order to facilitate the communication between one place and another, and lessen the expense of transport. "Another evil," he says, "which, in my opinion, deserves the public care, is the ill-management of the bogs, the neglect whereof is a much greater mischief to this kingdom than most people seem to be aware of. It is allowed, indeed, by those who are esteemed most skilful in such matters, that the red swelling mossy bog, whereof we have so many large tracts in this island, is not by any means to be fully reduced; but the skirts, which are covered with a green coat, easily may, being not an accretion or annual growth of moss, like the other. Now, the landlords are generally so careless, as to suffer their tenants to cut their turf in these skirts, as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly lost a considerable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered. But this is not the greatest part of the mischief. For the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural soil, yet,

by constructing large, deep, straight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times, as low as the channel or gravel, would become a secure summer pasture; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickers, birch, and other trees proper for such a soil, and the canals be convenient for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon sled cars with great expense, difficulty, and loss of time, by reason of the many turf-pits scattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it hath been, I confess, to me a matter of the greatest vexation as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be so absurd as to suffer such havoc to be made." The next complaint is, that no encouragement was given to the planting of forest trees. "The common objection against all this, drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition of the poor native Irish, might be easily answered, by showing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily these people may be brought to a less savage manner of life. Supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or horse; I have often seen those two animals civilized by rewards, at least as much as by punishments." The next proposal of Swift's is a still stronger proof how little the Irish were considered, even by the party which boasted of patriotism. "It would be a noble achievement," he says, "to abolish the Irish language in this kingdom, so far at least as to oblige all the natives to speak only English on every occasion of business, in shops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing; yet I am wholly deceived if this might not be effectually done in less than half an age, and at a very trifling expense: for such I look upon a tax to be of only six thousand pounds a year, to accomplish so great a work. This would in a great measure civilize the most barbarous among them, reconcile them to our customs and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be established. The method is plain and simple; and although I am too desponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wish some public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, savage, beastly, thievish manner of life, in which they continue sunk to a degree that it is almost impossible for a country

gentleman to find a servant of human capacity or the least tincture of natural honesty, or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations destroyed, his cattle stolen, and his goods pilfered."

The poverty and misery which were at this time spreading over Ireland, drove many of the more industrious inhabitants to seek relief in emigration, especially to America. The statesmen of the day looked upon this emigration as injurious to the prosperity of the country, and did what they could to hinder it. Swift speaks banteringly on this subject, in a pamphlet entitled *Maxims controlled in Ireland*. "It is," says he, "another undisputed maxim in government, that people are the riches of a nation; which is so universally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it into doubt. And I will grant it to be so far true, even in this island, that, if we had the African custom or privilege of selling our useless bodies for slaves, to foreigners, it would be the most useful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a most unsupportable burthen, and bringing us money in the stead. But, in our present situation, at least five children in six who are born lie a dead weight upon us, for want of employment. And a very skillful computer assured me, that above one-half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by begging and thievery, whereof two-thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour; where that fails, the poor native must either beg, steal, or starve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wish for some years past that, instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, the public would rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary mortals, whether papists or protestants, to America, as drawbacks are sometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overstocked. I confess myself to be touched with a very sensible pleasure, when I hear of a mortality in any country parish or village where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes, treble the worth, brought up to steal or beg, for want of work, to whom death would be the best thing to be wished for, on account both of themselves and the public."

The condition of people in Ireland seems, however, to have excited little sympathy among Englishmen in general, and Swift

has given us some ludicrous illustrations of the ignorance of the latter with regard to it. "I have lived," he says, "long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myself to be as well informed as most men in the dispositions of each people towards the other. There is a vein of industry and parsimony that runs through the whole people of England, which, added to the easiness of their rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico; farther than that it is a country subject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish papists, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence; and their general opinion is, that it were better for England, if this whole island were sunk into the sea, for they have a tradition that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland. I have seen the grossest suppositions passed upon them; that the wild Irish were taken in toils; but that in some time they would grow so tame as to eat out of your hands; I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours, your tenants at Pepperhara, [Pepper Harrow, lord Middleton's seat in Surrey], whither I had come from Ireland by sea; and upon the arrival of an Irishman to a country town, I have known crowds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves. A gentleman now in Dublin affirms, that, passing some months ago through Northampton, and finding the whole town in a hurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations, upon asking the cause was told it was for joy that the Irish had submitted to receive Wood's halfpence. This I think plainly shows what sentiments that large town hath of us, and how little they made it their own case, although they lie directly in our way to London, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human shapes." "As to the people of this kingdom (Ireland)," Swift continues, "they consist either of Irish papists, who are as inconsiderable in point of power as the women and children; or of English protestants, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may possibly sometimes complain when they think they are hardly used. However I confess I do not see that it is of any great consequence how their personal affections stand to each other, while the sea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the same prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether those

from England have reason to complain, when they come hither in search of their fortunes, or whether the people of Ireland have reason to boast, when they go to England upon the same design."

"The parties in this kingdom," Swift says in another place, "(including those of modern date) are, first, of those who have been charged or suspected to favour the pretender; and those who were zealous opposers of him. Secondly, of those who were for and against a toleration of dissenters by law. Thirdly, of high or low church; or (to speak in the cant of the times) of whig and tory. And, fourthly, of court and country. If there be any more, they are beyond my observation or politics; for as to subaltern or occasional parties, they have all been derivations from the same originals. Now it is manifest, that all these incitements to faction, party, and division, are wholly removed from among us. For as to the pretender, his cause is both desperate and obsolete: there are very few now alive, who were men in his father's time, and in that prince's interest; and in all others the obligation of conscience hath no place; even the papists in general of any substance or estates, and their priests almost universally, are what we call whigs, in the sense by which that word is generally understood. They feel the smart and see the scars of their former wounds; and very well know that they must be made a sacrifice to the least attempts towards a change; although it cannot be doubted that they would be glad to have their superstition restored under any prince whatsoever. Secondly, the dissenters are now tolerated by law; neither do we observe any murmurs at present from that quarter, except those reasonable complaints they make of persecution, because they are excluded from civil employments; but, their number being very small in either house of parliament, they are not yet in a situation to erect a party; because, however indifferent men may be with regard to religion, they are now grown wise enough to know that, if such a latitude were allowed to dissenters, the few small employments left us in cities and corporations would find other hands to lay hold on them. Thirdly, the dispute between high and low church is now at an end; two-thirds of the bishops having been promoted in this reign, and most of them from England, who have bestowed all preferments in their gift to those they could well confide in. The deaneries all, except three, and many principal church livings,

are in the donation of the crown; so that we already possess such a body of clergy as will never engage in controversy upon that antiquated and exploded subject. Lastly, as to court and country parties, so famous and avowed under most reigns in English parliaments, this kingdom hath not for several years past been a proper scene whereon to exercise such contentions; and is now less proper than ever, many great employments for life being in distant hands, and the reversions diligently watched and secured; the temporary ones of any inviting value are all bestowed elsewhere as fast as they drop, and the few remaining are of too low consideration to create contests about them, except among younger brothers, or tradesmen. And therefore, to institute a court and country party without materials, would be a very new system in politics, and what I believe was never thought on before; nor, unless in a nation of idiots, can never succeed, for the most ignorant Irish cottager will not sell his cow for a groat. Therefore I conclude, that all party and faction with regard to public proceedings are now extinguished in this kingdom; neither doth it appear in view how they can possibly revive unless some new causes be administered; which cannot be done without crossing the interests of those who are the greatest gainers by continuing the same measures."

These observations, written in 1725, certainly give us an exaggerated idea of the supposed union of parties, for we learn from the tenor of history, and from other sources, that party spirit raged with great fury at this moment. It is true, that the pretender's cause was apparently at a low ebb, but it was not abandoned, and we shall see in the course of the history, that his agents were not inactive in Ireland. The catholics were prejudiced in his favour, and the main body would, no doubt, have done anything they could with safety, to further it, but hard experience had taught them caution, and they complied at least outwardly with the present state of things. In spite of their general loyalty, the catholics were regarded by the protestants with as much jealousy as ever, and, however powerless they might be, scarcely a session of parliament passed over without some new measure of precaution against the increasing growth of popery. The subject was debated in numerous pamphlets during the reigns of the first two monarchs of the house of Hanover; some sought plans which would

result sooner or later in the entire extirpation of popery, while a few only ventured to recommend a tolerant spirit. Swift, in a pamphlet against the presbyterians, written in 1731, speaks with liberality of the body of the catholics. "As to popery in general," he says, "which for a thousand years past hath been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and discipline, I look upon it to be the most absurd system of christianity professed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The estates of papists are very few, crumbling into small parcels, and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance, and cowardice, and of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one-half ruined, banished, or converted; they all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last Irish war; some of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe, to a man, who still possess any lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again for the sake of establishing their superstition. If it hath been thought fit, as some observe, to abate of the law's rigour against popery in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wise reasons, considering the situation of affairs abroad, at different times, and the interest of the protestant religion in general. And as I do not find the least fault in this proceeding, so I do not conceive why a sunk discarded party, who neither expect nor desire anything more than a quiet life, should, under the names of high-flyers, jacobites, and many other vile appellations, be charged so often in print and at council-tables, with endeavouring to introduce

popery and the pretender, while the papists abhor them above all other men, on account of the severities against their priests in her late majesty's reign, when the now disbanded reprobate party (the tories) was in power. This I was convinced of some years ago by a long journey into the southern parts, where I had the curiosity to send for many priests of the parishes I passed through, and, to my great satisfaction, found them everywhere abounding in professions of loyalty to the late king George, for which they gave me the reasons above mentioned, at the same time complaining bitterly of the hardships they suffered under the queen's last ministry."

The hostility between the dissenters and the established church was more important, and was carried on at times with considerable animosity. The dissenters had been repeatedly assured that they should have relief from the obnoxious test, but their demands had always been eluded, and, although it was not always enforced with rigour, it was always a ready instrument of persecution. The presbyterians pleaded, with justice, that to them the protestant church owed almost its existence in Ireland, and they protested against the ingratitude which placed them thus under a ban, instead of rewarding them for their merits. But while the dissenters boasted of their zeal and services against popery, the high church party only saw in the sectaries a race of rebels and revolutionists who had sacrificed their king, and overthrown the throne, and they spoke of them with a bitterer hatred than even the papists themselves. Dean Swift entered warmly into this controversy, and his pamphlets against the dissenters are distinguished by a greater illiberality of sentiment than any of his other writings.

CHAPTER VIII.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF LORD CARTERET AND THE DUKE OF DORSET; ARCHBISHOP BOULTER.



IN the midst of the agitation relating to Wood's halfpence, two appointments were made which had a considerable influence on Irish party politics; lord Carteret was made lord lieutenant of Ireland in the October of 1724, and king George's chaplain, Dr. Hugh Boulter, who had been appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh in the July of the same year, proceeded to Ireland in November, and was made one of the lords justices to govern that country during lord Carteret's absence. Lord Carteret was an elegant scholar, and a man of high personal character, but he was suspected of a leaning towards the tories, and his conciliating bearing towards all parties was construed into an undue indulgence towards the catholics, and gave dissatisfaction to the violent protestants. The lord primate Boulter was equally distinguished by his high private character, and by his moderation; but he had come over to Ireland with all the prejudices of an Englishman, and he was there a zealous and steady supporter of the English interests during the sixteen years that he virtually held the chief power in Ireland under the title of lord justice.

The suppression of Wood's patent after these appointments gave popularity to lord Carteret as chief governor, and he was retained in his office on the accession of George II. to the throne. The death of George I. had raised for a moment the spirits of the disaffected; the tory party began to conceive hopes of a speedy accession to office, and the jacobites seemed again inclined to try their strength against the Hanoverian dynasty. The former prospect especially gave alarm to the Irish whigs, and caused a more than usual agitation in the elections for a new parliament, which followed immediately on the announcement of the commencement of a new reign. "There is another thing," writes the primate to lord Carteret, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1727, "I cannot but suggest to your excellency, though I am under no fear of the experiment being made, that anything which looks like bringing the tories into power here, must

cause the utmost uneasiness in this kingdom, by raising the spirits of the papists of this country, and exasperating the whigs, who, your lordship knows, are vastly superior among the gentlemen of estates here. I find Mr. Brodrick has declared he will stand for speaker against Mr. Conolly, and uses his utmost efforts to secure as many as he can among the new members. The whole kingdom is in the utmost ferment about the coming elections; but I hope this will have no worse consequences than are usual on such occasions." About a fortnight later, in another letter to the lord lieutenant, archbishop Boulter expressed his satisfaction that the anticipations of changes were without foundation. "I am glad," he says, "we are not likely to have any alterations in Ireland, and that the commissions here will be renewed immediately upon the renewal of those in England. We are obliged to your lordship for the early care you took of us English here; and everybody here is sensible of what advantage it will be to his majesty's service that we have had a governor of your excellency's abilities long enough amongst us to know as much of this country as any native. While the same measures are pursued as were in the last reign, we shall be all easy here; and it must be left to his majesty to judge what persons are most proper to be employed in his service. The assurances your lordship gives me in these affairs are a great satisfaction to me."

The animosity between the two great parties of the English interest and the Irish interest was forcibly exhibited in these elections, and though they appear to have been managed skilfully by the agents of the court, the "patriots" appear to have made a much more formidable show than usual. The Roman catholics, who had hitherto taken little part in the struggle between the two protestant parties, on this occasion exerted themselves in the cause of the Irish interest, for they had not yet been deprived of the enjoyment of the elective franchise. At the same time they vindicated their right to be considered as an important part of the state, by drawing up an address of congratulation to the king on his accession to

the throne, in which they expressed their loyalty to his person, and declared their intention of continuing peaceful and quiet. This, which was the first address of the Irish catholics to a prince of the house of Hanover, was presented to the lords justices by lord Delvin and several respectable catholic gentlemen; but the former appear to have suppressed it, for no answer was returned, and it is uncertain whether it was ever transmitted to England. This address seems to have been disapproved by the more violent catholics, and to have led to a division among them, which the archbishop of Armagh boasted he had dexterously turned to the advantage of the government.

But the part which the catholics had taken in the elections gave too much alarm to the English party to be passed over without some interference. A bill was subsequently passed which rendered catholics incapable of voting at the elections of members of parliament. In spite, however, of the exertions of the party in opposition, the session of 1728 was tolerably quiet, and it enacted several very important laws, most of which were drawn up by archbishop Boulter. Some of these related to improvements in the condition of the church, especially by facilitating the residence of the clergy, and giving efficiency to their pastoral labours. "There are probably in this kingdom," says the primate in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, "five papists at least to one protestant; we have incumbents and curates to the number of about eight hundred, whilst there are near three thousand popish priests of all sorts here. A great part of our clergy have no parsonage houses, nor glebes to build them on; we have many parishes eight and ten, twelve and fourteen miles long, with it may be only one church in them, and that often at one end of the parish; we have few market towns that supply convenient food for the neighbourhood, nor farmers that can supply the common necessities of life, which may be had at most farmers in England; so that all agree that no clergyman in the country can live without a moderate glebe in his hands; and as there can be no hopes of getting ground of the papists without more churches or chapels, and more resident clergymen, we have been framing two bills, one for explaining and amending an act for the better maintenance of curates in the church of Ireland, 6^o Georgii. By that act a bishop was enabled to cause one or two chapels of ease to be

erected in any parish where a number of protestants lived six miles from the church, and that was understood to mean six country miles, which are at least nine measured miles, and in many places twelve: we have reduced that distance to five measured miles; the incumbents and patrons' consent we have omitted, as what we fear will render the bill useless; the consents we have made necessary are such protestant inhabitants as may want a chapel exclusive of those of the mother-church, or on the other side of it, as they must contribute towards building it: at the instance of the clergy we have likewise excluded such as live within two miles of a neighbouring church. The bishop has the same power of appointing a salary for these new curates as that act allowed. We have likewise there provided for the building of chapels of ease in cities and towns corporate. The other is an act to explain an act for the better enabling of the clergy having the cure of souls to reside on their respective benefices, &c., 8^o Georg., c. 12. There is by the old act a power of giving land under forty acres for a glebe, at half the improved rent or more; but as most of the estates here are under settlements, it has little effect; and there are now three or four gentlemen that would grant fifteen or twenty acres for glebes, if they were at liberty. This act therefore is to empower those under settlements to give a glebe at the full improved rent, to be settled by a jury, on condition of building and improving. Besides the benefit of distress for arrears of rent, the bishop is empowered to sequester the whole living upon complaint to pay such arrears. And that the successor may not have an unreasonable arrear come upon him, the bishop is obliged to inquire at every annual visitation which we hold here, whether the rent is paid, and to sequester and see it paid. The same power of giving a glebe is extended to perpetual curacies or livings appropriate or inappropriate. Having endeavoured to provide glebes, we oblige all future incumbents having convenient glebes to build. All are allowed three-fourths of what they lay out, but we see nothing but force will make them build. As there are several schools of whose endowments I am trustee, that have some no house, others inconvenient little ones, without land near them, the same encouragement is given to them to build as to the clergy, and they are empowered to exchange some land for a convenient demesne, under proper inspec-

tion. We have likewise sent over a bill about the recovering of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues under forty shillings. We had the English act before us, but have altered some things to please the commons, who have twice thrown out a bill of the same nature; oblations and obventions are omitted to please them. We have likewise excluded clergymen from being the justices before whom such causes may be tried, that they might not play the game into one another's hands; for in many places here one-fourth or fifth of the resident justices are clergymen, for want of resident gentlemen. The bill is exceedingly necessary here, since the recovery of little dues costs more than they are worth, and the justices will not help. People stand contempt and excommunication, and the taking up costs too much, and besides most of them must be absolutely ruined if taken up. There is likewise another bill coming which has been in force seven years already, by which the incumbent that has been a wrong clerk is accountable for the profits received, after such allowances made for serving the cure. The laity in both houses are very eager for it, and the *English* bishops are for it, there having been formerly very extraordinary things done here by bishops, in getting clerks in possession that scarce had the shadow of a title." Other ecclesiastical bills were, an act for the more easy recovery of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues of small value; an act to empower archbishops, &c., to part with the advowson of benefices under thirty pounds per annum; and an act for the better union and division of parishes. These acts, and the primate's explanation of them, help to make us acquainted with the state of Ireland at that time.

The neglect of agriculture, so bitterly complained of by Swift, also occupied the attention of the Irish parliament during this session. A bill was brought in to regulate the buying of corn and to encourage tillage. "It is the latter part of this bill, about tillage," says the primate, "that is of great moment here. The bill does not encourage tillage by allowing any premium to the exporters of corn, but barely obliges every person occupying a hundred acres or more (meadows, parks, bogs, &c., excepted) to till five acres out of every hundred, and so in proportion for every greater quantity of land they occupy. And to make the law have some force, it sets the tenant at liberty to do this, notwithstanding any clause in his lease

to the contrary. We have taken care to provide in the bill, that the tenant shall not be able to burn-beat any ground in virtue of this act; and since he is tied up from that, and from ploughing meadows, &c., the people skilled in husbandry say he cannot hurt the land though he should go round the hundred acres in twenty years. I find my lord Trevor objected to a bill we sent from council, that this was a breaking of private contracts and invading property; but I think that nothing, since the lessor receives no damage by it, and the public is very much benefitted; and this is no more than what is done every session in England, where rivers are made navigable or commons inclosed, and in many road bills. I shall now acquaint your grace with the great want we are in of this bill. Our present tillage falls very short of answering the demands of this nation, which occasions our importing corn from England and other places; and whilst our poor have bread to eat we do not complain of this, but by tilling so little, if our crop fails or yields indifferently, our poor have not money to buy bread. This was the case in 1725, and last year, and without a prodigious crop will be more so this year. When I went my visitation last year, barley in some inland places sold for six shillings a bushel to make the bread of; and oatmeal (which is the bread of the north) sold for twice or thrice the usual price; and we met all the roads full of whole families that had left their homes to beg abroad, since their neighbours had nothing to relieve them with. And as the winter subsistence of the poor is chiefly potatoes, this scarcity drove the poor to begin with their potatoes before they were full grown, so that they have lost half the benefit of them, and have spent their stock about two months sooner than usual; and oatmeal is at this distance from harvest in many parts of this kingdom three times the customary price, so that this summer must be more fatal to us than the last, when I fear many hundreds perished by famine. Now the occasion of this evil is, that many persons have hired large tracts of land, one to three or four thousand acres, and have stocked them with cattle, and have no other inhabitants on their land than so many cottiers as are necessary to look after their sheep and black cattle; so that in some of the finest counties in many places there is neither house nor cornfield to be seen in ten or fifteen miles travelling; and daily in some counties many gentlemen (as their leases fall

into their hands) tie up their tenants from tillage. And this is one of the main causes why so many venture to go into foreign service at the hazard of their lives, if taken, because they can get no land to till at home. And if some stop be not put to this evil, we must daily decrease in the numbers of our people. But we hope, if this tillage bill takes place, to keep our youth at home, to employ our poor, and not be in danger of a famine among the poor upon any little miscarriage in our harvest. And I hope these are things of greater consequence than the breaking through a lease, so far as concerns ploughing five acres in a hundred."

Another bill brought forward in this session increased the strictness of the penal statutes against the catholics, as far as regarded the admission of barristers, attorneys, &c., to practise in the law. "As the laws stand already," says archbishop Boulter, "these several persons ought to be protestants, but they give no further security of their being so than that, if they are born of popish parents, they must produce a certificate of their having received the sacrament in the church of England or Ireland; and must educate their children under fourteen years of age at their conversion in the protestant religion. But as the law stands at present, a man may the day after his seal or pretended conversion be admitted a barrister, attorney, &c., and practise as a solicitor, or be a deputy officer or sub-sheriff; and we have had several who were papists, and on the road from London hither have taken the sacrament and obtained a certificate, and at their arrival here have been admitted to the bar. They likewise pretend that the children born after their conversion are not included in that clause about educating their children protestants, because they were not under fourteen at the time of their conversion; so that many of these converts have a popish wife, who has mass said in the family, and the children are brought up papists. Now this grievance is the greater here, because the business of the law from top to bottom is almost in the hands of these converts. When eight or ten protestants are set aside, the rest of the bar are all converts; much the greater part of attorneys, solicitors, deputy officers, sub-sheriffs, sheriff's clerks, are new converts; and the old protestants are every day more and more working out of the business of the law, which must end in our ruin. This makes us attempt to remedy this evil by this bill,

for the success of which both lords and commons are equally solicitous. In this bill the farther securities we require of all these people are:—1. That, for the future, all taking to the law shall make the declarations and take and subscribe to the oath required in the act to prevent the farther growth of popery, 2^d *Annæ reg.*; the declaration is against several of the errors of popery, the oath is that of abjuration. 2. That nobody shall be admitted a barrister, &c., till five years after his conversion and continuing in the church of Ireland. 3. That they breed up the *post nati* as well as the *ante nati* under fourteen, protestants. 4. That he who offends in any of these points shall fall under the disabilities, &c., to which one relapsing from the protestant to the popish religion is subject: this is what we tried originally to push at, but were forced to take in all converts educating their children papists, and subject them to the like incapacities, and likewise protestants so offending. The occasion of this latter clause is, that the sons of some converts breed their children papists, and reckon they do not incur the penalties appointed for converts educating their children papists, because, say they, our fathers were indeed converts, but we are original protestants. I find there are great hopes here among the papists, that the bringing in all converts makes such a strength against the bill, that it will be sunk in England. If there be any danger of that, or what relates to all converts be thought too severe, I would beg we may have so much returned to us of the bill as relates to all in any branch of the law; for we must be undone here if that profession gets into the hands of converts, where it is almost already got, and where it every day gets more and more."

These and some other bills were passed with very little opposition, for the session, which ended in the beginning of May, 1728, was a quiet one. The only debate of much warmth arose in the house of lords on occasion of a bill relating to parliamentary privileges. "Several of our lords that are embarrassed in their circumstances," says the primate, "might naturally be supposed to be against it; but the greatness of the opposition was owing to the management of the bishop of Elphin, who put himself at the head of those lords and others who constantly oppose the government business here, and by misrepresentations draw in some other lords of no ill intentions to en-

gage their word and honour to each other to throw out the bill. His view no doubt was to make himself considerable enough by being at the head of this strength to be bought off. One part of the push he now made was to get all the lay lords here to confederate against the bishops, who must always be depended upon for doing the king's business. But as he has miscarried in his attempt, and has offended all sides, so as to be in no danger of appearing again at the head of so many lords as he did now, I hope his behaviour will be remembered when he or his friends push for the archbishopric of Dublin for him."

These remarks of archbishop Boulter, with many similar ones in the course of his correspondence, show us the principles on which the Irish government was carried on at this time. Appointments in the church or in the civil establishment, almost all places of any authority, were invariably conferred upon Englishmen, and men of Irish birth were carefully excluded, except in particular cases where they made themselves so powerful in opposition that it was necessary to "buy them off." In fact, Ireland was ridden over by the English influence, and the Irish people, protestants as well as catholics, were gradually estranged from a government which deliberately cut itself off from their sympathies. The country was filled with distress; in the south the popular discontent showed itself in partial insurrections, and in scenes of turbulence; while the more industrious population of Ulster began to quit their country in considerable numbers, to seek their fortunes in America.

The session of 1729 was somewhat more turbulent than that of the preceding year, and was distinguished by a quarrel between the parliament and the privy council, the latter of which bodies was composed almost entirely of Englishmen or men devoted to the English interest. The country had been so turbulent during the year 1729, that it was found necessary to bring in a bill for preventing riots in the city of Dublin and the liberties adjoining. This bill was violently attacked by the opposition, and on the second reading in the house of commons, in the middle of March, 1730, it was thrown out by a majority of ninety-three against fifty-four, on the ground that it had originated in the privy council. In other respects the session was a satisfactory one, and several measures of importance for the welfare

of the country passed through parliament. Funds were established for the discharge of the Irish national debt and for the expenses of the government; and manufactures, trade, and agriculture were encouraged by some new regulations. The want of copper money, and the disproportion of the gold and silver currency, was again felt as a serious inconvenience, and various plans were proposed to remedy it. The silver money was depreciated, while the gold coinage passed at a rate far above its value, the moidore been taken for thirty shillings. This matter became the subject of another difference between the two houses of parliament, an account of which is given in a letter from archbishop Boulter to the duke of Newcastle, written on the 2nd of May, 1730. "I have formerly troubled your grace," he says, "with some accounts of the distress we are in here for want of silver, and the proper remedy of this evil, by a reduction of our gold to the value it obtains in England, and raising the foreign silver to near the middle price it bears in England. The privy council here have more than once had this affair under consideration, and a committee of council last summer had settled the value they proposed gold and silver should pass for here, if approved by his majesty; but as our bankers and other remitters find their advantage in the present disproportionate value of our gold and silver, they raised a great opposition to any reduction of gold here, and set on foot petitions against. As we were at that time in a state of famine, and nobody could tell how our harvest might prove, it was thought proper to defer proceeding in that affair, lest any misfortune of any other kind might be imputed to such reduction. But much the greatest part of the council were then of opinion that the alterations drawn up by the committee were the more proper remedy for our evil. This affair has since been taken up by the commons, but the weight of the bankers in that house is such, that very early in the sessions they carried a vote that the moidore should not be reduced. The carrying of that vote hindered their doing anything farther for a great while, because the house were sensible they had been wrong in that step. About a day before this parliament rose the lords passed a resolution, that our want of silver was occasioned by our gold and silver not bearing a proportionable value to what they bear in England, and to desire the lord lieutenant to get this evil

cured in the proper method. What was the opinion of the lords was, that the gold was overrated; but they avoided saying so much, because the commons had already voted that a moidore should not be reduced. When the commons met the last day of our session, they fell into a great heat about the lords' resolutions, and talked of laying the key of the house on the table, in order not to be interrupted by a message from my lord lieutenant, and passed a vote, in that heat, against lowering the gold at all. The warmth of the house was such, that though most of the members who knew anything of the subject of coins thought the house were voting wrong, yet they found it to no purpose to make any opposition. Things being in this case, my lord lieutenant acquainted the council with the resolutions of the lords and commons, and desired their advice in the matter; which, I think I may say, they promised to give. I am sure it is their duty to give it. But upon our holding a council, after my lord's departure, on this subject, too many of the council expressed a fear of offending the commons, though one great business of the council is to be a check upon both lords and commons, and did not care to give their opinion. All they could be brought to, was, to send over to my lord lieutenant an account of what had passed in the council, since the year 1711, relating to the coin, and the resolutions of the committee of council, in 1729, about settling their value. But, both in that account, and in their letter to my lord lieutenant, they show they lean to the opinion of reducing the gold, though they had not courage to speak out. As this is our present case, through the influence of the bankers and remitters on the house of commons, and the timidity of the council, the only remedy remaining for our evil is, if his majesty will be pleased to refer the resolutions of the committee of council, 1729, transmitted to my lord lieutenant, to his officers of the mint, and if, upon their report, these resolutions are found reasonable, to send his orders hither for a proclamation to issue accordingly. I have had several worthy men, both lords and commoners, with me, begging that I would go on with this affair, notwithstanding the heats about it, since our manufactures and retail trade are under the last distress for want of silver."

This matter appears to have remained unsettled, when, in the summer of 1730, lord Carteret was succeeded as lord lieu-

tenant by the duke of Dorset, while the nation was becoming more and more distressed, not only in consequence of the disproportionate value of gold and silver, and the scarcity of the latter, but from the want of copper money, a want to remedy which no attempt had been made since the agitation on the subject of Wood's patent. The letters of archbishop Boulter to the duke of Dorset, soon after the appointment of that nobleman to the lord lieutenancy, speak frequently on this subject, and show the anxiety of the prelate to obtain a settlement of it. A coinage of copper halfpence was not given to Ireland till 1737, and it appears that Swift, now approaching the period of mental alienation which marked the close of his life, again distinguished himself by his opposition to the plans of government. On the 7th of May of the year just mentioned, archbishop Boulter wrote to the lord lieutenant, "I cannot help acquainting your grace that we yesterday signed a proclamation for giving currency to the new halfpence, after a most tedious course of delays and difficulties; from what quarter you may easily guess; and I hope this affair will very much sink the popularity of dean Swift in this city, where he openly set himself in opposition to what the government was doing." It took still longer to affect the other great reform, the arranging the relative value of gold and silver. The dean of St. Patrick's (Swift) was still violent in his opposition; and when that opposition was found to be in vain, on the proclamation fixing the value of the gold coinage, a black flag was displayed on the top of St. Patrick's church, and a dumb peal was rung, with the clappers of the bells muffled. On the 11th of February, 1738, archbishop Boulter wrote to the duke of Dorset, "I take this occasion to thank your lordship in my own name, and that of every honest and understanding person in this nation, for having at last brought about the lowering our gold here. Your grace has no doubt been fully informed of the clamours raised against it, and the insult on the government by dean Swift on that occasion; together with the petitions of the house of commons, and the warm debates there on that subject. I have had a great share of suffering on this account, as far as the most virulent papers and the curses on a deluded and enraged multitude could go: but, God be thanked, I am got safe through all. There had been no such usage of me, or opposition to so necessary a step, or insult

of the populace, if those joined in power had acted with that courage that became governors. Though I must do them justice, that when it came to be debated in the house of commons, they were not wanting in engaging their friends to stand by what the government had done."

The duke of Dorset was a man of amiable private character; as chief governor of Ireland, he followed, to a certain degree, in the steps of lord Carteret, leaving the chief management of affairs in the hands of the primate, archbishop Boulter. During this administration, the patriot party daily gained strength, until it was able, at times, to out-vote the government, which was thwarted, in more than one instance, in its attempts at conciliating the catholics and the dissenters. In his first address to the Irish parliament, the duke of Dorset omitted the recommendation, so often repeated, to provide new acts of oppression towards the papists. The house of commons, in its reply, spoke slightly of the alarm which the number of papists in Ireland gave to the protestants, and promised to do their best to prevent all dangers which might arise from them to the government or peace of the kingdom. The lord lieutenant came to meet a parliament in 1733, commissioned to bring forward a measure for the repeal of the test act for the relief of the dissenters, with a view to which he called upon the parliament, in his opening speech, to secure a firm union amongst all protestants who have one common interest and the *same common enemy*, i.e. the body of the Irish catholics. The session of parliament had already been a troublesome one, when this measure was brought forward, which was violently opposed by the patriots, and was ultimately obliged to be withdrawn. Dean Swift again made himself conspicuous amongst those who wrote against the project supported by government. We cannot describe this affair in language more concise and satisfactory than that of archbishop Boulter, who, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated the 18th of December, 1733, gives the following account of it:—"As an affair of great consequence is just over with us, I mean the push for repealing the test in favour of the dissenters, I thought it my duty to acquaint your grace how that affair stands. When my lord lieutenant first came hither this time, he let the dissenters and others know, that he had instructions, if it could be done, to get the test repealed; and he has since spoke to all any ways de-

pendent on the government, as well as to others whom he could hope to influence, to dispose them to concur with the design, and so have others done that have the honour to be in his majesty's service. But it was unanimously agreed, that it was not proper to bring that affair into either house of parliament till the supply was secured. However, as the design could not be kept secret, and as the dissenters sent up agents from the north to solicit the affair among the members of parliament, it soon occasioned a great ferment both in the two houses and out of them, and brought a greater number of members to town than is usual. There came likewise many of the clergy from the several parts of the kingdom to oppose the design; and a pamphlet war was carried on for and against repealing the test, in which those who wrote for it showed the greatest temper. And thus the persons who came to town to oppose it, by degrees heated one another, and visibly gained ground, and the members of the house of commons were, by adjourned calls of the house, kept in town. There were daily reports spread, that the bill would be brought in such or such a day; and some in the opposition gave out they would move for it, that the point might be decided one way or another; till at length, after much impatience shown on the occasion, on this day se'nnight a very unusual, and I think unparliamentary motion was made, that after the next Friday the house would neither receive bills, nor heads of bills, for repealing any part of the acts to prevent the growth of popery, in one of which the sacramental test is enacted. There was some opposition made to the shortness of the time, and the next Monday moved for, but the warmth of the house, which was a very full one, against any further delay, and indeed against any repeal of the test, appeared so great and so general, that it was thought more prudent not to divide about that resolution. And, upon considering what then appeared to be the sense of much the greater part of the house, and what was found to be the disposition of the members by talking with them, it was concluded at a meeting at the Castle on Wednesday morning, and another on Thursday morning, where some of the agents for the dissenters were present, to be most for the credit of the government and the peace of the kingdom, not to push for a thing which plainly appeared impracticable; and it was thought a very dangerous step,

to unite a majority of the house in an opposition to the intentions of the government, since it was not so certain when such a union might be dissolved. And at a meeting of several members of the house of commons, who were disposed to repeal the test, it was agreed, that in the present state of affairs, it would be wrong to push for a thing that would certainly miscarry. Whilst this affair has been depending, there have been great heats in the house of commons, and a more than usual obstruction of public business; and the house of commons has had their share in their coming to some resolutions, though not on this subject, which would scarce have been carried or moved at another time. And I am fully of opinion, that though the repeal had passed in the commons, it would have miscarried among the lords. But I hope, now this uneasiness and handle of discontent is over, things will gradually cool, and return to their former course. I find some of the dissenters now say, the thing ought to have been tried sooner in the session. But, as I mentioned before, it was the opinion of his majesty's servants, that the supplies ought to be secured before any danger was run of raising heats in the house; and besides, in the method of our parliament, no bill can be carried by surprise, because, though the heads of a bill may be carried on a sudden, yet there is a time for a party to be gathered against it, by that time a bill can pass the council here, and be returned from England, when it is again to pass through both houses for their approbation, before it can pass into a law." In another letter, written two days later, the primate adds, "The heat among the churchmen here will, I think, be soon over; but I do not hear of much disposition to temper among the dissenters. It is certain their preachers are drawing up a memorial to send over to their friends in England, to throw the blame of the miscarriage on my lord lieutenant, though unjustly, since he was not wanting in his endeavours to serve the dissenters, but really it was not at all practicable, at least at this time. But some of their laity, those especially of more temper and prudence, are endeavouring to hinder it, but with what success is not yet known."

The pope and the pretender were still the bugbear of the Irish protestants; secret recruiting for the service of the latter was going on extensively, and there was a con-

stant alarm of the increase of popery. An affair occurred in 1729, to which an exaggerated importance seems to have been given, and it caused a considerable agitation in Ireland. The popish bishops, it appears, applied for and obtained a bull from the pope, to raise money by the sale of indulgencies, for the purpose of bringing in the pretender, and overthrowing the house of Hanover. It appears that a number of popish prelates and other ecclesiastics being assembled at the house of Teigan MacCarthy, *alias* Rabagh, titular bishop of Cork, the titular bishop of Limerick, Connor Keefe, produced a letter from the popish archbishop of Cashel, announcing that the pope had sent to the Irish catholic prelates the bull above alluded to, the purport of which was, that every communicant duly confessing and receiving the sacrament on the patron days of every respective parish, and every Sunday from the first day of May to September, having repeated the Lord's prayer five times, and once the apostles' creed, and upon paying twopence each time, was to have a plenary indulgence for his sins, and all approved confessors had full power to absolve in all cases, with intent that God would speedily place James the Third on the throne of England. every parish priest was to pay five pounds towards this fund, and was to account upon oath for the collection of it; and the pretender had an agent in each province to receive it. At the same time the Irish catholics were engaged in raising subscriptions for the purpose of opposing a bill then in progress against popery. An Irish barrister, Joseph Nagle, was actively engaged with MacCarthy, and, information having been given by a converted priest named Hennesey, the houses of those two personages were visited, and their papers seized. A committee of the house of commons was appointed to examine these papers, and witnesses were brought before them. After due deliberation, this committee made its report on the 19th of December, 1733, in a series of resolutions to the following effect: "That it appears to this committee, that under colour of opposing heads of bills brought into parliament last session, great sums of money have been collected and raised, and a fund established by the popish inhabitants of this kingdom, through the influence of their clergy, highly detrimental to the protestant interest of this kingdom, and of imminent danger to the present happy establishment; that it appears to this committee,

that there is a popish ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised in this kingdom by popish archbishops, bishops, and vicars-general, in open violation of the laws of the land; that it is the opinion of this committee, that the house be moved, that an humble address be presented to his grace the lord lieutenant, to issue his proclamation to all magistrates to put the laws against popery in execution; that it is the opinion of this committee, that Thomas Wolfe* hath grossly misrepresented the proceedings of the house of commons last session of parliament, and reflected on the honour and justice of the said house, and hath, by such misrepresentation, promoted the collecting divers sums of money from the poor deluded popish inhabitants of this kingdom, under pretence of obstructing the proceedings of this house; that it is the opinion of this committee, that Joseph Nagle hath grossly misrepresented the proceedings of the house of commons last session of parliament, and reflected on the honour and justice of the said house, and hath, by such misrepresentation, promoted the collecting of divers sums of money from the poor deluded popish inhabitants of this kingdom, under pretence of obstructing the proceedings of this house; that it appears to this committee that John Love, esq., collector, of Mallow in the county of Cork, hath behaved himself with commendable zeal for the service of his majesty and the protestant interest of this kingdom." Love was the magistrate most active in bringing this factious affair to light; the resolutions of the committee seem to have been its only result.

The alarm excited by the frequent reports of plots and projected insurrections amongst the catholics can only be explained by the fact of their forming so large a portion of the population. The apprehension was so great that a bill was passed in 1731 to render more effectual a previous act for the better securing of the government by disarming the papists. "I must beg leave to acquaint you," writes archbishop Boulter to the duke of Newcastle on the 4th of December, 1731, "that in the seventh of king William an act was passed here, intituled an act for the better securing the government by disarming papists. The intent of which was not only to take away the arms then in the hands of papists, but constantly to keep them and

their successors disarmed; and it has been the opinion of the judges from time to time, that the law had forbid all papists at any time to keep or carry arms. But upon a papist being indicted last summer assizes in the county of Galway upon that act, for carrying arms, though it was not disputed either that he was a papist, or carried arms, yet the jury were pleased to acquit him. Upon this it has been understood by the papists everywhere, that the said act only concerned the papists then living, and the arms they had in their possession at the time that act was passed; and upon talking with the judges, we find that act was drawn up so ill, that there is too much room for such an opinion. This occasioned the house of lords to bring in heads of a bill to render that act more effectual, and this new act is very little more than the old one corrected to what it was originally designed for; only this being thought more prudent than to bring in a bill which by its very title should have owned the first act to be grossly defective. The power given in the old act to the government to license such papists to bear arms as they thought proper, is here continued, with a power of revoking such licenses when they shall think fit, which was forgot in the former act. The chief additions to this new bill are, that no protestant servant to a papist shall have any arms while he is in that service; for this was one way of eluding the act, whilst it was thought to be in force, to keep a protestant servant who pretended to be the proprietor of all arms found in the house of his popish master. That the proof of a person being commonly reputed a papist, shall be sufficient to convict such person offending against this act, except he prove himself a protestant, for on some trials it was found very difficult to prove a man to be a papist, though the whole country knew him to be so. And another is that no papist shall be on the jury in any trial upon this act." "I can assure your grace," says the primate in another letter to the English minister, "that the papists in the country, before the defects of this act were discovered, were so formidable, that scarce any magistrate durst put any of the laws against regulars, &c., in execution, for fear of being murdered or having his houses fired in the night. And if our present bill miscarries, they will grow much more formidable and insolent; nor have the papists scrupled offering threats against every magistrate that was more active on any occasion than his

* A catholic, whose letter, complaining bitterly of the cruelty and injustice of the laws against the papists then in agitation, was among the papers.

neighbours. They had found out several evasions of the act of the seventh of king William, which we would willingly have prevented, but as some difficulties arose in drawing up proper clauses for that purpose, and too many in the house of commons show a disposition to favour the papists more than is consistent with the protestant interest here, we have omitted all such clauses, and confined ourselves to what was the undoubted intention of that act, and to some new clauses which nobody can well object to, to make it in some measure effectual. And I must beg of your grace to use your interest with the council, to return us this bill without any ways weakening it: since without this bill his majesty's government will be in great danger here if any unhappy occasion abroad should give the papists a little more boldness than they have at present, and the protestants will not be safe in their persons."

Lord Dorset was recalled from the government of Ireland in 1737, and was succeeded in the lord lieutenancy by William, duke of Devonshire. In his last speech to the parliament, he congratulated it on the

peace and tranquillity which seemed to be established throughout Ireland; "I think myself happy," he said, "that on return to his majesty's royal presence, I can justly represent his people of Ireland as most dutiful, loyal, and affectionate subjects." The lord primate Boulter continued to take an active share in the management of Irish affairs, until his death, in 1742. His principal defect was his bitter hostility to the catholics and the native Irish. In other respects he was just and wise, and his feelings were often patriotic. He certainly contributed, in many ways, to the improvement of Ireland, and was a great promoter of many public works. He promoted, among other schemes of national importance, that for making a navigable canal from Lough Neagh to Newry, for the more effectual carrying on an inland trade in the north of Ireland. He was the chief instrument in founding the incorporated society for promoting English protestant working schools in Ireland, with the object of instructing the poor Irish, and inuring them to habits of industry and labour.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PERIOD OF THE REBELLION OF FORTY-FIVE; LORD CHESTERFIELD'S ADMINISTRATION.



THE tolerant principles which guided the councils of the English court under George II. had ensured to the catholics more indulgence than they had been in the habit of receiving, or than was agreeable to archbishop Boulter and others, who looked upon popery and the English interest as two things totally incompatible with each other. The protestant landholders had even been alarmed by rumours of the projected reversals of some of the acts of attainder which followed the revolution. The case which made most noise was that of lord Clancarty, who, under the administration of the duke of Devonshire, obtained the consent of the cabinet of

Great Britain, that a bill should be brought into the Irish parliament for the reversal of his attainder. His estates, to the amount of sixty thousand a year, were in the hands of protestant landholders; and not only were these struck with alarm, but all the upholders of the protestant interest were ready to protest against establishing a precedent which might produce such disastrous effects, if followed up by other cases. The Irish parliament resented this attempt, by passing, on the 18th of February, 1740, on the presentation of a petition from the protestant purchasers and holders of forfeited estates in the county of Cork, the following resolutions:—"That it is the opinion of this committee" (the committee appointed to take the petition into consideration) "that the petitioners have fully proved the allegations of their petition; that it appears to this

committee that seventy-eight suits have been already commenced, against the petitioners and other protestants, for the recovery of lands forfeited by the horrid rebellion of 1688, and purchased by them or their ancestors under the sanction of several acts of parliament, and that the said suits have been greatly expensive and vexatious to the persons so sued; that any attempt to disturb the protestant purchasers of the estates forfeited in the years 1641 and 1688, in their peaceable possession of their just and legal properties under such purchases, will be of dangerous consequence to his majesty's person and government, the succession in his royal house, and highly prejudicial to the protestant interest of this kingdom, and derogatory from the parliamentary security under which such protestants have purchased; and that it is the opinion of this committee, that any person or persons who shall promote, encourage, or assist any person or persons in carrying on the said suits will thereby endeavour to lessen the protestant interest of this kingdom." The protestant party prevailed, and the attainder of lord Clancarty was not reversed. That nobleman, considering himself ill-used, showed his resentment by the readiness with which he obeyed the summons of the old chevalier to prepare for the invasion of Great Britain by the pretender, in 1745.

For a few years before this event, symptoms of reviving turbulence were observed, in different parts, among the catholic population.

A band of desperadoes which appeared in the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, is still remembered as "the Kellymount gang."* It has been supposed, that in its original formation, this gang was organized for the service of the pretender, and that disappointed

in not being called into immediate action, they soon found employment in plunder, and degenerated into a band of robbers. Upon this formidable gang, whose outrages had spread alarm through the country, an attack was made, in 1740, by the protestant gentry at the head of their servants, supported by a small party of the military, when the leader, named Brenan, was killed, after he had shot corporal Otway; and the gentlemen of the Queen's County subscribed four hundred pounds for apprehending the rest. Some idea of the importance of "the Kellymount gang" may be formed, from the notices to be found in the *Tour through Ireland*, published in 1748, and already quoted from, which, from internal evidence, was written previous to 1744. Speaking of Nine-mile House, in the county of Tipperary, the writer observes:—"There is but one inn and a cabin or two at this place, *with a deserted barrack, which was first built to check what was called 'the Kellymount gang,'* who are now broke, being brought to condign punishment." And when at Ennis-corthy, county of Wexford, the same writer states, that "captain D—n, where we dined, is an old brave officer, who had served with honour in many campaigns; and to keep his warlike spirit in motion, used to head a party in pursuit of what was called the Kellymount gang—rogues that struck terror through the whole kingdom. These fellows, knowing his active genius, attacked his house in the night, although in the town, with an intent to murder him. The brave captain drove them from their wicked design, but, in the action, was shot into one of his eyes, which he unfortunately lost."†

That the rebellion of 'forty-five produced no corresponding movement in Ireland must

* Kellymount [county of Kilkenny]. This place is remarkable for a banditti who used formerly to commit their depredations in very large bodies, and made a little inn near this place their house of rendezvous.—*Seward's Hibernian Gazetteer*, 1787.

† It would be unjust to advance as a general charge against the Irish Roman catholics, that they countenanced these lawless proceedings, at least, when the political object had evaporated; that is to say, when treason dwindled into personal robbery. On the contrary, the authority just quoted, and with reference to the same point, supplies an anecdote illustrative of an inhospitable mode of action in which the kitchen-spit of an opulent Roman Catholic farmer was employed towards the presumed favourers of the Stuart cause, when plunder, not politics, was the object of their visit.

"We dined at a farmer's, who is tenent to the colonel, and were as elegantly entertained as if at my lord's. I have mentioned the Kellymount gang

before, to you, and this gentleman farmer was the means of convicting some of them. They attacked his house, which he defended alone on the inside, with spits, &c., for being a Roman catholic, he is not allowed arms. If he had a blunderbus (he said) he could, with ease, have destroyed them all; for they were upwards of half-an-hour in breaking open the door. At last they entered, fixed a rope about his neck, and almost strangled him, to make him confess where his money was. He, by good fortune, had left a large sum at Carlow, that day, and as they entered, had dropt a purse of guineas under the grate, in the ashes, where, while they were dragging him, in order to make him confess, he with his feet shuffling behind, effectually covered it. The rogue who wanted to do the office of hangman had a large mole under the left ear, which our farmer took notice of while he was upon his knees begging for mercy. This very mole condemned him at the sessions, when a halter put an end to his life."

doubtless be ascribed to the same causes which had kept the Irish quiet in 1715, the poverty to which the catholic population had been reduced, and the remembrance of past disasters. During the years 1740 and 1741, the pretender had a regular correspondent or agent at Wexford; and about the same time some Irish friars were frequent petitioners to him to pay a debt for them of a thousand crowns, and to enforce their request, they assured him in one of their applications, that when that debt, which was expended in his service, was paid, they would then be in a condition to pray more fervently for his welfare. Bishop Berkeley, in a letter written from Cloyne, on the sixteenth of March, 1744, observes, "It is indeed terrible to reflect that we have neither arms nor militia in a province where the papists are eight to one, and have an earlier intelligence than we have of what passes, by what means I know not, but the fact is certainly true." This seems to show that a regular system of secret and rapid communication had been established among the catholics of Ireland. On the 24th of

* How large a portion of the pretender's troops were Irish, or of Irish descent, may be seen by the list of names affixed to the following documents published in the *London Gazette* in 1746, which records the battle of Culloden. The names printed in italics are Irish.

"Translation of a letter from the officers in the service of his most christian majesty, who were at Inverness the day of the battle of Culloden, to major-general Bland—

"Inverness, April 16th.

"Sir,—The French officers and soldiers who are at Inverness surrender themselves prisoners to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and hope for everything which is to be expected from the English generosity.

(Signed) *Cusack.* Dehan.
Murphy. *D. O'Brien.*
Marquis de Guilles. Maedonald.

"To the commanding officer of the troops of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland."

"Translation of the parole of honour, signed by the officers in the service of his most christian majesty, with their names, titles, &c. :—

"Inverness, April 17, 1746.

"We, the under-written, in the service of his most christian majesty, acknowledge ourselves prisoners of war of his Britannick majesty; and we engage ourselves upon parole of honour, not to go out of the town of Inverness without a permission from his royal highness the duke of Cumberland; in witness whereof we have signed this, and have thereunto set the seal of our arms.

"Done at the head-quarters at Inverness. April 17th, 1746.

"Stapleton, brigadier of the armies of the most christian king, and lieutenant-colonel of Berwick's regiment.

Jean MacDonnell, colonel of Fitzjames's regiment.

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November, 1745, the same prelate wrote—"We have been alarmed with the report that a great body of rapparees is up in the county of Kilkenny; these are looked on by some as forerunners of an insurrection. In opposition to this, our militia have been arrayed, that is, sworn; but alas! we want not oaths, we want muskets. I have bought up all I could get, and provided horses and arms for four-and-twenty protestants of Cloyne, which, with a few more that can furnish themselves, make up a troop of thirty horse. This seemed necessary to keep off rogues in these doubtful times." The general feeling of the lower orders of the Irish might be gathered from the joy they expressed on hearing that the pretender had landed in Scotland, and we hear of numerous arrests all over Ireland for seditious cries and speeches. The sympathy was rendered closer by the multitudes of Irish soldiers and officers who were in the service of France, many of whom were actually serving with the pretender's army in Scotland.*

The alarm, however, once given among

Marquis de Guilles, captain in the marine regiment. [This is the person who was called by the rebels the French ambassador.]

Francois Nugent, captain of Fitzjames's regiment of horse, appointed to exercise the function of quarter-master in the French troops in Scotland.

Patrick Nugent, captain of Fitzjames's horse.

N. Comerford, captain of Bulkley's regiment.

Cusack, captain of Dillon's regiment.

Richard Bourke, captain of ditto.

Jean MacDonough, lieutenant of ditto.

Michael Burke, lieutenant of ditto.

Edward de Nugent, captain of ditto.

Carbery Fox, lieutenant of ditto.

Thos. MacDermott, captain of Rothe's regiment.

Dudley MacDermott, lieutenant of ditto.

Peter Taaffe, lieutenant of ditto.

Delahoyde, captain of Berwick's regiment.

Patrick Clergue, captain of ditto.

Thomas Gould, lieutenant of ditto.

Pierre O'Reilly, lieutenant of ditto.

Robert Stack, captain of *Lally's* regiment; being wounded, *Murphy* signed for him.

Richard Murphy, captain of ditto.

Miles Swing, lieutenant of ditto.

Patrick Sarsfield, lieutenant of ditto.

Jaques Grant, lieutenant of ditto.

Jean O'Brien, captain of the regiment of Paris militia.

O'Donohu, captain of the royal Scotch regiment.

Doughls, captain of ditto.

Alexander Gordon, chaplain of the French troops.

Pierre Colieno, captain of a Spanish ship.

Barnava, lieutenant of Fitzjames's regiment.

Robert Shee, captain of ditto, horse.

Thomas Bagot, captain of ditto.

Mark Bagot, adjutant of ditto.

the Irish protestants, was soon increased and spread, and led to a new outburst of animosity against the papists, which rose to such a point, that on a report of marshal Saxe's design of making a descent upon England, it is said to have been seriously proposed in the privy council, that as the papists had begun the massacre on the protestants in 1641, it was but just and reasonable in that critical juncture, to retaliate in the same manner on the papists. Such a proposal found no favour in the council; but it was talked abroad, especially among the lower orders of the protestants; and it appears, that at Lurgan, in the county of Armagh, a conspiracy was actually formed to massacre the catholics, and that it was discovered and so prevented by a respectable merchant of Dublin, who happened to be there on his commercial affairs.

At this conjuncture, the earl of Chesterfield, who had been appointed to succeed the duke of Devonshire as lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived in Dublin, and proceeded to calm the public feeling by his moderation and wisdom. He exerted himself successfully to baffle the designs of the violent party, who urged the government to enforce the penal statutes against the catholics with the utmost severity, as the only means of supporting the protestant establishment. He not only resisted these counsels, but he mitigated the rigours to which many of the catholics had already been subjected. When the rebellion first broke out, the private catholic chapels in Dublin had been searched for, and ordered to be shut up, while proclamations were issued banishing the priests from the capital. Those who refused to leave were imprisoned and threatened with severe punishment. Lord Chesterfield immediately reversed all these proceedings; he assured the Roman catholics the free use of their religion, allowing them to keep their places of worship open, and protecting them from insult or interruption. Instead of hindering them from assembling together, he rather encouraged their meet-

ings, and employed agents to attend at their chapels and fairs, from whom he received assurances, that whatever might be their secret sympathies, the Irish catholics at that moment meditated no designs against the government. While he conciliated all with indulgence, he exhibited a firmness and confidence which calmed the fears of the protestants, at the same time that it checked the hopes of those who were inclined to compromise themselves in the pretender's cause. One Roman catholic, who possessed an estate near Dublin, and was understood to be an agent of the pretender, was called privately to the castle, where the lord lieutenant said to him, "Sir, I do not wish to inquire whether you have any particular employment in this kingdom; but I know that you have a great interest amongst those of your persuasion. I have sent for you to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet. If they behave like faithful subjects, they shall be treated as such; but if they act in a different manner, I shall be worse to them than Cromwell."

Lord Chesterfield knew well the power of political pamphlets at that time, and he employed skilful writers to disseminate his doctrines and spirit among the middle and lower classes. A new *Draper's Letter*, addressed to the "poor papists," was sent abroad, written in the style of Swift, and as though from his hand, although that celebrated writer had lost his reason and then lay on his death bed. Bishop Berkeley exerted himself in the same cause, addressing both the catholics and the protestants. Even the Irish priests were gained by these means, and in most parts assisted in preserving tranquillity. The contempt with which the lord lieutenant received all alarming intelligence, helped more than anything to allay men's fears. Several anecdotes have been preserved relating to the unconcern he showed on such occasions. Once, a zealous protestant came to inform him that one of his coachmen was a papist, and went privately to mass. "Does he, indeed?" said Lord Chesterfield, "well, I

Alexander Geoghegan, captain of *Lally's* regiment.

D'Andrion, officer of artillery.

Jean Nugent, lieutenant of *Fitzjames's* horse.

De Cooke, cornet of ditto.

John Dillon, captain of *Dillon's* regiment.

Thomas Scott, volunteer in *Bulkley's* regiment.

Du Saussay, French engineer.

D'Horton, captain of the royal Scotch.

Dicconson, lieutenant of ditto.

Nairne, lieutenant of ditto.

Damary, lieutenant of ditto.

O'Daniel, lieutenant of *Bulkley's* regiment.

Charles Guillaume Douglas, captain in *Languedoc*.

Jean St. Leger, captain of the royal Scotch.

Eugene O'Keaffe, lieutenant of *Berwick's* regiment.

Charles Bodin, officer of artillery.

Phillippe Molloy, quarter-master in *Fitzjames's*.

Lord Lewis Drummond captain of the royal Scotch.

will take care he shall never carry me there." On another occasion, when the vice-treasurer, Mr. Gardener, a man of considerable weight by his fortune and character, came to him one morning in a state of great alarm, and told him that he was assured on good authority that the people of the province of Connaught were then rising, lord Chesterfield took out his watch, and with great composure made answer, "It is nine o'clock, and certainly time for them to rise; I therefore believe your news to be true."

The Irish parliament assembled on the eighth of October, 1745, and lord Chesterfield opened the session with an address which gave general satisfaction, by the sentiments of moderation which characterised it. He assured the two houses, that he had met them in parliament by the king's commands, in order to co-operate with them in whatever might tend to establish or promote the true interest of that kingdom. He then spoke of the rebellion which had just broken out in Scotland, and reminded them of the happiness they had enjoyed under the dynasty which at present occupied the throne. "The measures," he said, in allusion to the old subject of alarm, the spread of popery, "that have been hitherto taken to prevent the growth of popery, have, I hope, had some, and will still have a greater effect; however, I leave it to your consideration, whether nothing further can be done either by new laws, or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure this nation against the great number of papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence upon society did not both require and authorise restraint." He concluded with, "for my own part, I make you no professions; you will, you ought, to judge of me only by my actions." The lords immediately voted an address to the king, in which they expressed their strong feeling of thankfulness for the appointment of a viceroy so able as lord Chesterfield; and the commons next day resolved upon an address in a similar spirit.

From the moment of his arrival in Ireland, lord Chesterfield pursued a course totally different to that followed by his predecessors. He found there a very considerable military force, yet, without increasing it, which he was urged to do by the alarmists, he sent four battalions to the assistance of the duke of Cumberland.

He replaced these battalions by adding new companies to the regiments already on the establishment, so as to increase neither the expenditure of the nation, the influence of the crown, or his own patronage. He gave encouragement to form volunteer associations in different parts, for the defence of the kingdom. The supply he asked for was but small, and it was raised with ease, and expended with economy. A considerable surplus, which was saved out of what was raised, was applied to the improvement of Cork harbour. By such means, he seemed to have succeeded in conciliating the esteem and support of all parties, and his parliamentary measures met with hardly any opposition. "As it was owing to the lord lieutenant's vigilance and resolution," says lord Chesterfield's biographer, Dr. Maty, "that the French and Spaniards did not attempt to land any troops in Ireland, during the time of the rebellion, it was likewise an effect of his prudence and moderation, that the horrors of a civil war did not reach that country. Distinctions of parties seemed to be abolished, and animosities to be forgotten; as well as prejudices and suspicions. Religion became what it ought to be, a bond of union, instead of an instrument of discord; superstition was enlightened, and fanatics disarmed. Hence a phenomenon took place, not often beheld in times of tranquillity, protestants and Roman catholics, natives and strangers, well-wishers and enemies to the pretender, all alike influenced by the example of their benevolent governor, indulged, respected, and would have loved one another, if he had continued a longer time among them."

The rebellion in Scotland and the session of the Irish parliament were brought to a close about the same time. On the 5th of April, 1746, the house of commons voted an address to the lord lieutenant, expressive of their satisfaction at his government. "May it please your excellency," they said, "we the commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave to express our sincere and unanimous sense of the benefits which we have received from your excellency's mild and prudent administration. His majesty's gracious acceptance of the duty and loyalty of his subjects in this kingdom, has been particularly manifested by his committing them to your excellency's care in so critical a conjuncture, when your zeal for the present happy establishment was of more immediate importance to our security,

and your eminent abilities could be more effectually exerted for our service. These uncommon talents, by which your excellency has been most justly distinguished, and which did in all times excite our imagination, must now more sensibly affect us, when we have seen them, through your whole administration, so invariably directed and employed with so unwearied an application to support the dignity of his majesty's crown, and to promote the true interest of his people. As upon the first appearance of the rebellion in Scotland our zeal for his majesty animated us with a just resentment and indignation, and as our concern for the preservation of our rights and liberties, so dear to the protestants of this kingdom, could not but raise in our minds some unquiet apprehensions, we were ready, as we shall ever be, cheerfully to concur in all proper measures, and to exert our utmost strength, for the defence of the king's government and the support of your excellency's authority under him. And we do now, with equal cheerfulness and with the utmost gratitude, acknowledge that the profound tranquillity which, without any extraordinary increase of public expense, we of this nation have hitherto enjoyed, has been the result of a wise and vigilant administration over us—an administration formed upon the principles, and carried on by the uniform exercise of lenity without remissness, and of firmness without severity. We receive it as a particular mark of your excellency's regard, that when your assistance at his majesty's councils, in this time of the most arduous and extensive deliberations there, must have been so necessary, you have seemed to consider the business of this kingdom as the principal object of your attention. Upon this account, we think it almost superfluous to add our request, that your excellency would, on your return, represent us in the most favourable manner to his majesty, since our experience of your past conduct must sufficiently assure us of the continuance of the same good dispositions towards us, and as we are most firmly persuaded that your presence has not been more conducive to our safety now, than your influence will hereafter be to our prosperity."

The rebellion was crushed at Culloden on the sixteenth of April, 1746, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, three lords justices, (archbishop Hoadley, the lord chancellor Newport, and Mr. Boyle, the speaker

of the house of commons), were appointed to receive the reins of government on the return of lord Chesterfield to England. The respect which his government had inspired was shown by his bust being placed, at the public expense, in the castle of Dublin. He was succeeded by the earl of Harrington, who was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland on the 13th of September, 1716. When this nobleman met his first parliament, in the October of 1747, he felt himself justified in complimenting them on the continued and apparently established tranquillity of the country. Yet secret recruiting for foreign service was carried on with as much activity as ever, and it seems to have been understood that France, disappointed at the failure of the Scottish rebellion, was preparing for a descent upon Ireland. In January, 1747, bishop Berkeley asks in one of his letters—"Is there any apprehension of an invasion upon Ireland?"

Many bundles of letters from a Mr. or colonel Kelly, which exist among the Stuart papers, prove him to have been exceedingly active in Ireland during 1749; and on the 15th of April in that year, Fitzgerald notices the execution of Dennis Dunn, near Broad-lane, in Cork, "for enlisting John M'Fall to be a serjeant in the French army." Notwithstanding the peace, recruiting for the service of France proceeded actively, and we hear frequently of executions for this offence. At the same time, some parts of the country began again to be the scenes of popular turbulence. The lawless associations known by the name of rapparees at the close of the seventeenth century were consequent upon a state of civil warfare. In the course of twenty years the rapparees were succeeded by the houghers, a degenerate race, encouraged, if not organised for a political purpose, and so long as their ebullition was allowed freely to escape into foreign services, little of the evil humour of the Irish constitution was obvious. The abbé M'Geoghegan states from official documents that more than four hundred and fifty thousand Irishmen had died in the service of France between 1691 and 1745; and Mr. Newenham, who quotes and examines this statement in his *Inquiry into the Population of Ireland*, thinks "that we are not sufficiently warranted in considering it as an exaggeration." When, however, the vent was interrupted, when this drain of the Roman catholic youth ceased, from the exiled family or from France,

whose tools the Stuarts were, no longer requiring the services abroad of the disaffected Irish, they were loosely held together at home by agents in the pay of France, or speculators, in expectation of being so in the event of future operations. And the atrocities afterwards committed by the whiteboys are exactly those pieces of wantonness and of cruelty which may be expected from a semi-disciplined, semi-paid, and semi-organised body, whose reliance upon leaders confident of foreign support, inspired a boldness that could not be felt if the whiteboys were undirected, and their leaders unsupported by foreign aid, or promises in which they confided.

One of the earliest of the whiteboy movements is thus recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1753, and it has somewhat of the character of an experiment to ascertain the state of popular feeling, or of a demonstration for the purpose of intimidation:—"Kilcock, county of Kildare, June 12.—This town is in the utmost consternation, the mob having by publick proclamation invited the mobs of adjacent towns, are now increased to about sixteen hundred, under pretence of levelling the ditches made to inclose lands, which, as they pretend, were formerly commons; they have laid waste some of the finest parks both of meadow and corn in this country, which have not been common in the memory of any person living. They pull down the piers and hedges, burn the gates, march with colours flying, drums, trumpets, &c. Where this will end we cannot foresee, but as they go about laying the whole country under contribution, and threaten death to any one who shall resist or give information against them, we think ourselves in much danger."

An episode to the history of this period in an account of Mr. O'Sullivan, commonly known as Morty Oge,* exhibits so vivid a picture of the state of Irish Society, in which the strong hand was resorted to upon all occasions, that it requires no apology for its introduction here, especially as the memory of the hero is still exceedingly popular in the south of Ireland, and, as it is surmised, in more than one letter of the year 1797 which has come under the writer's inspection, that the fame of Morty Oge's exploits, and the many successful embarkations of troops for

France which had been made from the south-west coast, induced the French government upwards of forty years afterwards to decide upon Bantry bay, or some neighbouring harbour, as a proper point for the debarkation of an invading force. The following history of Morty Oge, which was received from Mr. Maurice O'Connell, was given to me by Mr. Crofton Croker. The closeness, however, of this traditionary version with two contemporary statements is remarkable, and leaves nothing for comment beyond the nature of the smuggling in which O'Sullivan was engaged. Mr. Callanan, an unfortunate young man of considerable genius, who made a spirited translation of an Irish keen or elegy composed on the death of Morty Oge, observes, "He had long been a turbulent character in the wild district which he inhabited, and was particularly obnoxious to the local authorities, who had good reason to suspect him of enlisting men for the Irish brigade in the French service, in which it was said he held a captain's commission."

"Morty Oge O'Sullivan, was the head of a junior branch of the house of O'Sullivan Bere, and had been a captain of Hungarian grenadiers, in the Austrian service, but on the death of his father, had returned to reside on his property in Ireland. His residence was at a place called Inch, on the southern shore of the river Kenmare. Smuggling then, as until lately, prevailed to a great extent in that part of the country, and Morty Oge took his full share of the risks and profits of the contraband trade. On returning from one of his expeditions, his vessel, a sloop or large hooker, was attacked by the revenue officers. Morty and his party resisted, fired upon and killed some of the assailants, and drove off the rest.

"The sheriff for the county of Cork at the period was a Mr. Puxley, the descendant of one of Cromwell's officers, who had obtained large grants of land in Berehaven. He resided at Dunboy, near the site of the ancient castle of the O'Sullivan Bere, in the neighbourhood of Morty Oge. The defeated revenue folk fled to the sheriff's house, and demanded assistance. Though Puxley had surrounded himself with a body guard, in the persons of a number of protestant settlers, whom he had brought from Ulster, he did not think himself strong enough to attack Morty Oge; but, in the discharge of his duty, had him outlawed. Morty, as soon as he became aware of Puxley's proceedings.

* The name Morty, which has been Anglicised into Mortimer, is written in Irish *Muirtach*, or *Muir-cheartach*, meaning literally expert or skilful at sea. *Oge* is young, and exactly corresponds with our use of the word junior.

sent him a challenge, and, on the sheriff's refusing to meet him, declared that he would force him to fight. Puxley had been in Cork, and on his road homewards, on horseback, having his wife on a pillion behind him, and followed by a mounted servant, was met by Morty Oge, accompanied by one of his foster-brothers. They had been waiting his approach, at a forge not far from the entrance to Dunboy house. Both Puxley and his servant had pistols, and Morty and his companion were similarly armed. Morty stopped Puxley's horse, and, saying that they were equally armed, called upon him to alight and fight him. This challenge was declined, Puxley observing he would have nothing to do with him; and at the same time endeavouring to pass him by, and putting his hand to one of his own pistols, as he drew it from the holster, O'Sullivan fired and shot him through the head. He and his foster-brother then withdrew, and left the widow and servant with the body. On the news of this affair reaching Cork, a party was immediately detached to seize O'Sullivan, and a price was set on his head. However, he was always accompanied by twenty or thirty armed men; and had his spies so posted, that he was easily able to remove in time, before the military could reach him. Several attempts were made to capture him; but he always either beat off or avoided the officers of the law, and continued for some years to live in Berehaven, as it was termed, "on his keeping." The widow Puxley, who was indefatigable in her efforts to revenge the slaughter of her husband, at length found means to corrupt one of Morty's sentinels; and, by his assistance, a military party, accompanied by the armed protestant tenants of the late sheriff, were enabled to surround O'Sullivan's house. Its garrison were then summoned to surrender, but answered by firing a volley, and a regular battle commenced.

During the engagement, some of the soldiers contrived to get close under the wall of the house, at the rear, and were preparing to set fire to the thatch, when they were seen, from a small window over their heads, by one of Morty's foster-brothers, who informed him of the circumstance. "Let me see," said he, "whether they are Ulster men or soldiers?" Having satisfied himself that they were soldiers, he desired that they might not be molested; remarking, that had they been Puxley's Ulster men, he would have shot the whole of them; but did not

wish to kill the "other poor devils, who were fighting for their sixpence a day." This piece of generosity was fatal to him, for in a moment after these very men succeeded in setting fire to the thatch.

The battle, however, still continued, until the house was nearly burnt, when one of Morty's foster-brothers determined to sacrifice himself for the safety of the rest of the party. "Give me your gold-laced hat," said he to his chief, "and I will rush out and fire among them, and then endeavour and break through them. They will take me for you, and follow; and, in the confusion, you can all rush out and escape." Accordingly he made a sortie, with a pistol in each hand, shot a man to the right and left, and broke through the ranks of the assailants. All turned to pursue him, but he had not gone far before he was pierced by several bullets, and fell.

The house now blazed so brightly that, on coming up to the body, it was immediately known, by the light, not to be Morty's; and the party returned just as he himself rushed forth. He fired two shots at them, and fled by the end of the house towards the river Kenmare. Several shots were fired after him, without effect; and in all probability he would have escaped, for he had reached a large furze-bush, which, once passed, would have shut him from the view of the soldiers; but instead of going on either side of it, he made a jump over, and, while in the act, received a ball through the body, and fell dead at the other side. Of his garrison, two were taken; the rest fled to the mountains. Morty's head was cut off, and fixed on the gaol of Cork.

It appears, from the affidavit of a man named Twohy, that, in 1756, James Herbert, called also Thomas Fitzgerald, enlisted men at Kilfinnan and Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, for the service of France, and that he shipped them off at Bantry; that, on the lands of Ardfinnan and Drumlemon, county of Tipperary, and elsewhere, Herbert, who called himself a French officer, swore the peasantry under the oath of fidelity and obligation to the French king, and exercised them under arms; and that Twohy saw Herbert frequently pay them money, in the name and for the service of the French king, and also often received it from him; and that he heard Herbert frequently assure them, thus assembled, that they should soon receive assistance from France, in order to conquer Ireland.

CHAPTER X.

POLITICAL CONTESTS; CHARLES LUCAS; OPPOSITION TO THE ENGLISH INTEREST.



THE struggle between the popular or patriotic party, and the court or English interest, was at this time rendered more intense, by an accidental election contest. The new rules of the corporation of Dublin, framed in the reign of Charles II., by authority from a clause in the act of explanation, had placed considerable restrictions on the liberties of the citizens, chiefly with the object of increasing the influence of the crown. Among other things, they took the power of choosing the city magistrates from the commons, and gave it to the board of aldermen, which was made subject in its exercise, on each election, to the approbation of the chief governor and privy council. One of the citizens, named Charles Lucas, a man of considerable abilities, and a firm opponent of the court party, who had been some time before admitted into the council, resolved to exert himself in behalf of the privileges of his fellow-citizens, and began with complaining against the restrictions placed upon their elections. Finding that there was no chance of obtaining redress on this point, and suspecting that other encroachments, not justified by law, had been made on the city liberties, he proceeded to examine carefully the charters and other records of the city, and he published his discoveries in a book, in which he pointed out the encroachments which had been made on the liberties of the citizens, and urged them to take immediate steps for obtaining redress. The consequence was a warm contest between the commons and the aldermen, which began in 1741, and continued during two years; and, though they were not successful in recovering for the citizens their lost privileges, the exertions of Lucas gained him the esteem and confidence of the citizens. In 1749, a vacancy was made in the representation of Dublin by the death of Sir James Sommerville; and Lucas was invited by the popular party to offer himself as a candidate. Another candidate, Mr. James Digges La Touche, who had formerly been a friend of Lucas, and an advocate of the same poli-

tical principles, but who had since abandoned them, was set up as an opponent, and the contest was one of great violence, and became a trial of strength between the patriots and the government. In his speeches to the constituents, as well as in a multitude of placards and pamphlets, Lucas endeavoured to impress on people's minds the opinions of which he had set himself up to be the champion. He explained to them the nature and character of the several branches of the constitution, and pointed out what were the rights and privileges of Irishmen, and how they had been broken and trespassed upon by the interference of the British legislature. The abilities displayed in these several writings, and the applause with which they were everywhere received, soon gave alarm to the government, and it was determined to prosecute the author. His various publications were carefully examined, and certain passages, that were most obnoxious to the state, were selected and made the foundation of a charge brought against Mr. Lucas in parliament. By a majority of the house of commons he was voted an enemy to his country; and they resolved upon an address to the lord lieutenant, requesting that he might be prosecuted by the attorney-general. To avoid the impending storm, which it was evident could not be resisted, Lucas fled from Ireland, and remained in exile until the exertions of his friends overcame the influence that had been employed against him; and he returned, and was, at length, elected to represent Dublin in parliament, another vacancy having occurred. In the house of commons, as well as elsewhere, he distinguished himself as one of the foremost advocates of popular principles, to the end of his life.

The spirit of religious freedom had now assumed an activity which it was no longer possible to check, and the friends of the old "English interest" became every day more alarmed. After the death of archbishop Boulter, his successor in the primacy, archbishop Hoadley, became the active head of the Irish government, until his death in 1747, when he was succeeded by an ecclesiastic of great celebrity, George Stone,

who was translated from the bishopric of Derry to the archbishopric of Armagh. This prelate was an unscrupulous courtier, and a violent supporter of the English interest. He was a proud and arrogant man, and became an object of popular hatred for his political, and, as it was believed, his personal vices. The lords justices at this time were, archbishop Stone, lord Newport, and Henry Boyle, the speaker of the house of commons, the latter of whom was looked upon as the leader of the party opposed to the primate. The rivalry of the two parties broke out in the parliamentary session of 1749, when, in consequence of the flourishing state of trade, there being a surplus in the Irish revenue, the house of commons imagined that they had an undoubted right to employ the surplus in such objects of national importance as they might think advisable, without previously obtaining the king's permission. A bill was accordingly brought forward, "for applying a portion of the balance to the discharge of a portion of the national debt." The courtiers, who ranged themselves under the banner of the primate, were highly offended at this proceeding, and affirmed that the commons had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take any such subject into consideration, without the previous consent of the crown expressed in the most explicit terms; while the patriots ranged themselves under the speaker, insisting that no such assent was necessary, and they carried a resolution of the house to this effect by a small majority. The English ministry appears to have been desirous of avoiding a quarrel, and the duke of Dorset, who repaired again to Ireland as lord lieutenant in 1751, told the Irish parliament, in his opening speech, that he was commanded by the king, to acquaint them that his majesty would graciously consent and recommend it to them, that such a part of the money then remaining in his treasury as should be thought consistent with the public service, should be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt. The Irish commons were offended at this recommendation, which they looked upon as trespassing upon their privileges, and in their address in reply to the speech, they echoed the king's recommendation, without mentioning his consent. They, in the same manner, omitted all mention of the king's consent in the preamble to a bill now brought in, to apply one hundred and twenty

thousand pounds of the surplus of the revenue, towards the discharge of the national debt. The English ministry expressed great resentment at what they looked upon as an encroachment on the king's prerogative, and they altered one preamble, before they returned the bill to Ireland, and inserted the mention of the king's consent, as well as of his recommendation. The bill thus sent back to Ireland, was passed with its altered preamble, because the Irish house of commons happened to be engaged in a serious enquiry relating to the misapplication of public money.

A member of the house of commons, named Nevil, who held the office of surveyor and engineer-general, had, in his capacity as a servant of the crown, received a considerable sum of money for the purpose of rebuilding or repairing the barracks, which money he had embezzled and turned to his own account, leaving the barracks uncared for. Such embezzlements had long been common in Ireland, but the offenders were generally screened by court favour; and an attempt was made to screen in the same manner Mr. Nevil, who was a firm supporter of the English interest. It was one of the first cases in which the patriots in the house of commons had made an attack of this kind with any prospect of success, and they were unwilling to run the risk of spoiling that prospect by involving themselves in another quarrel with the government, on the question of the surplus of the revenue, by refusing to pass the alterations in the preamble made by the English ministers. They succeeded in convicting Mr. Nevil of misapplying the public money and abusing the public trust, and they ordered him to make the barracks fit for the reception of troops, at his own expense, and without any further charge to the public.

The duke of Dorset himself was generally popular for his engaging manners, but his son, lord George Sackville, who held the office of secretary, rendered himself generally obnoxious by his disdainful pride, and his name was associated in the expressions of popular animosity with that of the hated primate Stone. People complained loudly that the government of Ireland should be entrusted to an English prelate and a supercilious boy. The duke of Dorset himself began to lose his popularity. He opened the session of 1753 with a speech in which he again stated to the house of commons that he was commanded by his majesty to

inform them that he graciously consented and recommended it to them to apply so much of the money remaining in the treasury as should be necessary to the discharge of the national debt, or of such part of it as they might judge expedient. The commons now resumed their old spirit, and not only omitted the word *consent* from their address, but they did not even express their "grateful acknowledgment." When the bill was prepared, a cold recital of facts was given in the preamble, and it was thus dispatched to England. The English ministry were fired with indignation, and they at once altered the preamble of the bill, which was now made to read as follows:—"and your majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would consent to recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your majesty's treasury as should be necessary, be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or such part thereof as should be thought expedient by parliament."

The moment had now arrived when the Irish house of commons was forced to decide the important constitutional point, whether the people in parliament assembled had a right to deliberate upon and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue, without the previous consent of the crown. The bill was rejected by a majority of five votes, and the success of the patriot party was celebrated with the most extravagant rejoicings. On the other hand, all the servants of the crown who had voted with the opposition were turned out of their places; and the rejection of the bill had a considerable effect on the public credit.

On this occasion many of the Irish nobility and persons of consideration joined with the popular party, which nevertheless was spoken of disdainfully at court as a popish and jacobite faction, which was endeavouring to destroy the royal prerogative in order to pave the way for the expulsion of king George from the throne. These representations increased the virulence of party animosity, which pervaded every class of society. Amongst those who had taken a prominent part in the opposition to the court was the earl of Kildare, who, indignant at the reproaches which were thrown out against himself and his party, presented with his own hand to the king a memorial in defence of his conduct. In this document, after reminding the king of the services

which his ancestors had rendered to the English crown, and the rank they had held among the Irish aristocracy, he made an honest and bold statement of the grievances which his countrymen complained of. "Your memorialist has," he said, "in the most humble manner, at the request of the natives of Ireland, your majesty's true liege subjects, not only the aborigines thereof, but the English colonists sent over by Henry the Second, Richard the Second, Elizabeth, Charles, Cromwell the Usurper, William the Third of glorious memory, and other kings, your majesty's predecessors, and the conquerors of Ireland, made bold to lay before your majesty the true state of their several and respective grievances, a burden now become almost too heavy to bear. And your memorialist was rather induced to lay this memorial at your august majesty's feet, as it was on good presumption surmised that all access to your royal ear was shut up, and your liege subjects debarred the liberty of complaining, a right ever allowed to your majesty's liege subjects of what degree or condition soever. That no notice being taken of several remonstrances heretofore made by your majesty's liege subjects, it was humbly presumed that such remonstrances had been stopped and debarred in their progress to your royal ear. That your memorialist, at the request of several thousands of your liege subjects, as well the nobles as the clergy, the gentry, and commonalty of the kingdom, has ventured on this bold step, for which he humbly craves your majesty's pardon, as nothing but the distress of his countrymen, your most loyal subjects, could have drawn him to this presumption. That in general the face of your loyal kingdom of Ireland wears discontent, a discontent not coloured from caprice or faction, but purely founded on ministerial misapplication. That though several persons, particularly N., was called to account for the public money, which he had drawn out of the treasury, and deposited in the banks, yet this inquisition came to nothing by the mediation of party and the interposition of power. That the duke of Dorset's son, lord George, though in high and lucrative employment already, not satisfied therewith, has restlessly grasped at power, insatiable in his acquisitions. That the primate, who is now on the pinnacle of honour, connected with the said noble lord, has made use of his influence to invest himself of temporal power, and, like a greedy churchman,

affects to be a second Wolsey in the senate. That influences being so predominant, corruption so formidable, and elections so controlled by the mighty power of those two statesmen, your loyal kingdom of Ireland feels the sad effects of it, and dreads this decemvirate as much as England did that of the earl of Strafford and archbishop Laud. That your other ministers, officers, subjects, and servants, being cut out of dignity and power by this formidable monopoly, can scarce perform the proper functions of their ministry, as all measures are determined by fatal and influenced majorities in the houses. That the citizens of Dublin have for a long time laboured under an unprecedented slavery in subjection to the bankers of administration, who act in a despotie manner, raising and disposing the public revenues of the city, just as to them seems fitting. That your majesty's interest in the hearts of your loyal subjects is likely to be affected by those arbitrary measures, as the landed interest is very much injured thereby, and as few care to represent their country in parliament where a junto of two or three men disconcert every measure taken for the good of the subject or the cause of common liberty. That your memorialist has nothing to ask of your majesty, neither place civil or military, neither employment or preferment, for himself or friends, and that nothing but his duty to your majesty and his natural hatred to such detestable monopoly, could have induced your memorialist to this presumption." This bold remonstrance gave great offence at court, where the folly and presumption of the earl of Kildare became almost proverbial, while the earl rose proportionally in the eyes of the people of Ireland.

The disregard shown to the earl of Kildare's memorial increased the popular discontent, which broke out in many parts in clamours and riots. The session of the Irish parliament, in 1753, was a very uneasy one, and led to several important changes. As parties were now nearly balanced, the leaders of each began to league together and intrigue to obtain power or profit by their position. The haughty primate attempted to gain over some of the opposition to strengthen himself, but he was overreached by his own insincerity and ambition. He had disgusted many by drawing them on with promises of preferment and emolument, which it appeared by the result it was never his design to fulfil. The earl of Besborough

had been intriguing to obtain the place of speaker of the house of commons for his son, Mr. Ponsonby, and to set up an independent interest in the house, but being baffled in his design by the patriots, he united with the primate. The earl looked upon the primate as being more eager for power than riches, and he hoped to draw the profits to himself; while the primate imagined that by having the young speaker under his control he should be master of the house. But this plot was thwarted by the resistance of the present speaker, Mr. Boyle, who was a deeper politician than the primate himself. As he refused to quit his post, the primate endeavoured to force him to resign by making his situation uneasy; but this also failed, for the speaker rallied his friends around him, and proved stronger than his opponent. He had been raised to the chair, and was supported in it, by the popular party, without the assistance, if not in opposition to government. He had had the art to preserve his popularity, even when supporting unpopular acts.

The agitation caused by these intrigues was so great, and led to such serious disturbances, that the English ministry resolved on recalling lord Dorset, and through the influence of Mr. Fox, the lord lieutenantancy was given to lord Hartington (afterwards duke of Devonshire), a nobleman known to be the intimate friend of the popular earl of Kildare. The sagacity of the earl of Besborough led him to foresee the approaching downfall of the primate, and he resolved to make the most of his position while it lasted. Nothing could be more favourable to his views than the appointment of lord Hartington, through whom he hoped to reconcile himself with the patriots, who had been greatly offended by his coalition with the primate; and through them he expected to place his son in the chair of the house of commons. A secret treaty was entered into, through the intermediation of the earl of Kildare, between lord Besborough, the speaker, and Mr. Malone, to arrange the changes which it was intended should take place under the new administration. When the new lord lieutenant arrived, he showed the utmost favour to all who had most violently opposed his predecessor, and the conduct of his administration was at first involved in the greatest mystery. The patriots, who seemed in the ascendant, talked loudly of impeachments and expulsions, while the

primate found it necessary to assume an appearance of zeal in supporting the measures of the lord lieutenant, however contrary they might be to his own sentiments. Either party was afraid of provoking the other, and the patriots themselves held back until the new arrangements were announced. The principal of these was, the promotion of the speaker, Mr. Boyle, to the earldom of Shannon, with a pension of two thousand a year. Mr. Ponsonby was now elected speaker without opposition; and Mr. Malone was to succeed Mr. Boyle as chancellor of the exchequer. Other appointments were less popular, but they were tolerated by the popular party. Mr. Carter was induced to accept the secretaryship, but the clamour against him was so great, that he was compelled, subsequently, to decline it, and Mr. Boyle remained in that office, the emoluments of which were given to Mr. Malone. The latter gentleman was especially unpopular, but in this strange coalition, even the general odium under which he laboured was for a while suspended. Mr. Stannard, a man who stood high in the favour of the people, had been induced to take Malone's office of prime serjeant, on being told that his majesty had himself nominated him to that office, and had stated that he would take his acceptance of it as a personal obligation.

The whole framework of the old political parties was thus deranged, at an advanced period of the session, when it was too late to form a new party against the united force of so many chiefs. Nevertheless, the discontented soon began to league together, and their clamours were directed especially against the lord lieutenant. Lord Hartington became alarmed, and, that the incipient opposition might not have time to grow to a head, he abruptly closed the session at the moment when it was expected that the commons would pass a resolution embarrassing to the government.

The whole body of the presbyterians were at this time leagued with the patriots. They were influenced by their natural antipathy to prelacy to unite against the power of the primate, and they were strongly opposed to the new English interest. Through the influence of Mr. Malone, who enjoyed the respect and confidence of the Irish catholics, they took the same side of the question. This apparent coalition between the dissenters and the Roman catholics gave the first serious alarm to the primate, who was well aware that

union among the Irish people must raise the Irish over the English interest. At length the final blow was struck, by the disgrace of primate Stone, whose name was by the king's command struck off the list of privy councillors; while most of those who had been displaced by that prelate's intrigues were restored to their places with honour. After these changes, much of the popular agitation subsided, and the kingdom once more assumed the appearance of tranquillity. The marquis of Hartington, who had now succeeded to the title of duke of Devonshire, returned to England in 1756, when the lord chancellor Jocelyn and the earls of Kildare and Besborough were nominated lords justices. In his farewell speech to the Irish parliament, the duke of Devonshire departed from the usual rule of recommending a union between the Irish protestants against the common enemy, and inserted a clause encouraging harmony and union amongst all his majesty's faithful subjects. The changes had been altogether of a popular character; it was the old patriots who were now in power, and in appearance the cause of fair civil liberty was triumphant in Ireland.

No sooner, however, were the patriots in power, than it was seen that their professions had been rather the result of faction than an honest zeal for the good of their country. On the 17th of March, 1756, the Irish house of commons, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, for taking into consideration the heads of a bill to secure the freedom of parliament, by vacating the seats of such members of the house of commons as should accept of any pension or civil office of profit from the crown. The interests of many individuals in the house were affected by this bill; and accordingly, after a warm debate, it was thrown out by a considerable majority, furnishing an example to the Irish people how little they could depend on the professions of these patriots when out of power, if once they obtained a share in the good things of office.

The new speaker, Mr. Ponsonby, was distinguished by his zeal in the popular cause, and the patriots now formed a steady and powerful body. During the session of which we are speaking, they rallied again on a question of great constitutional importance, whether the great representative body of the nation should be deprived of access to the throne by any ministerial influence,

through which channel the petitions and grievances of the nation are most properly laid before it. A committee was appointed to inspect the public accounts of the nation, which gave in a report consisting of the following resolutions: "that it is the opinion of this committee, that the several pensions and salaries placed upon the civil establishment of this kingdom since the 23rd of March, 1755, amount to the annual sum of twenty-eight thousand one hundred and three pounds; that it is the opinion of this committee, that several of the said pensions are granted to persons who do not reside in this kingdom; that it is the opinion of this committee, that several of the said pensions are granted for long and unusual terms; that it is the opinion of this committee, that the list of pensions returned as a charge upon this establishment (exclusive of the military pensions) for two years, from the 25th of March, 1755, to the 25th of March, 1757, exceed the whole charges of the rest of the civil list twenty-two thousand two hundred and fifty-eight pounds, four shillings, and seven-pence three farthings. That it is the opinion of this committee, that an improvident disposition of the revenue is an injury to the crown and public." This report produced a series of very energetic resolutions of the house of commons, which were carried without a dissentient voice, and which were, "That the granting of pensions upon the civil establishment of this kingdom to persons who do not reside in it, is a prejudice to it; that the increase of civil pensions for many years past is a grievance to the nation and demands redress; that the granting of pensions for a long term of years, is an alienation of so much of the public revenue, and an injury to the crown and this kingdom; that the granting of so much of the public revenue in pensions, is an improvident disposition of the revenue, an injury to the crown, and detrimental to the public; that the house, with its speaker, do attend his grace the lord lieutenant with the said resolutions, and desire his grace will be pleased to lay the same before his majesty as the sense of this house." When the commons attended the lord lieutenant with their resolutions, the only answer they received was, that the matter contained in those resolutions was of so high a nature, that he could not suddenly determine whether it were proper to transmit them to his majesty. An attempt was made to draw the house of commons into an acknowledgment that this

answer was explicit and satisfactory, but after a warm debate, the attempt proved unsuccessful, and when the house met two days afterwards, a motion was made that all orders not proceeded on should be adjourned to the next day, the house not having received an answer from the lord lieutenant relative to transmitting their resolutions to his majesty. A great debate now arose, as the opposing the adjournment was the same thing as voting for the suppression of the resolutions, and involved a denial of the right of laying national grievances before the throne. At length, on a division, the adjournment was carried by a majority of twenty-one. This was a severe lesson to the government, and the following day the lord lieutenant informed the house that their resolutions should be immediately transmitted to his majesty. The house then proceeded to business, and passed the money bill.

The body of the Irish catholics were now beginning to be more and more brought forward into political importance. The duke of Bedford, a nobleman remarkable for his liberality of sentiments, was appointed lord lieutenant on the 25th of September, 1757, and his intentions towards the catholics were so well known, that within ten days after, a form of exhortation was read from the altar by the catholic clergy of Dublin, announcing that they had received encouragement to hope for some mitigation of the penal laws. This announcement naturally produced considerable agitation among the Irish catholics, some of whom had already been devoting their thoughts to the most effectual means of removing from their shoulders some part of the weight under which they laboured. It happened that the heads of a registry bill had been prepared under the late administration, and were handed about. As it would have operated as a new and very severe penal law upon the catholics, it created much alarm among them, and they consulted together on the best means of warding off the blow. It was agreed that the surest way of preventing new penal laws would be to make vigorous exertions to obtain the repeal of those already existing, and for this purpose they held frequent meetings, in which there was much diversity of opinion. They gradually separated into two grand parties, headed respectively by lord Trimbleston and Dr. Fitzsimon, and differing chiefly about the forms of their proceedings.

Dr. O'Keefe, the titular or popish bishop of Kildare, proposed to lord Trimbleston's meeting a declaration of the principles of their church, as far as they bore upon their civil duties, to be signed by the chief of their body, and published as an answer to "the misrepresentations and calumnies" they had so long laboured under. This declaration was unanimously adopted, and, after having been signed by many clergymen and gentlemen of rank and property, was sent to Rome as the act and deed of the catholics of his diocese. It was the first public act of the catholics for obtaining some relaxation of the penal laws. At the same time a still more effective measure was suggested by Mr. O'Connor, Dr. Curry, and Mr. Wyse, of Waterford, who proposed that a Roman catholic committee should be established in Dublin, to conduct the political affairs of the catholics of Ireland with more order and effect. Their first meeting, held at the Globe tavern, in Essex-street, was attended only by seven gentlemen, but they proceeded at once to mature their plans, and a written draft of their future proceedings was given in by Mr. Wyse. This rather important document was worded as follows:—"Whereas, many of the penal laws enacted against the Roman catholics of Ireland, since the revolution, have in a great measure been owing to the supineness of some, to the overbearing superiority assumed by others in taking the lead, and despising the opinions of men of greater knowledge and penetration; to embezzlements of public money, and an insecurity of application to the purposes for which large sums have been occasionally raised; to an imprudent choice of improper agents; to the diffidence and difficulty of raising such sums as are necessary to give weight to solicitation; and, lastly, to the want of that good understanding, harmony, and union, so remarkable in the political conduct of all other dissenters, by which they have preserved a legal toleration of their religious worship, and the rights and liberties of freemen, which the catholics might have been equally successful in keeping, if they had gone hand in hand, and pursued the same methods, the neglect and omission of which have brought such an inundation of calamities on us, that neither clergy nor laity could live in this kingdom, if the severity of the laws themselves did not suspend their execution, and the lenity of government hold up the scourge but not the spirit of perse-

cution, which breaks out each session with greater violence, and, though now and then diverted, yet in the end must extirpate us, if not prudently counteracted. And whereas it would be impossible to convene together all the Roman catholics of property throughout the kingdom on any emergency, or even all the Roman catholics of weight and consequence in and about the city of Dublin, the fountain-head of intelligence, and though such a convention were practicable, it would be inexpedient; in order, therefore, to remedy, &c., &c., the following scheme is humbly proposed for establishing a perpetual committee of representatives for each diocese in Ireland, and for each parish in the city of Dublin. One representative to be chosen by ballot, at a meeting of the principal inhabitants of each parish, and in each county, by a majority of the parish priests, as well as of the towns and cities, and such nomination and appointment of a lay representative to be signed not only by the said clergy, but also by the principal inhabitants of the diocese, and these several elections to be made with as much secrecy as possible. The chairman of the said committee, with an assistant, constantly residing in Dublin, to keep a book of accounts, and enter all transactions for the satisfaction of their constituents; to be annually chosen on some day before the first of January, by a majority of members, and to have a casting voice in case of a division and an equality of voices on both sides. The country members, who may not be in town at the time of any necessary business, shall be duly apprised thereof by the chairman or assistant-secretary for the time being, and any gentleman, though not of the committee, shall have access to their meetings, to give his opinion or advice on any deliberation of importance, but not to have a voice in any debate or resolution of the committee, or be present when the question is put; and everything done by a majority of voices, relative to the spiritual or temporal welfare of the constituents, shall be binding, and considered by all parties as conclusive."

This deliberate attempt at organising a resistance on the part of the catholics, and the agitation observed among them, gave alarm to the protestants, and led, in many cases, to a more rigorous execution of the penal laws. The catholics were alarmed at the spirit they had thus provoked, and were driven, in self-defence, to cement their

union among themselves. An occurrence of a very private character, in the following year (1758), was made an occasion of exhibiting openly the anti-catholic feeling of their protestant rulers. A young catholic lady of the name of Toole, to escape the importunities of her friends, who urged her to conform with the established religion, took refuge in the house of a Mr. Saul, a merchant in Dublin. Application was made to the authorities by the friends of the lady, and Mr. Saul was prosecuted for receiving and detaining her. He was publicly assured from the bench, that the laws did not presume a papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of government. The publication, in 1759, anonymously, and with the utmost secrecy and caution, of Dr. Curry's memorials of the Irish rebellion in 1641, was also looked upon as a measure of hostility against the protestant government, and not only provoked severe remarks, but added to the irritation of the protestants against the catholics in general.

Thus, the close of the reign of George II. saw the commencement of that grand struggle of the Irish catholics for emancipation, which required so long a period to be successful. The indulgent spirit shown towards them by the government, at this time, is supposed to have had partly for its object, to reconcile the Irish catholics to the then crudely digested plan of a union between the two countries. This plan displeased many, whose interests would be affected by it, and who employed every means of agitation to prejudice the people against it.

This soon produced its effect, and, joined with the unpopularity of the then lord lieutenant, the Duke of Bedford, showed itself in scenes of riotous violence. Great pains having been taken to propagate a belief among the lower orders, that the projected union would deprive Ireland of its parliament, and that that kingdom would be made a mere dependance upon England, and be subjected to the same taxes; a prodigious multitude assembled in the capital on the 3rd of September, 1759, broke into the house of lords and insulted the peers, placed an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals, with the intent to burn them. Not content with this outrage, they compelled such members of both houses as they met in the streets, to take an oath that they would never consent to such a union, or give any vote contrary to the true interests of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of the mob. Soldiers were brought out to overawe the rioters, but with no success, and they were only dispersed by night.

Next day the house of commons met, and addresses were drawn up there and in the lords, on the outrage of the day preceding, in consequence of which, a committee of inquiry was appointed. An attempt was made to throw the odium of this riot on the catholics, but the lord lieutenant publicly exonerated them from all participation in it.

CHAPTER XI.

THUROT'S EXPEDITION.



At this moment England was engaged in a war with France, and it was understood that a formidable fleet was preparing in the ports of the latter power, to effect a descent upon Great Britain.

The invading force was distributed in three

divisions. A large body of troops was to be transported from Havre and other ports of Normandy, to England; while another considerable body, assembled under the command of the duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Brittany, was to proceed from Vannes to the south of Ireland. The transport of these troops was to have been protected by a formidable fleet, fitted out at Brest under the command of one of the most distin-

guished of the French admirals, M. de Conflans. A smaller squadron was fitted out at Dunkirk, and placed under the command of M. Thurot, destined, according to report, to effect a landing in Scotland.

These proceedings naturally gave great alarm to the English government, and anxious preparations were made for their defeat. A squadron under commodore Boys watched Dunkirk; admiral Rodney bombarded Havre; while Hawke blockaded the harbour of Brest, and employed a small squadron to keep watch on that of Vannes. The operations at Vannes were prolonged into the winter, when it was hoped that the inclemency of the season would compel the English squadron to retire. As was foreseen, a violent storm obliged Hawke to quit his station and take refuge in Torbay. De Conflans seized the moment of his absence to put to sea; but Hawke sailed out of Torbay the same day, the 14th of November, 1759, that the French admiral left Brest, and six days afterwards (on the 20th) the two fleets met, and the French were utterly defeated in a general action off Quiberon bay, which is now remembered as Hawke's victory, in consequence of which the French project of invasion fell to the ground.

The only division of the French fleet which escaped the vigilance of the English was that fitted out at Dunkirk under Thurot. The ships under his command were the *Maréchal Belleisle*, of forty-eight guns, the *Blonde* and the *Begon*, each of thirty-six, and the *Terpsichore* and *Amaranthe*, each of twenty-four guns, and two cutters as tenders, carrying between seven and eight hundred sailors, and about fourteen hundred soldiers. On a hazy night of the month of October (the 15th) this small squadron escaped from Dunkirk, and, after touching at Ostend, sailed the next evening for Gottenburg, where they arrived on the 26th, and after procuring supplies of provisions and other stores there, they put to sea on the 14th of November, the same day with Conflans and Hawke. A violent gale in the night, between the 15th and 16th, dispersed Thurot's squadron, and four of his vessels only joined company the next day. With these he anchored at Bergen in Norway on the 17th, and remained there till the 5th of December, when he sailed and remained beating about at sea till the end of the year. A council of war was called on the 1st of January, when it was resolved that each man's allowance should be reduced to ten ounces of bis-

cuit, and half a septier of wine or spirits per day; and it was determined to steer the first fair gale for Londonderry, as Thurot's instructions were to attempt the capture of that town, but if the winds continued contrary, he was to return to France.

On Saturday, the 16th of February, Thurot's ship appeared on the north-east coast of Islay. Two of the islanders, named Macneil and Macdonald, went off in a small boat, believing the vessel to be English, and in want of a pilot. They were introduced into Thurot's cabin, where they found him with ten or twelve officers at dinner. Wine and glasses were placed before the visitors, from whom Thurot first heard of the defeat of Conflans by Hawke. When this was communicated to the other parties at the dinner-table, they are said to have "hung down their heads and laid down their knives and forks." On Sunday, the 17th of February, another council of war, of the land and sea officers, was held in the great cabin of the *Belleisle*, at which Macdonald was present. According to his report, this council consisted of thirteen members, of whom eleven gave their opinion for plundering, burning, and destroying the country. Thurot and one other only were of a different opinion, and spoke with some warmth against the majority. He told them they might, if they pleased, go ashore, but swore that not a man of them should ever set foot on board the *Belleisle*, if they were guilty of the smallest irregularity; and at length he brought from his trunk the French king's orders, which expressly forbid their committing any hostilities, unless they met with opposition, in Scotland. After the council of war, Thurot landed, and entered into a negotiation with Mr. Campbell of Ardmore, respecting the purchase of some live cattle, poultry, and corn; and so far amicably arranged matters that about two hundred soldiers were allowed to land to bring off the supply of provisions his little squadron so much required. Respecting the condition of these soldiers, a contemporary writer says, "these poor creatures had no sooner touched dry land, than with their bayonets they fell to digging up herbs and every green thing they met with; at length they came to a field of potatoes, which they very eagerly dug, and after shaking off the earth, and wiping them a little on their waistcoats, eat them up, raw as they were,

with the greatest keenness." Thurot quietly embarked, after presenting Mr. Macdonald with a handsome double-barreled fuzee, valued at twelve or fifteen guineas.

On the morning of Thursday the 21st of February, Thurot's squadron, reduced by the desertion of the *Amaranthe* to three frigates, appeared off the island of Magee, standing in shore for the bay of Carrickfergus; where, at eleven o'clock, they came to anchor, scarcely distant three miles from the town, and within musket-shot of the point of Kilroot. The small garrison of Carrickfergus consisted of four companies of the 62nd regiment, which did not amount to one hundred and fifty men, who were at the moment exercising in a field, half-a-mile from the town, on the Belfast road. At a quarter after eleven the guard was turned out, made up, and marched to relieve the guard on the French prisoners in the castle, an old and ruinous fortification, built upon a rock which adjoins the town and projects into the bay. The rest of the men continued in the field, where intelligence soon arrived that three ships, which at first were taken for Indiamen, and then for an English frigate and two store-ships, had seized a couple of fishing-boats, and, with these boats and several others, were plying between the shore and the ships, landing soldiers. An order was immediately despatched to the castle, by lieutenant-colonel Jennings, the commanding officer, for both guards to continue under arms, and to double the sentries over the French prisoners, with directions to be particularly strict and watchful upon them, until it could be ascertained whether the disembarking troops were friends or enemies. The garrison soldiers, most of whom were recruits, then marched from the exercise field to the market-place of Carrickfergus; and the adjutant, lieutenant Benjamin Hall, was despatched with a small party to reconnoitre. From the rising ground upon which he posted himself, Mr. Hall observed eight boats landing armed men, who formed in detached bodies, and took up the most advantageous positions they could find. After posting his little party, lieutenant Hall left them, with instructions to fire upon the French troops as they advanced, and to retard their progress as much as possible; and he hurried back to Carrickfergus, to inform colonel Jennings that there could be no doubt of the hostile intention of the body of men just landed, whom he estimated at one thousand. Detachments

were immediately made for the defence of the town and the approaches to it: the French prisoners of war were marched off to Belfast, in charge of the sheriff, and escorted by forty townsmen under the command of Mr. James Mucklewaine, or Mellwain; and the mayor (Willoughby Chaplin) requested colonel Jennings to inform him what his instructions were with respect to defending Carrickfergus. The colonel is traditionally said to have coolly received the demand of the mayor by the offer of a pinch of snuff, which being impatiently accepted by his worship, and after taking a huge one himself, he laconically replied to the question, "*Fiddle-de-de*." The mayor demanded a more distinct answer; when colonel Jennings said that, considering the smallness of the force at his disposal, not one hundred and fifty men, and, as had been reported to him, the numerical superiority of the enemy, together with the ruinous state of the castle, he deemed resistance unnecessary. But the mayor, notwithstanding that there was a breach in the castle wall, towards the sea, of fifty feet, that it did not possess a single cannon mounted, and that there were only a few rounds of ball cartridge for the soldiers, regarded the castle of Carrickfergus as impregnable, and angrily insisted upon resistance, accompanied by the threat of reporting the conduct of colonel Jennings to the government, if he declined the defence. Upon this declaration, colonel Jennings retired into the castle, and, aware of the want of sufficient stores there for any serious opposition, made the best preparations in his power for a temporary stand; and his small force was joined by the mayor, lieutenant Hercules Ellis, and a few other zealous and loyal inhabitants.

The French advanced against the town in two bodies, one marching up to the east, or Water Gate, by what is called the Scotch Quarter, the other crossing the fields to the north gate. Twelve soldiers and a corporal were posted on the wall. They fired upon the advancing enemy, when general Flaubert (the commander of the French troops) fell, his leg having been broken by a musket ball, and he was carried into the house of Mr. James Craig. The next in command, traditionally said to have been "the young marquis D'Estrees," then led on the division, and entered the High-street by the Water Gate, where after a few shots had been fired, it was joined in the market-place by the division that had forced its way down

North-street, with the loss of an officer and several men. The small party of the 62nd, by whom the town walls were defended, having expended all their ammunition, retired into the castle. During the firing in the High-street, between the advanced division and the retreating English soldiers, a child, the son of Mr. John Seeds, the sheriff, ran between the conflicting parties, which the marquis D'Estrees observing, he took the boy up in his arms, and seizing a musket from a soldier, who had just fired it, sledged in with the butt end the door of a house in the High-street, which happened to be that of the child's father, and after placing him in the hall, immediately returned to resume hostilities. This child was subsequently Dr. Thomas Seeds, of the royal navy.

The united divisions of the French proceeded from the market-place against the castle, in the most determined manner, and readily forced the outward gate, which had not been properly secured by the retiring party of the 62nd. Although the number of men within the castle of Carrickfergus amounted only to one hundred and sixty-two, and the French force was estimated at between seven and eight hundred, they were received with so warm a fire, that they retreated with some loss, especially that of their humane and gallant leader, the marquis D'Estrees. Upon the gate being forced open he was the first to enter: "at which time he was observed to kiss a miniature picture that he took from his bosom." Upon his fall, the French troops which he had headed took up position under cover of the adjoining houses, and an old wall, north of the castle, when colonel Cavenac immediately assumed the command, and formed for the assault. Perceiving this movement, and knowing that their ammunition was nearly exhausted, the besieged determined to beat a parley and capitulate upon honourable terms, stipulating that the town should not be plundered. The number of troops who surrendered amounted to ten officers, eleven sergeants, ten corporals, five drummers, and one hundred and two rank and file. Of the garrison there had been two killed and three wounded; and in the encounter about fifty of the French were killed, among whom were three officers. This surrender, which suited the views of both parties, was followed by an agreement to furnish the French troops with provisions in six hours; but that could not be per-

formed, there not being a sufficient supply in the town. "On this," says John Wesley, in his *Journal*, "Mr. Cavenac sent for Mr. Cobham, and desired him to go to Belfast and procure them, leaving his wife with the general as a hostage for his return. But the poor Frenchmen could not stay for this. At the time prefixed, they began to serve themselves with meat and drink, having been in such want that they were glad to eat raw oats to sustain nature. They accordingly took all the food they could find, with some linen and wearing apparel; but they neither hurt nor affronted man, woman, or child, nor did any mischief for mischief's sake, though they were sufficiently provoked; for many of the inhabitants affronted them without fear or wit, cursed them to their face, and even took up pokers and other things to strike them."

The French being masters of Carrickfergus, guards were placed by them in the evening on the different roads leading into the town, and sentinels on the houses of some of the principal inhabitants. On the first alarm the more timid had fled; those who remained, shut up their doors and windows; and considering that some cases of intoxication occurred among the French soldiers, it is surprising that so little damage was done or plunder committed. When Wesley inquired of colonel Cavenac (who had told him, that being almost famished, having only one ounce of bread per man daily, they had landed merely to procure provisions), whether they had a design to burn the town? he cried out, "Jesu Maria! we never had such a thought. To burn, to destroy, cannot enter into the heart or head of a good man."

Mac Skimin, the historian of Carrickfergus, relates an anecdote, which although it may establish his statement, "that many houses were broken into, and despoiled of their most valuable effects, and even the church was robbed of its plate," tends to show how trifling this plunder must have been. "Two French soldiers going into the house of an old woman, called Mave Dempsey, one of them took her silk handkerchief, and was putting it into his pocket; when Mave, who was a pious Roman catholic, presented her beads at him, doubtless expecting that he would be struck with compunction by such a forcible appeal to his conscience. 'Ah!' said the soldier, with a significant shrug, 'dat be good for your soul—dis be good for my body.' It was

observed, that the French soldiers never lost their national politeness. On one occasion, in taking a lady's ear-rings, the soldier who *requested* to have them, made as many bows, scrapes, and motions with his hand, as one of our most consummate dandies on entering a drawing-room."

In the course of Friday, the French liberated most of the prisoners confined in the county of Antrim gaol. There was only one woman in the prison of the county of the town of Carrickfergus, charged with the murder of her child, and they did not release her, "professing the utmost detestation of the crime with which she stood charged."

As the town of Carrickfergus could not produce the required supply of provisions, the Rev. David Fullerton, a dissenting clergyman, accompanied by a French officer, proceeded to Belfast with a flag of truce, and a letter to the sovereign of that town; demanding provisions to the value of about twelve hundred pounds, which it was stated would be paid for, and threatening, if not immediately sent, to burn both Belfast and Carrickfergus. The answer returned was, that "their wishes would be complied with as soon as possible; and, in part of the demand, two lighters were loaded on Friday evening, but the weather was so rough that they were unable to sail. On Saturday morning, a flag of truce was sent from Belfast to the French commandant, to state the cause of the delay, and to assure him that one lighter would, if possible, proceed with the evening tide. This vessel did so, but was stopped in Garmoyle by a tender, commanded by Lieutenant Gentil. Intelligence having reached Carrickfergus that armed parties had been seen in motion, from the assembling of some militia, and the expected supply of provisions not having arrived, another flag of truce was despatched to Belfast, with a letter from Mr. Fullerton to the sovereign, acquainting him that if the provisions were not forthcoming early next morning, the French "would burn Carrickfergus, put the inhabitants to the sword, and march to Belfast."

These threats had the desired effect; for early on Sunday, some cars arrived from Belfast, with part of the promised provisions, and a number of live bullocks, with which returned as drovers some of the inhabitants who had guarded the French prisoners to Belfast. The lighter that had been detained, also arrived about the same

time, and the enemy were very busy this evening in getting provisions and fresh water on board. Monday they continued actively employed as above, and evidently were in some confusion; it was believed they had received notice of the troops marching against them.

On Tuesday, the last of the French force, which consisted of volunteer drafts from regular regiments,* embarked from the quay of Carrickfergus, at four in the afternoon, taking with them the mayor, Mr. Spaight, port surveyor, and the Rev. David Fullerton, as hostages for the delivery of the French prisoners. The latter gentleman, being very unwell, was afterwards put on shore at Kilroot. They had scarcely left the town, when the advanced guard of the English forces arrived from Belfast, whither several regiments had been marched, with all speed from different parts of the kingdom.

Although it seems certain that from the first the French contemplated a descent upon Ireland, we are in perfect ignorance as to how far they had any communications with a discontented party in that country, or on what assistance or co-operation they reckoned for success. The English ministry, well informed of the designs of the enemy, had given timely information to the Irish government. As early as the 29th of October, the Irish parliament was informed by the lord lieutenant that he had learnt by a letter from Mr. secretary Pitt, written by his majesty's express command, that France had not laid aside the plan of invasion in consequence of the destruction of the Toulon squadron, but that on the contrary she was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and even instigated by despair itself to attempt at all hazards the only resource she seemed to have left for thwarting by a diversion at home the measures of England abroad, in prosecuting a war which hitherto opened in all parts of the world so unfavourable a prospect to the views of French ambition; and that in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, assembled under the command of the duke d'Aiguillon at Vannes,

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| * French guards. | Le comte de Kersalls, commandant. |
| | M. de Cavenac, colonel. |
| Swiss Guards. | Cassilas |
| Regiment of Burgundy. | De Roussilly |
| " Camkise. | Frechean |
| Hussars | Le comte de Skerdeek |
| Volunteers Etrangers | " |

should be able to elude the British squadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief aims. The duke of Bedford told them that his majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful protestant subjects in that kingdom had been already sufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts of the enemy's dangerous designs and preparations; that he had ordered him to use his utmost endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of the present government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet and shake the security of that kingdom; and he recommended them to manifest upon this occasion that zeal for the present establishment, and that affection for his majesty's person and government, by which the Irish parliament had so often distinguished itself.

In reply to the message conveying this information, the house of commons voted an address to the lord lieutenant, in which they thanked him for the care and concern he had shown for their safety, in imparting to them intelligence of so much importance, and assured him that if he would make use of such means as should appear to him the most effectual for the security and defence of that kingdom, the house would make good whatever expense should be necessarily incurred for that purpose. In spite of the confidence shown by parliament, the alarm became so great, that there was an extraordinary run upon the banks in Dublin, and several considerable bankers were obliged to stop payment. To restore public confidence, the lord lieutenant, the members of both houses of parliament, and the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, entered into an association to support public credit by taking the notes of bankers in payment.

The more sensible of the catholics, who knew how an excitement of this kind must injure their cause, came voluntarily forward to testify their loyalty. A meeting of the catholic committee was called, and an address to the lord lieutenant drawn up by Mr. O'Connor, was unanimously approved of, and was immediately signed by about three hundred persons. "We, his majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman catholic gentlemen, merchants, and citizens of the city of Dublin," said this

address, "do, with the greatest respect, approach the illustrious representative of the best of kings, with our hearty congratulations on those glorious successes by sea and land, which have attended his majesty's arms in the prosecution of this just and necessary war. We gratefully acknowledge the lenity extended to us by his most sacred majesty and by his royal father, of happy memory. Our allegiance is confirmed by affection and gratitude; our religion commands it; and it shall be our invariable rule firmly and inviolably to adhere to it. We are called to this duty, at the present time, in particular, when a foreign enemy is meditating desperate attempts to interrupt the happiness and disturb the repose which these kingdoms have so long enjoyed under a monarch who places his chief glory in approving himself the common father of his people; and we sincerely assure your grace, that we are ready and willing, to the utmost of our abilities, to assist in supporting his majesty's government against all hostile attempts whatsoever. Whenever it shall please the Almighty, that the legislative power of this realm shall deem the peaceable conduct of his majesty's catholic subjects of Ireland for many years past, an object worthy of its favourable attention, we humbly hope means may then be devised to render so numerous a body more useful members to the community, and more strengthening friends to the state than they could possibly have hitherto been, under the restraint of the many penal laws against them. We most humbly beseech your grace to represent to his majesty these sentiments and resolutions of his majesty's faithful subjects, the Roman catholics of this metropolis, who sincerely wish that a peace, honourable to his majesty and advantageous to his kingdoms, may be the issue of the present war, and that the people of Ireland may be long governed by your grace, a viceroy in whom wisdom, moderation, and justice, are so eminently conspicuous." This address, which was dated the 1st of December, was delivered to Mr. John Ponsoby, the speaker of the house of commons, to be presented by him to the lord lieutenant; who, after some days' delay, returned a most gracious answer, and both the address and the answer were published in the *Dublin Gazette* of the 15th. No sooner was this known, than addresses from the Roman catholics poured in from every part of the kingdom, expressing their loyalty

and their ardour in defence of their king and country.

There appears little room for doubting that the French monarch, guided probably by the representations of the numerous Irish officers in his service, did reckon on an insurrection of the catholics in his favour the moment he landed his troops on Irish ground. Thurot, himself, who had made his appearance so unexpectedly at Carrickfergus, though a native of Boulogne, was a descendant of Irish refugees who had taken shelter in France after the expulsion of James II., and had received part of his education in Ireland. However, he soon discovered that there was no sympathy for him in the north of Ireland, and as he knew that he should be surrounded by the king's forces, he made what haste he could, in spite of unfavourable winds, to leave Carrickfergus. He re-embarked all his troops on Tuesday, the 26th of February, and, to avoid the English cruizers, he made an attempt to return by the north of Ireland. To this, however, the wind was adverse, and he was compelled to proceed through the channel.

On the day Thurot re-embarked, captain Elliott, of his majesty's ship *Æolus*, of thirty-two guns, received information from government of the arrival of the French at Carrickfergus, and taking with him two other ships of the same force, he set sail in search of the enemy, and came in sight of Thurot's ships on the 28th. It is said that Thurot, in consequence of a dream which had occurred to him on the previous night, was seized with a presentiment that he should die on this day, and that he was pacing the deck thoughtfully when captain

* Thurot's attack on Carrickfergus was the subject of one or two popular ballads, which have been printed by Mr. Croker in his *Popular Songs illustrative of the French Invasions of Ireland*, whose account of Thurot's expedition I have used freely in the foregoing chapter. The most popular of these ballads seems to be the following, which I give as the common account of it current in Ireland:—

THE SIEGE OF CARRICKFERGUS.

From Dunkirk, in France, in the month of September,
Fitted out was a fleet, and away they did sail;

And Monsieur Thurot, their only commander,

With him at their head they were sure not to fail.

So away they did steer, without dread or fear,

And searched and plundered all ships they could find;

Till at length they arrived on the coast of old Ireland,

And landed their men on our Irish ground.

It was at Carrickfergus, in the north of this kingdom,

They landed their men and march'd up to our walls;

Then cry'd the undaunted brave colonel Jennings,

My boys let's salute them with powder and balls.

Elliott's small squadron came in sight. "Awhile after," says Wesley, who was at this time in Ireland, "he (Thurot) said to one of the English, 'Sir, I see three ships; pray take my glass and tell me freely what you think they are?' He looked some time, and said, 'I think they are English, and I guess they are about forty-gun ships.' He called to his officers and said, 'Our ships are too foul to fight at a distance; we must board them.'" When the English overtook them off the Isle of Man, Thurot attempted to carry this plan into effect, by boarding Elliott's ship, but his men were immediately driven off with loss. After a severe action of about an hour and-a-half the three French ships struck their colours. When Thurot first gave the command in his ship, the *Belleisle*, to strike, two men who attempted successively to obey were killed, and as a third stepped forward for the same purpose, Thurot himself was shot through the heart and fell. His ships were much disabled, and three hundred of his men are said to have been killed during the action, while the loss of the English was but trifling.

Thus ended this ill-starred expedition. The Irish house of commons passed various votes of thanks to those concerned in resisting and defeating it, especially to colonel Jennings, for his conduct at Carrickfergus, and to the gentry of the counties of Armagh, Antrim, and Down, and the citizens of Londonderry, for the zeal with which they made head against the invaders.* The towns of Carrickfergus and Belfast also testified publicly their gratitude to the officers who had been most active in organizing resistance in this sudden and unexpected emergency.

The battle began, and the guns they did rattle,

And bravely we fought under Jennings' command,

Said he, play away, play away, my brave boys,

The beggars the force of our fire cannot stand.

The town then they took without any resistance,

The castle they thought was as easy likewise;

So they came marching up in grand divisions.

To storm it, then guarded by the brave Irish boys.

But we kept constant fire, and made them retire,

Till our ammunition entirely was gone;

Then aloud we did say, brave boys let's away,

And sally out on them with sword in hand.

But says our brave colonel, "We cannot defend it,

For to make a sally it is but in vain,

As our ammunition, you see is expended;

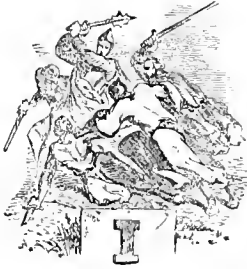
We'll therefore submit, and good terms we'll obtain,

For plainly you see, that to one they are three,

'Tis best then in time for to capitulate:

For if they take it by storm, by the law of arms,

Then death without mercy will sure be our fate."



CHAPTER XII.

THE INSURRECTION OF THE WHITEBOYS.

It has been generally supposed, that the French had been encouraged to fit out the expedition for Ireland, by the reports of national discontent which were continually brought to them by the Irish emigrants, and that they had been given to understand that they would be received with open arms by the peasantry, whose distress had been increasing during the last few years, from the causes which have been already described. That the peasantry were preparing for extensive insurrections in the south, at this time, is well known; but we have no information which show that they were really in communication with the French, though military men either now or soon after, were employed in forming and disciplining them. It was not, however, till nearly two years afterwards, that the insurrection broke out, and then it extended chiefly over the counties of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Tipperary. The insurgents were known in Irish by the title of *Boughaleen Bawins*, or in English, *Whiteboys*, a name given them from the circumstance, that in action they wore white shirts over their dress. It is not easy to collect any regular account of the proceedings of these depredators, and perhaps the best description we can give of them, will be to repeat the scattered accounts printed in the contemporary journals. The following is a letter from a gentleman at Youghall, which was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1762:—

“ Their first rise was in October last [1761], and they have ever since been in—
Then these beggars obtained possession of Carrick,

Where they revell'd and sotted, and drunk all the while,

Poor people they did sorely ransack and plunder,

And hoisted it all on board the Belleisle;

But Elliott soon met them, nor away did he let them,

But forced them to yield up their ill-gotten store;

Now, monsieurs, lament in the deepest contrition,

For now you can brag of your Thurot no more.

Let's exalt the brave Elliot, who gained this action,

And sing to his praise in the joyfulest song;

For we of our foes have got satisfaction,

And Thurot lies rotting in the Isle of Man.

creasing; they then and all along pretended that their assembling was to do justice to the poor, by restoring the ancient commons and redressing other grievances, for which purpose they always assembled in the night, with their shirts over their cloaths, which caused them to be called *Whiteboys*. Their number, in the county of Waterford, is computed at six or seven hundred. They have done infinite damage in the county, levelling ditches and stone walls, rooting up orchards, &c.

“ On the 11th ultimo [March, 1762] I saw several ditches they had levelled, part of an orchard destroyed, and two graves they had dug on the road between Clonmel and Cappoquin; the graves were to hold those that did not comply with their orders. Some time before this, they came by night into the town [a large village] of Cappoquin, where is a horse-barrack, drew up in the green near the barrack, fired several shots, marched by the centry with their piper playing, *The Lad with the white cockade*. (A jacobite melody.)

“ The 13th I saw a bier near Affane church, which they had caused, two days before, to be made, to carry people alive and bury them in those graves. An esquire at Cappoquin, when a bachelor, agreed with a peasant for the use of his daughter, for which he passed the peasant his bond for one hundred pounds; but on the esquire's entering the matrimonial state, he was compelled to take up his bond. They wrote to the peasant to refund the money, upon pain of having his tongue drawn through his under jaw, and fastened with a skewer.

“ On the 14th they assembled at Lismore (between Cappoquin and Tallow), posted Their general is wounded, his schemes are confounded,

The brave British tars they can never withstand;

The fire of the fierce and the bold British lions

Appear'd in the men under brave captain Bland.

But now to bring my story to a conclusion,

Let's drink a good health to our officers all;

First brave colonel Jennings, likewise Bland our captain,

Yet never forgetting the brave Mr. Hall.

Let's drink and be jolly, and drown melancholy,

So merrily let us rejoice too, and sing;

So fill up your bowls, all ye loyal souls,

And toast a good health to great George our king.

an advertisement on the door of the post-office, requiring the inhabitants to have their houses illuminated, and a certain number of horses bridled and saddled, ready for them to mount, against the next night; which was complied with. On the night of the 15th they mounted, went to Tallow bridge (near Tallow), where they levelled the ditches of several fine parks, and cut down a number of full-grown ash trees (knee high); they then proceeded to Tallow; the horse marched to the West bridge, where the commander called out '*Halt; to the right about;*' and then proceeded into the market-place in a smart trot. They broke open the Marshalsea, discharged the debtors, sent an advertisement to the justice to lower the price of provisions one-half, which he tamely complied with, though a troop and-a-half of dragoons were quartered very near him.

"On the 22nd they came to the Ferry point, opposite this town [Youghall], levelled the ditches of a small park opposite the back window of my parlour, and a musket shott off the town; they made a large fire, dug a grave, erected a gallows over it, fired several shots, and at each discharge, huzzaed; and sent several audacious letters to the inhabitants of this town, threatening to pull down several houses, particularly a handsome house at a small distance, which they said was built upon the waste. The militia arms were delivered to the protestant inhabitants, who being joined by two companies of foot from the barracks marched through the town, and made a handsome appearance; seventy men mounted guard that night, a party of which patrolled every two hours to the said house. No attempt was made. One D. C., of Tallow, a comber, came here and endeavoured to enlist another of the same trade under Sive's* banner; he was apprehended and lodged in the barracks; and on the 26th he was sent in the revenue cruising boat to Cork, to prevent a rescue by land. On the 27th P. R., formerly a smith to a troop of horse, who lived near Cappoquin, was apprehended here, supposed to have made part of their levelling tools; at the same time he gave information against several to M——w P——r, esq. He was sent to Cork by the same conveyance. The 29th the ditches of Tirkelling and Ballydaniel, near Tallow, were levelled; five hundred men in a day could not repair the damage. The 30th four pieces of iron cannon taken out of our

* "Sive Oultaugh, their nominal chieftain."

fort were placed at the north and south gates charged with cartridge shot. The 31st, several alarms. April the 1st, between seven and eight in the evening, the alarm was beat; after that *to arms*, a false alarm being given that the whiteboys were within half-a-mile of the north gate; the town in an uproar, by nine all quiet. About one in the morning, the mayor, and several other gentlemen, in number forty-one, well mounted and accoutred, with each a soldier behind him, went from this place [Youghall] to Tallow, eight miles distant, and before sun rise seized eleven whiteboys, whom they brought to this town. The 2nd they marched them through it in their uniforms, with drum beating, lifes playing, &c. The 3rd two brothers of the town of Tallow gave information; upon which the inhabitants, together with the collector and several revenue officers, equipped as before, went to Tallow, and places adjacent, and brought to town thirteen whiteboys, and lodged a lieutenant-colonel in Tallow barracks; his name is Ob——n. It is said he has been some time in the French service. There was another party, with the army from Cork, met at Youghall, and had seized about twenty-five at Lismore and places adjacent."

The following is a copy of the oath taken by all persons who enter into Sive Oultaugh's society:—"I do hereby solemnly and sincerely swear, that I will not make known any secret now given me, or hereafter may be given, to any one in the world, except to a sworn person belonging to the society called *whiteboys*, or otherwise *Sive Oultaugh's children*."

"Furthermore, I swear that I will be ready at an hour's warning (if possible) being properly summoned, by any of the officers, serjeants, or corporals belonging to my company."

"Furthermore, I swear I will not wrong any of the company I belong to of the value of one shilling, nor suffer it to be done by others, without acquainting them thereof."

"Furthermore, I swear I will not make known in any shape whatsoever, to any person that does not belong to us, the name or names of any of our fraternity, but particular the names of our respective officers."

"Lastly, I swear that I will not drink of any liquor whatsoever, whilst on duty, without the consent of one or other of the officers, serjeants, or corporals; and that we will be

loyal one to the other as far as in our power lies."

A gentleman in the county of Cork writes to his friend in Dublin, April 5th [1762], "What you in Dublin think of the whiteboys or levellers, I cannot say; but be assured both you there, and we here, have abundant reason to thank God that some of those taken have discovered their confederates. I am in hopes soon to have information against some of their principal gentry and officers. Yesterday a man was sent off to Dublin who says he will make great discoveries before government."

John Wesley, in his journal under the date of the 14th of June, 1762, thus relates what he was told at Cork respecting the first appearance and proceedings of the insurrectionary parties which disturbed the South of Ireland:—"About the beginning of December last a few men met by night near Nenagh, in the county of Limerick,* and threw down the fences of some commons, which had been lately enclosed. Near the same time others met in the county of Tipperary, of Waterford, and of Cork. As no one offered to suppress or hinder them, they increased in numbers continually, and called themselves whiteboys, wearing white cockades, and white linen frocks. In February there were five or six parties of them, two or three hundred men in each, who moved up and down chiefly in the night, but for what end did not appear; only they levelled a few fences, dug up some ground, and ham-strung some cattle; perhaps fifty or sixty in all. One body of them came into Clogheen of about five hundred foot and two hundred horse. They moved as exactly as regular troops, and appeared to be thoroughly disciplined. They now sent letters to several gentlemen, threatening to pull down their houses. They compelled every one they met to take an oath, 'to be true to Queen Sive (whatever that meant) and the whiteboys; not to reveal their secrets and to join them when called upon.' It was supposed that eight or ten thousand were now actually risen, many of them well armed, and that a far greater number were ready to rise whenever they should be called upon. Those who refused to swear, they threatened to bury alive. Two or three they did bury up to the neck and left them, where they must quickly have perished had they not been found in time by some travel-

* This is a mistake—Nenagh is in the county of Tipperary.

ling by. At length, towards Easter, a body of troops, chiefly light horse, were sent against them. Many were apprehended and committed to gaol, the rest of them disappeared. This," adds Wesley, "is the plain naked fact, which has been so variously represented."

These insurrections became every day more alarming, and the government sent a commission to the spot to inquire into their causes and circumstances. Their report expressed the opinion "that the authors of these riots consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his majesty's person or government appeared in any of these people." This report was confirmed by the judges of the Munster circuit, and though many persons were executed for their participation in them, and some made confessions, nothing was elicited at this time to show that these insurrections had any high political aim. The most humane and uncorrupt of the Irish judges, sir Richard Aston, lord chief justice of the common pleas, was sent with a special commission to try the rioters, considerable numbers of whom had been arrested, and the impartiality with which he conducted the inquisition endeared his name to the native Irish of the south, who lined the roads along which he passed on his return to Clonmel, to express their gratitude loudly and exultingly.

Those who insist on the political character of the whiteboy insurrection, support their opinion on confessions and depositions of a somewhat later period, perhaps dictated in some degree by party motives. The affidavit of Matthias O'Brien, a popish priest, sworn before the mayor of Kilkenny in January, 1768, states, that the late tumultuous risings of the whiteboys in the south of Ireland "were set on foot for the sole purpose, to informant's certain knowledge, in order to raise therein a spirit of sedition and disaffection to his majesty's person and government, which might be of use to support a foreign invasion," certainly intended against Ireland at a convenient time in favour of the pretender; and that these disorders were fermented entirely by foreign agents, in conjunction with some popish bishops, particularly Dr. James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel. O'Brien, after subscribing a promise of fidelity, was told by archbishop Butler, "that these risings of the whiteboys were set on foot solely for the advancement of the Roman catholic

faith, and the extirpation of heresy in Ireland; and that as there was but one God, there should be but one religion. And also to restore the same *vetus Hibernia*, by making her faithful sons rise in rebellion to support France or other countries to establish prince Charles on the British throne." The archbishop "then toasted his health in the company present, who were privy to the conspiracy." The Roman catholic clergy of the diocese of Cashel are said to have been sworn "to be true and faithful to the church of Rome, to promote its good, and to be faithful to Dr. Butler, their archbishop;" a vow so cautiously framed, that taken abstractedly there is nothing whatever startling in it, nor does it even appear to be objectionable. To the sons of opulent farmers, and the Roman catholic young men of a higher class, who hesitated not to accept from foreign agents—often relations or connexions of their own—military commissions which were accompanied by pay, and sanctified, or at least sanctioned, by the approbation of the ministers of their religion, the form of oath administered was—"To be true and faithful to the king of France, and to the true king of England, prince Charles, to obey the orders of his commanding officers in all things, and not to disclose any secrets, except to a Frenchman or one of his own party." The oath of the peasantry, as given before, goes no further than to obey their officers; no political object is apparent; but once bound in association by this oath, the peasantry were drilled at nightly meetings by superiors, of whose real views they were, generally speaking, ignorant.

It must, nevertheless, be acknowledged, that some of these informations are sufficiently explicit. Thus, David Landregin, of Roxborough, in the county of Tipperary, sworn on the 15th of March, 1767, declared, "that sometime in the month of March, 1762, he was enlisted in the society of whiteboys, at Newcastle, in the county of Tipperary, by Mr. Robert Keating, of Knocka, in the said county, gentleman, and sworn by him at the same time to take the following oath:—To be true and faithful to the king of France, and to the true king, prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his officers, and not to disclose his secrets to any one, except to a Frenchman, or one of his own party. That he told informant that the object they had in view was, to collect an army together in this kingdom,

sufficient to raise a rebellion, against an invasion which they expected from France, with prince Charles, their rightful sovereign, at their head; and for whom they were to conquer England, Ireland, and Scotland. And that he told informant they had powerful friends in England and Scotland, who would cause and foment risings in said kingdoms for the said end. That a strong French army would make a descent in these kingdoms, at the same time that they would invade Ireland. That, therefore, the whiteboys must keep well and faithfully together, against the said event. That informant made many expeditions by night on the lands of Drumlemon, Ardfinnan, and Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, under the command of the said Robert Keating, and others, who were mounted, armed, and dressed in white uniforms; together with the late Nicholas Sheehy, Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrell. That the said Robert Keating and James Butler drew out their troop and disciplined them at the said places. That, some time after, informant was present at a meeting held at the house of Thomas Browne, of Clonmel, aleseller, together with the said Robert Keating, James Butler, and one Patrick Gilbert, farmer, who all took an oath to put to death, the first time an opportunity offered, the earl of Carrick, sir Thomas Maude, baronet, John Bagwell, esquire, and the Rev. John Hewetson, who were the only enemies they dreaded to their rebellious designs; and that informant took the said oath. That at another meeting held at the house of one Ronan, innkeeper, at Ardfinnan, informant saw the said Nicholas Sheehy, Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrell, and many others, take the said oath. Informant saith, that the execution of the said Nicholas Sheehy, and the rest of his friends, has been the means of saving the lives of the said persons whom they swore to assassinate. Informant saith, he was present at a meeting held at the race-course of Clogheen, on the night of the day that the earl of Drogheda came there, and that five hundred persons, all in white uniforms, were present, and most of them were armed; and that the said meeting was held in the spring, some time before the French took Newfoundland. That at the said meeting it was proposed to them, by the said Nicholas Sheehy and others, to burn the said town, and massacre the said earl and the corps under his command, in

order to get their arms, and to frighten the protestant gentlemen from pursuing them, or giving them any further hindrance in their future purposes. Informant saith, that they would have executed the said design, but that John Doyle, popish priest of Ardfinnan, prevented them, by falling on his knees, and giving them his curse if they undertook what must occasion their own ruin; 'for,' he said, 'we are not ripe yet for such a blow, nor can we, till prince Charles and his friends from France land to our assistance. If you attempt it before that time, every protestant in Ireland will be up in arms against us, and give no quarter to man, woman, or child, of our religion.' Whereupon they desisted."

Other persons made similar depositions, and the atrocities described by some of them as perpetrated in their excursions are of the most revolting description. They seized people who made themselves obnoxious by resisting their orders or refusing to join them, and tore out their tongues, or cut off their noses or ears; some they placed naked on the bare backs of horses, and made them ride with them several miles in the night; others they buried up to the chin, naked, in graves lined with furze. The plunder and depredation they committed in their nocturnal expeditions was very extensive. Their leaders were often young men of fashion, who had reduced their fortunes by their excesses, or whose ambition was excited by the prospect of a change. In Tipperary, where they were very strong, their leaders assumed the title of the Tipperary bucks, and they had a favourite march called "the bucks of Tipperary," which long continued to be a very popular air.* Many of these young men ended their lives on the gallows in consequence of their treasonable practices. Mr. James Farrell, of Rahill, and Mr. Edmond Sheehy, of the Lodge, two of "the Tipperary bucks," were executed at

* This air played so remarkable a part in the disturbances of this and the subsequent period, that it

Clogheen for high treason on the 3rd of May, 1766. "Buck Farrell," as he was commonly called, received a commission as major in the French service, and had his pay regularly in consequence of this commission. He constantly appeared in white uniform faced with green, as did also other leaders of the insurgents; the latter dressed themselves with shirts or frocks over their clothes, and wore white *cockades* in their hats. The nocturnal movements of the whiteboys were regulated by the sounding of cows' horns, and when assembled in any considerable body they usually marched to the music of the bagpipe, their favourite march being "the bucks of Tipperary," just alluded to. In the declaration made by "Buck Farrell," after sentence of death, he states that to his certain knowledge, several thousand pounds were expended in the payment of the whiteboys; "and that particularly at one meeting, held on the lands of Drumlemon, he saw two thousand guineas distributed to the several persons there assembled." A memorandum drawn up by lord Charlemont respecting the disturbances of this period, and printed in Hardy's memoirs of that nobleman, although his lordship is unwilling to admit "that French gold and French intrigue were at the bottom of this insurrection," yet candidly adds—"one fact, the truth of which I cannot doubt, would almost induce me to believe, that upon one occasion at least, a small sum of French money was hazarded in Ireland. During the course of these insurrections a *very* considerable number of French crowns were received at the Custom-house, which could not well have been the result of trade, since little or no specie is imported from France in exchange for our commodities; and more especially since they were all of them *new* crowns, of the same date, and coined after any possible importation could be made by the course of commerce."

Although its dangerous character was deserves preservation in connection with their history, and is here annexed:—

THE BUCKS OF TIPPERARY.



soon taken from this insurrection, the whiteboys continued to infest the country, and give uneasiness to the government for many years. Lord Drogheda was sent with troops into Tipperary in 1762, and made his headquarters at Clogheen. On the night of his arrival, as we have seen by David Landregin's information, the whiteboys assembled in great force in the neighbourhood of that town, and would have attacked it but for the expostulations of the priest Doyle. It appears that lord Drogheda had received some intimations of their meeting, and Doyle, aware of this, and fearing that he was going to march out against them, hastened from their assembly to his lordship, and hindered him from marching out by assuring him that he had received false information. Lord Drogheda's soldiers slew and captured many of the whiteboys, and he assured sir Richard Musgrave that French money was found in the pockets of some of them. Among other persons arrested was father Nicholas Sheehy, the parish priest of Clogheen, whose treasonable activity had made him especially obnoxious to the government. A proclamation having been published, setting three hundred pounds upon his head, Sheehy surrendered himself on condition that he should be tried at Dublin, and there, the evidence not having been sufficient to convict him, he was acquitted. But he had not long escaped from this prosecution, when he was indicted at Clonmel, on a charge of being implicated in the murder of one Bridge, who had informed against some of his associates, in consequence of which they were hanged. There was much contradiction in the evidence on Sheehy's trial, and no little perjury, as might be expected under the circumstances,

* In the old churchyard of Clogheen, Sheehy's tomb is to be seen, bearing the following inscription:—



HERE LIETH
THE REM^S OF THE REV^D
NICHOLAS SHEEHY, PARISH PRIEST
OF SHANRAHEN BALLYSHIEE
AND TIMPLETINNY, HE DIED
MARCH 15TH 1766. AGED 38 Y^{RS}

ERECTED BY HIS SISTER CATHRINE BURKE
ALIAS SHEEHY.

S. JACKSON. FECIT.

A hole is left in the south side of the tomb to enable the superstitious peasantry to procure earth from the grave, which still retains its miraculous reputation. "When I visited it (in April, 1825)" says the friend who gave this information, "I found an old woman praying there, who I learned had come a

but it ended in his condemnation, and he was hanged, quartered, and beheaded at Clonmel on the 15th of March, 1766.

The irregularities attending father Sheehy's trial, and his own assertions of his innocence, created a great sensation at the time, and he was looked upon among the Irish as a holy martyr to their cause. His remains were buried with demonstrations of popular respect, and the earth of his grave was supposed to be endued with such supernatural powers, that various miraculous cures were imputed to it. Indeed the earth was so eagerly sought after and carried away, that it became necessary more than once to replace it.*

We have seen, in the deposition of David Landregin, the hatred which the Irish bore to the magistrates who were most active against the whiteboys. There can be no doubt that Nicholas Sheehy was deeply implicated in the treasonable practices which caused this insurrection; and he seems to have been a principal in a plot to murder lord Carrick, sir Thomas Maude, and others, whatever may have been his innocence with regard to Bridge. The feeling raised against these magistrates was so great that the government was obliged to declare its approval of them, and to give them public marks of it. Sir Thomas Maude was raised to the peerage in 1776, under the title of lord De Montalt; and on his death, in the following year, the popular hatred of his memory was shown in an Irish keen, or death elegy, which expresses sentiments so violent that it is thought worthy of being given in a note below, as an example of the political feeling of the Irish peasantry towards their rulers at the period of the whiteboy insurrections.†

journey of upwards of sixty miles to procure some of the blessed earth, which when mixed with water and drank, was considered an infallible cure for almost every disease."

† The following is a translation of this remarkable production into English verse, made from the Irish by Mr. Crofton Croker:—

Hail, happy year!—hail, happy day!
That Maude's vile corpse consigned to clay;
And blessed be the heavenly dart,
That pierced a passage to his heart.

In Dundrum's vale his mansion stood,
The seat of falsehood, fraud, and blood:
Hell-hound accursed! whose murderous trade
The oaths of perjured wretches made.

Through iron bars, and walls of stone,
Burst the heart-broken prisoners' groan;
The orphan's cry, the widow's grief,
Our God has heard, and grants relief.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE PERIOD OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIER YEARS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. ; STRUGGLE OF THE PATRIOTS
IN PARLIAMENT; THE OCTENNIAL BILL.



E are now arrived at the eventful reign of George the Third, who succeeded his grandfather on the throne of Great Britain in the October of 1760. The earl of Halifax, the first lord lieutenant of Ireland under this monarch, assured the Irish parliament when he met it in 1761, that that kingdom would receive a large share of the king's solicitude and attention; and it certainly needed it, for the position of Ireland at this time was unusually gloomy. The various grievances of which that country had so long had to complain, were gradually producing their effect upon the revenue, and, consequently, on the condition and comforts of the people, until the latter were reduced to a state of extreme distress. The revenue, which had begun decreasing in 1755, had continued to decline, until, in 1757, the country was visited with a famine, which compelled the government to seek extraordinary measures of relief. Parliament, aware of the discouragements which had been given to commerce, and of their inability to revive it, talked of the necessity of encouraging tillage, nevertheless, in 1759, the country was called upon to grant extraordinary supplies towards the

expenses of the wars in which Great Britain had been involved. The consequences were, as might be expected, disastrous; the bankers were drained of their cash, and some of the principal of them stopped payment, which seemed as a last blow to Irish commerce. Such was the state of the country when it was threatened with foreign invasion, and when, subsequently, its internal tranquillity was disturbed by the outrages of the whiteboys.

Several political questions began at this moment to agitate Ireland, and continued to agitate it for several years. The Irish parliament had, of late years, been, far more than that of England, ruled by corruption, and the subject of parliamentary reform began to be warmly canvassed by the patriotic party. Irish parliaments had, at this time, no fixed term of duration, so that when the government had obtained a compliant house of commons, they might continue it until it was necessarily dissolved by the death of the sovereign. The patriots had now become clamorous for a law like that which in England limited the duration of a parliament to seven years, and an attempt was made in the session of 1762 to carry through a bill fixing this same period as a limit. But it was successfully resisted by the court, in spite of rather a formidable

Disgorge, fair earth, his filthy frame,
That savage dogs may gnaw the same;
Let ravens, crows, and eagles come,
To tear the monster from his tomb.

The sparkling rills proclaim their joy,
Nor murmuring brooks the sound allow;
The fields put on a smile of mirth,
Since cruel Maude was laid in earth.

A traitor Maude!—the basest, worst,
Long, long shall be his memory curst;
His hand with martyr's blood prophaned,
His heart with guilt of malice stained.

Wafted by angels to the skies,
The sainted Sheehy "vengeance" cries;
Proud dweller with the heavenly choir,
Whilst Maude is doomed to endless fire.

Pluto and Nero—fiend and man,
In hellish deeds Maude's acts outran;
Cromwell and Judas—two in one
He was; and where they went, he's gone.

Perfidious Maude! thy long farewell
To Dundrum's plain and sweet Clonmel
Gives peace and hope; and all around
Rejoice that flames thy soul surround.

show of addresses from different bodies and classes of society. Among the latter were the merchants, traders, and citizens of Dublin, who, on finding that the attempt to obtain a bill limiting the duration of parliament to seven years, had failed, called a meeting, and came to the following resolutions:—"Resolved, that we shall ever retain the most grateful remembrance of the several lords and commons, who in their respective stations have so eminently distinguished themselves in support of the septennial bill. That although we rest secure against foreign enemies, under the protection daily given us by Great Britain, our protection against domestic invaders depends wholly on the limitation of parliaments. That the clandestine arts which are usually practised (and have been sometimes detected) in obstructing of bills tending to promote the protestant interest, ought to make protestants the more active in supporting the septennial bill; the rather as no doubt can remain, that a septennial limitation of parliaments would render the generality of landlords assiduous in procuring protestant tenants, and that the visible advantage accruing would induce others to conform. That these our resolutions be presented to the representatives of this city in parliament, entreating they will immediately take into their most serious consideration the state of the septennial bill, now five months in its progress; the session of parliament near its end; all aids within the ability of this nation given with unanimity and cheerfulness to the crown; and nothing yet known with certainty touching this act of redress, the single one craved by the people, and the only one that can relieve them from domestic oppression."

The other subjects for reform most warmly agitated were, the reduction of the pension list, and the right exercised by the privy council in England, to alter the bills which were transmitted from the Irish parliament in compliance with the old statute known by the title of Poynings' act. The list of pensions, which appears to have been increasing every year, became continually more disproportionate to the revenue of the kingdom, and they were felt more grievously in the present suffering state of the country. With regard to the latter question, it appears that the English privy council had of late made very considerable alterations in the Irish bills sent over to them, and that

the bills thus altered were, on their return, sometimes smuggled through parliament, without notice given of these alterations, which thus passed unobserved. To remedy this evil, the house of commons passed a resolution, that no bill should pass in that house until a committee thereof should compare the transmiss with the original heads of the bill, and report to the house if any, and what, alterations had been made therein. But the patriotic party wished to go beyond this precaution, and they began to look upon Poynings' act itself as a grievance, and as a mere mark of the dependence of the Irish parliament upon the legislature of England.

The Irish government attempted to call off the attention of parliament from questions of this kind, by alarming them with the disturbed state of the country. In closing the session of 1762, lord Halifax made the following allusion to the insurrection of the whiteboys. "I must with concern observe," he said, "that notwithstanding the exemplary behaviour of all ranks of people in this metropolis, and throughout the greater part of this kingdom, some distant quarters of the country have been unhappily disturbed with tumults and riots of the lower sort of people. I have on this occasion been reluctantly obliged to call out the military power, which is sometimes the necessary, but ought always to be the last, resource of government. The officers ordered on that service have executed their duty with activity and discretion. These tumults are, I hope, wholly suppressed. Many of the persons concerned in them are in custody, and await the punishment of their offences. Others are fled from justice, and seem to want only an occasion of returning to their respective habitations with impunity." Soon after this, the earl of Halifax was displaced, and the earl of Northumberland was sent over as lord lieutenant. The spirit of discontent had, in the meanwhile, spread into other parts of the country, and when this nobleman opened the session of the Irish parliament in the October of 1763, he had to call their attention again to the disturbed state of the country. "Not only my duty," said he, "but my earnest good wishes for the prosperity of Ireland, oblige me to take this opportunity of mentioning to you the only unpleasing circumstance which has occurred since my entrance upon this government; the tumultuous risings of the lower

people, in contempt of laws and of magistracy, and of every constitutional subordination, must, if not attended to, be productive of the most fatal consequences; they are a disgrace to a country of liberty; they are ruinous to a country of commerce, and must be particularly fatal here, where the least check to the rising spirit of industry is so very sensibly felt, and so very difficult to be relieved; no means can serve more effectually to prevent these disorders for the future, than the encouragement of such institutions as tend to impress on the minds of the lower order of the people early habits of industry and the true principles of religion."

The lord lieutenant alluded to a new class of insurgents, who now disturbed the tranquillity of the north. It had been the custom in Ireland, to leave the making and repairing of the highways to the labour of the housekeepers, so that whoever possessed a horse was obliged, himself and horse, to work six days in the year, while those who had no horse were made to give six days' personal labour. This regulation had been extensively neglected or evaded by the richer classes, who gave little aid in repairing the roads, unless when it was for their own particular interest, and thus the burden fell heavily on the poor. The discontent of the latter rose, in 1762 and 1763, to such a height, that it could no longer be restrained, and at length the inhabitants of one parish, in the most populous and civilised of the manufacturing districts of Ulster, rose and refused to make more of what were termed job-roads. They placed oak-branches in their hats as a sort of ensign, on account of which they became known by the name of oak-boys. The example was soon followed by the neighbouring parishes, and spread over the manufacturing and agricultural districts of the north of Ireland. The insurgents were now led by exaggerated notions of their own strength, and no longer confined their complaints to the one grievance for which they had first risen. The first objects of their hostility were the overseers of roads: but they soon found a new grievance in the tithes paid to the clergy, which they resolved to diminish, and they next fell upon the landlords, and set about regulating the price of lands, especially of turf bogs. Other objects and plans were gradually developed, until the oak-boys, like the insurgents of the south, assumed the character of general reformers. This

insurrection received encouragement at first from the circumstance that all the regular troops had been withdrawn to the south, so that they had little resistance to encounter. But when a few regiments were sent in haste to Ulster, the rabble soon dispersed, and in the course of a few weeks, with the loss of some lives, the northern province was restored to peace. A parliamentary committee was appointed to examine into the causes of these tumults, the result of which was, that the old act relating to the roads was repealed, and provision was made for their future repair by a tax levied proportionally on rich and poor. At the same time, a committee was appointed to inquire into the insurrection of the whiteboys, which was less successful in its final result. The rebels of the north were protestants, and it was easy to remedy any grievances which really burthened them; those of the south were Irish catholic peasantry, and were spurred on by old prejudices and old wrongs, real and imaginary, which it would take long to remove.

The force of the patriots or country party in the house of commons, had been considerably diminished, yet they still raised a formidable opposition, and they were supported by the wide feeling of discontent at the increasing burthens of the country. Ireland had been called upon to contribute much beyond its abilities, to support the war which had just been concluded, and a national debt had thus been contracted, which amounted, at Lady-day, 1763, to £321,161 16s. 6d., and from this time forwards, instead of diminishing, it continued to increase. In spite of this burthen, the government continued to grant pensions from the Irish revenue with the most unsparing hand. The patriots, diminished as they were in strength, persevered, nevertheless, in their attacks on the pension-list. On the 8th of November, 1763, the commons resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the state of the pensions upon the civil establishment of that kingdom, and a motion was made for an address to the king on the subject, but on a division it was negatived by a majority of a hundred and twelve against seventy-three. But what the opposition wanted in numerical force, was supplied in courage, and the debate on the subject was carried on with great warmth. Mr. J. Fitzgerald, the leader of the opposition on this occasion, stated that the pen-

sions then charged upon the Irish civil establishment, amounted to no less than seventy-two thousand a-year, besides the French and military pensions, and the sums paid for old and unnecessary employments, the pensions thus exceeding the civil list by above forty-two thousand pounds. These pensions, he said, had been increasing in an alarming degree, in spite of the numerous other burthens which had been laid upon the country, and without regard to the other means of extending the influence and patronage of the crown, which were continually presenting themselves. In support of his representations, he gave a calamitous picture of the state of the country, not one-third peopled, while two-thirds of the population were unemployed, and consequently, living in idleness, miserable and discontented. Trade and commerce had suffered to such a degree, that even the middle classes were not capable of paying any new taxes, and as to the larger portion of the Irish population, as he observed, how could they tax leather, where no shoes were worn; or tallow, where no candles were burnt? They could not tax the roots of the earth, and the water, on which the wretched peasantry existed. Mr. Fitzgerald then discussed the question of the legal and constitutional rights of the crown over the public revenue, denying the right which had been assumed, of charging the public revenue with private pensions. He contended, that the crown received a public and private revenue, the former of which it received in the character of a trustee, it having been given by parliament for specific purposes, which placed it out of the discretionary disposal of the crown. The private revenue of the crown in Ireland, or the sum placed by parliament at its absolute discretion, did not, he said, exceed seven thousand a year, whereas the pensions alone amounted to seventy-two thousand, which was more than ten times the amount of the fund on which they could alone be charged.

The court party resisted this attack, as they called it, on the king's prerogative, on the ground that the crown must necessarily have the power of rewarding as well as punishing. An inquiry into the legality of these grants, they pretended, would be placing a restriction upon the king's power of doing good. The attorney-general, Mr. Philip Tisdal, declared it to be his opinion, not only that, by the words of the preamble of the statutes by which the several duties

were laid, the king had an indefinite and uncontrolled right to charge the money brought into the treasury with pensions, but that the crown had this power with respect to duties raised by the very statutes that declare them not chargeable with pensions, because the barring clauses with respect to the hearth money and all licenses could affect them only before they were brought into the treasury; the moment they became part of the aggregate fund, they were indiscriminately a supply for the exigencies and support of government. Although defeated on this occasion, the patriots renewed the attack only four days afterwards, when they carried a motion in the house for taking into consideration the state of the pensions. Mr. R. Fitzgerald stated on this occasion that while the number of men on the military establishment continued the same, namely twelve thousand, the number of regiments had been increased from thirty to forty-two. This increase in the number of regiments had given a considerable increase of court influence, but it created an additional expenditure of fifteen thousand a-year. He further stated that the staff of general officers in Ireland amounted to twenty-two thousand pounds a-year, although in England it did not exceed eleven thousand, and yet there were seldom general officers in Dublin sufficient to form a board.

The repeated motions of the opposition so far succeeded, that the house of commons came to a resolution that the pensions on the civil establishment were an intolerable grievance, and they fixed a day on which that grievance should be taken into consideration. But the government on this occasion appears to have proceeded in a manner which it was accused of adopting too frequently, that of appearing to yield to the popular feeling for a moment, in order to preserve an appearance of liberality, while it was preparing to check it more effectually in the end. When the day of the final debate arrived, the attorney-general moved the adjournment of the further consideration of the question for six months. This led to a violent and angry debate; some notion of the character of this discussion may be gathered from the following circumstances, which at the same time exhibit the political feeling of the moment. Mr. Pery, the member for Limerick, rose and said in allusion to the former unanimous resolutions of the house to take the question of the pensions into consideration: "I am sorry to say that, notwithstanding these resolutions, I

have but too much reason to believe the sitting of such a committee was never intended, and I think it my duty to communicate such reason of my belief to the house. As I was coming last Monday from the four courts, in my chair, I was stopped by a particular friend, a gentleman of great worth and consequence, who asked me whether I intended to go that day to the house. I answered that I did not, as I knew of nothing that made my attendance necessary; and that, as I had been much fatigued by business of the house, and by the courts, I intended to make that a day of rest. He replied, 'you may not only take your rest this day, but every other day of the sessions, for things are now fixed so as to admit of no alteration: no inquiry will be made into the state of the pensions, nor anything else done, but what has been agreed upon with those who are to take the lead.' To this I answered, with great surprise, that I could scarce think what he told me was possible: that the house had been unanimous for examination, and had actually appointed a committee for that purpose but a few days ago; that the public expected it, and to disappoint them in an expectation so reasonable and on an occasion so important, would be wholly inconsistent with the dignity as well as the duty of the house, as the members would then appear to be nothing more than state puppets, with wires in their noses, by which they were turned first one way and then another, just as those who had the management of them thought fit." The attorney-general here lost his temper, and interrupted Mr. Pery in an angry tone. "I hope every gentleman of this house," he said, "feels a proper disdain at being represented as a puppet moved by dictates of another's will, and sufficient spirit to show by his conduct that he acts upon principles of freedom and independence, by the determination of his own judgment. As to the inquiry in question, I shall, for my own part, oppose it, from a full conviction that it is unnecessary. What could we hope more from this inquiry, than an assurance from his majesty that he has considered the grievance, and will redress it? And this assurance he has been graciously pleased to give us already. It is, indeed, true, that this assurance has not come before the house with the solemnity of a formal message; but gentlemen seem to forget that his majesty could not communicate it in that manner, consistent with his character and dignity. The inti-

mation to the lord lieutenant is a favour, and, if his majesty is graciously pleased to waive his prerogative in our behalf, are we to expect that he should do it in a way that would imply a consciousness of his having abused it? His majesty has, in this instance, treated us with condescension and kindness, of which I may venture to say we have no precedent; and shall we return it with remonstrance and complaints? Shall we refuse a favour from our gracious prince, merely because it is not offered in a manner that would degrade himself?" It appears that the government had well calculated its strength, for, on a division, the attorney-general's motion was carried by a hundred and twenty-six against seventy-eight.

The patriots were not yet daunted, but they continued to persevere in agitating a question which had now become popular; while the government seemed to exult in their strength, and to set public feeling at defiance. A pension of a thousand pounds was granted from the Irish civil list to M. de Veron, the Sardinian ambassador (in the name of George Charles), for having negotiated the peace which had been lately concluded with France. This was rumoured abroad, and was the occasion for another attack on the pension list by Mr. Pery, who moved, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty of our inviolable attachment to his royal person and family; that we have the firmest reliance on his majesty's wisdom, justice, and tender regard for his subjects of this kingdom; but that we should fail in our duty to his majesty, and desert the trust reposed in us by those we represent, should we longer defer laying before his majesty the real state of this kingdom, which we have some reason to fear may not yet have been fully presented to his majesty's view. That we presume to do so from a firm persuasion that his majesty will not believe that we are prompted to it by the spirit of faction, but impelled by the necessities of the kingdom; and that we have nothing in view but his majesty's honour and the prosperity of our country. That during the late successful war we exerted our utmost efforts for the support of his majesty's government, and to raise such supplies as his majesty thought necessary for his service, though it was with the greatest difficulty we could even provide for payment of the interest of the sums we were obliged to borrow for that purpose. But at the same time we could not without

the utmost concern observe, though we lamented it in silence, the great and continual expense of pensions, and that a considerable part of those sums which were destined for public uses were diverted to private purposes. That this is one great cause of the heavy debt which oppresses this kingdom, and which we can scarce ever hope to discharge, deprived as we are of those resources from trade with which the other parts of his majesty's dominions are blessed. That any considerable addition to this burthen must depopulate this kingdom, already much exhausted of its inhabitants. That we presume with all humility to lay these our circumstances before his majesty, not doubting that they will excite in his royal breast those sentiments which are so natural to his princely disposition."

The debate on this address, which took place on the 24th of November, was if possible more violent than the former. The chief argument employed against it by the court is embodied in the remark of the solicitor-general, Mr. Gore:—"The voice of the majority is the voice of the nation, and in that, once given, we ought to acquiesce. Give me leave to add, that the majority by which the late question has been determined, consists of gentlemen of rank and abilities, gentlemen who have great property to secure, and great characters to maintain; and I think there never sat in any national assembly, of any age or any country, persons who had more the constitutional rights of the people at heart, or knew better how they were to be maintained." This motion also was negatived by a majority of a hundred and seventy-four to fifty-eight; yet Mr. Pery, nothing daunted, resumed the subject on the thirteenth of December, when he proposed another address to the king on this subject, which met with the same fate as its predecessors. This last address, the statements in which were not contradicted, gives us a complete view of the financial condition of Ireland at this moment. It was: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to acknowledge with the utmost gratitude his majesty's most gracious acceptance of our past services, to assure his majesty of our firm resolution to pursue such measures as shall tend most to promote the real interest and honour of the crown. To express the general satisfaction and joy with which his majesty's most gracious declaration, communicated by his excellency the lord lieu-

tenant to both houses of parliament at the opening of the session, was received, viz., 'That by the conclusion of a general peace we were at length relieved from those burthens which were unavoidable during a war; that the situation of public affairs would permit a very considerable diminution of public expense, that nothing was to be asked, but the continuance of supplies for the support of the ordinary establishments, and that his majesty thanked us for our past efforts, without again having recourse to the experienced liberality of parliament;' that from these assurances we drew the most flattering expectations of reducing the national debt, and relieving the impoverished people from the burthen of those taxes they were so little able to bear; but that these pleasing hopes were soon blasted by the unexpected requisition of supplies to support a civil establishment loaded with a long train of pensions, the amount of which, exclusive of the French and military, exceeded the expense of all the other branches of the civil establishment in the sum of £12,627 19s. 2d., many of which were publicly bought and sold in the market. That the number of officers upon the military establishment is increased, not only far beyond what it ever was in time of peace, but even beyond what it was in the time of the most dangerous war, and would, under any reign but that of his majesty, raise just apprehensions for the constitution, not only of this kingdom, but that of Great Britain. That instead of six regiments of dragoons and twenty-six of foot (the most ever before seen in this kingdom), there are eight regiments of dragoons, and thirty of foot, besides the four old regiments of horse. That the expense of general officers is raised from £30,000 in two years to £45,000, though there was not sufficient number of them in the kingdom to attend the last reduction of the forces. That the expense of the ordnance is swelled from £10,600 in two years to £45,070, independent of its extraordinary charges, which are very considerable, though the whole artillery of this kingdom is not equal to the ordnance of one of his majesty's ships of thirty guns. That every branch of the military and civil establishment is advanced nearly in the same proportion. That, from principles of duty and affection to his majesty, we granted the supplies which were demanded from us in his majesty's name, for the support of these several establishments, however insupportable to the people.

But though the warmth of our zeal and affection for his majesty induced us thus liberally to grant those supplies, our duty to him and those we represent will not permit us to conceal from his majesty or the public the real state and condition of this kingdom, which we shall lay before his majesty with all humility, and cast ourselves at his majesty's feet, to implore his royal protection against his ministers. That the expense of the present military establishment amounts, in two years, to the sum of £980,955 19s.; the civil establishment to £242,956 10s. 9d.; to which must be added at the most moderate computation, £300,000 for extraordinary and contingent expenses of government; that these sums added together amount to the sum of £1,523,912 9s. 9d. That to answer this expense, the whole revenue of this kingdom, the additional as well as hereditary duties, exclusive of the loan duties, which are but barely sufficient to pay the interest of £650,000, the present national debt, amount to the sum of £1,200,861, at a medium of fourteen years: so that the expense of the nation for these two last years must exceed its whole revenue in a sum of £344,248 9s. 9d., which deficiency being added to the national debt, must leave this kingdom at the next meeting of parliament near £1,000,000 in debt. That the highest establishments we ever had in time of peace in this kingdom, were those in the two years ending in March, 1755, and yet the present establishment exceeds them in the sum of £283,028 9s. 9d. That during the late expensive war, the establishments amounted at a medium only to the sum of £1,125,790 for two years, so that the present establishments in a time of peace exceed the establishments in the last war in the sum of £97,522 9s. 9d. That we have already contracted a new debt of £100,000, though we expected to have discharged part of the old. That the imports, exports, and home consumption of this kingdom are already taxed to the utmost they can bear. That any addition to these taxes, instead of increasing, must lessen the revenue. That nothing now remains to be taxed but our lands, which are already loaded with quit-rents, crown-rents, composition-rents, and hearth-money. That if the present establishments are to continue, the debt of the nation must constantly increase, and in the end prove the utter ruin of the kingdom. That such is the true but melancholy state of this country, which nothing but his majesty's most

gracious declarations, signified to us by his excellency the lord lieutenant, could have given us confidence to have laid before him, and which we do, that his majesty may judge how far his most benevolent intentions have been pursued. That we presume not to point out any particular method of redress, fully persuaded as we are, that when his majesty shall have been thus fully informed of our real circumstances, his wisdom, his justice, his humanity, will not permit the utter ruin of a dutiful, a loyal, an affectionate people."

This was the last attempt of the patriots in the Irish house of commons to agitate this question of the pension list, during the session of which we are now speaking. The attention of parliament was diverted for a moment to the consideration of measures of indulgence to the catholics. Mr. Mason reminded the commons, on the 25th of November, 1763, that in the previous session of parliament, a bill had passed without a division for empowering papists to lend money on the mortgages of real estates, but that this bill had been suppressed in England, for what reason he knew not, as he thought it was a measure of great advantage to that kingdom. He contended that at present catholics could take only personal security for the money they lent, which was not only a great hardship upon them, but he was prepared to show that it was a disadvantage to the nation at large. As the public was only an aggregate of individuals, the suffering of an individual must be a disadvantage to the public in the proportion which that individual bears to the whole, supposing the sufferings of the individual to terminate entirely in himself. Now the catholics making one part, and that a very considerable one, of that community, it was certain that the community must suffer with them, supposing their peculiar disadvantages to affect only themselves; but in this case, he said, their disadvantage affects other parts of the community; if the papists be prohibited from lending upon such security as is thought a sufficient indemnification, which with respect to mere personal security in such a country as this, cannot be the case, it is certain that the protestant is continually restrained from borrowing, and yet borrowing and lending are mutual advantages. It might perhaps be replied, that, though the disadvantages under which the papists are laid by what were called the popery laws

were indeed disadvantageous to the public, yet the disadvantages would be greater if the papists were admitted to all the privileges and immunities of protestants; that they had, in that case, the power only of choosing the least of two evils, the different religious opinions of the inhabitants of that country making a certain degree of evil inevitable. In answer to this objection, Mr. Mason said that they had nothing to do with religious opinions, any farther than as they included political principles affecting civil government; the protestant religion was founded upon the right of private judgment, and it would be absurd if, while they renounced the infallibility of the pope, they set up instead of it, an infallibility of the state; as protestants, therefore, they must, upon their own principles, admit that the opinions of those who differed from them might possibly be true, and they had certainly no right to punish opinions which might be true. They might, indeed, and they ought, to keep the power of hurting out of the hands of those whose principles would lead them to exert it; but he thought the papist a much more formidable enemy, as an inmate, in the possession of ready money, than in the possession of a mortgage deed. Money was always power, and that money which is placed in protestant hands upon mortgage was power in favour of the state; the same money in the hands of the papist unlent, supposing the papist to be an enemy to the state, was power against it. Besides, money was not a local, but transitory property; a papist, possessed of money, has no local interest in the country, but a papist mortgagee had; he would be engaged to support the government for his own interest; his security for his money was good while the government subsisted, but in the convulsion which always attends the subversion of government, it would, at least, become doubtful; besides, the greater the advantages which the papists receive under the present constitution, the more they must desire its continuance, and he would venture to say, that if the papists were to be admitted to all the privileges of protestant subjects, there would hardly be a practical jacobite among them, whatever they might be in theory. "I should, therefore, be glad," he said in conclusion, "that the bill should have another trial, and I shall, therefore, move for leave to bring in heads of a bill, to empower papists to lend money on the

mortgage of land, and to sue for the same."

There was still a powerful and very violent party among the protestants, the representatives of the old extreme English interest, a name which had now been disclaimed by the court, though the party was kept together by the exertions of archbishop Stone, and to these Mr. Mason's enlarged sentiments of liberality were anything but agreeable. They opposed all concessions to conciliate the catholics, and the spirit of the opposition may be summed up in the arguments of Mr. Le Hunte. He said that he thought the bill proposed would eventually make the papists proprietors of great part of the landed interest of the kingdom, which would certainly extend their influence; and that it was dangerous trusting to the use they would make of it, upon the supposition that their interests would get the better of their principles. He urged that the bill of the former session had been passed artfully, on the last day of the session, in a very thin house; and he begged that the motion should be adjourned, in order to obtain a full house. This was agreed to, and the intervening time was apparently employed in canvassing for and against it. The debate came on on the 3rd of February, 1761, when, on a division, Mr. Mason's motion was negatived by a majority of a hundred and thirty-eight against fifty-three. A second motion was immediately made, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill to enable papists to take securities upon lands, but in such manner that they might not meddle with the possession thereof, which was also negatived. Such was the fate of the first decided attempt to break in upon the oppressive system of penal statutes against the Irish Roman catholics.

The session closed in the May of 1761: and the earl of Northumberland returned to England, after having given the royal assent to several bills, among which the most important were, an act for indemnifying all such persons as had been or should be aiding in the dispersing of riots and apprehending the rioters; and an act for confirming the titles and for quieting the possessions of protestants, and for giving time to converts from popery to perform the requisites of conformity prescribed by the laws against popery. On the departure of the lord lieutenant, archbishop Stone, the earl of Shannon, and the speaker of the

house of commons (Mr. Ponsonby) were again appointed lords justices; but the two former died before the end of the year, and the lord chancellor Bowes was joined with Ponsonby as lord justice, and the earl of Drogheda was afterwards added to their number. The death of the archbishop and the earl of Shannon was a great blow to the old English interest, and led to a more indulgent feeling towards the catholics. Lord Weymouth was appointed lord lieutenant, in the place of the earl of Northumberland; but he never went over, and this high office was subsequently conferred upon the earl of Hertford.

This latter nobleman opened the session of the Irish parliament in the latter part of the year 1765. Through the exertions of the court, the patriotic party in the house of commons had experienced a further diminution in its numbers; but their spirit remained, and the session had not long commenced when they returned to the attack on the pensions. On the 6th of December a motion was made, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure him of their inviolable duty and zealous attachment to his person and government. That it affected them with the deepest sorrow to find that the pensions in general on the establishment of that kingdom had greatly increased of late years, insomuch as to have amounted to the sum of £158,685 4s. 8½d. in the two years ending at Lady-day, 1765. That many of those pensions had been granted for long series of years, and for lives, and had been made payable out of the revenue at large. That they had long been the causes of silent disquietude, and were of late become the subjects of universal murmur and complaint. That they should think it a breach of the trust reposed in them, longer to conceal from his majesty the grievances of his faithful subjects, and by such omission to postpone for a day that redress which with the utmost confidence they expected from the dictates of paternal affection and the suggestions of royal justice." The motion was again negatived, the majority being now a hundred and nineteen against forty-one.

Although thus diminished in numbers, the patriots continued to battle on. Some attempts were made in this session, though unsuccessfully, to render the judges independent of the crown; and it was moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, expressing in the strongest

terms the full confidence of his ever loyal subjects of Ireland in his majesty's justice and parental affection for this kingdom; and representing to his majesty that his faithful commons of Ireland, apprehending that it is a part of their bounden duty to lay before his majesty, for his consideration, such grievances of his people as they judge to be most deserving of his notice, and as they fear he may not otherwise be fully informed of, from a sense of that duty presume to acquaint his majesty, that in many instances the laws of this land are less resorted to, revered, and observed, by the lower class of people, at this time, than has been usual heretofore in this kingdom, or than is becoming a people who enjoy the blessings of a free government, of which the commotions in the several parts of this kingdom are but too plain and striking examples. That one principal source of these evils consists in the appointing of persons of mean abilities, and totally unacquainted with the state and municipal constitutions of Ireland, to the ministration of justice in the supreme courts of law in this kingdom; by the means of which all law-suits are protracted to an excessive length, and the expenses of them are rendered intolerable; the security of persons, of life, and of property, is daily diminished and made more precarious; the laws, instead of being considered as the protection, are become the oppression of the people; and, in the place of being obeyed and loved, appear too often contemptible or disgusting, from the incapacity which sometimes is found in those who are entrusted with the execution of them. That your majesty's faithful commons, in this their humble representation, are by no means desirous of making any distinction between the subjects of different parts of your majesty's dominions; with gratitude they acknowledge that, in former times, judges of the most illustrious abilities have been sent from Great Britain into this kingdom, to the furtherance of justice, and the manifest advantage of Ireland, particularly in the instance of that great man [lord chancellor Bowes] who has so long and so ably presided in your majesty's high court of chancery, to the universal satisfaction of all ranks of people; neither can they with justice omit expressing their approbation of such of our present judges as are natives of this kingdom, whose conduct and abilities are in their opinion irreproachable. That your majesty's faithful commons do not

presume to point out to your majesty any remedy for these evils, relying with the firmest confidence on your majesty's wisdom and experienced affection for your whole people."

This address was moved on the 23rd of May, 1765; but it only served to furnish a new proof of the weakness of the opposition, for on a division it was thrown out by a majority of seventy-one against thirty-five. They now relinquished the question of the pension list, and applied themselves to the still more popular one of parliamentary reform. On the 24th of May, the day after their defeat on the other question, the patriots in the house of commons moved an address to the lord lieutenant, representing to him, that the commons of Ireland, "with hearts full of the sense of their miserable condition, yet supported with the hopes they had of his administration, had cheerfully contributed to all such supplies as had been demanded from them; and that they did not despair of his goodness being extended towards them, in such a prudent and gracious manner as might afford them relief, according to the present exigencies of their condition; and therefore humbly requested his excellency would be graciously pleased to lay, or order to be laid, before that house all the proceedings of the privy council in March last, relative to the suppression of heads of a bill, entitled a bill for the better securing the freedom of parliament, by ascertaining the qualification of knights, citizens, and burgesses in parliament; and humbly requested that his excellency would order all the patents granted in reversion or in possession during that administration to be laid before the house; and that his excellency would use his influence, that no more reversionary grants should be disposed of in that kingdom, inasmuch as they debilitated the crown in present, and might be attended by the imposition of new burthens upon the public."

The court party at first opposed this motion with evasions and quibbles. They moved that instead of the words "the sense of their miserable condition," they should insert, "their happy condition under his majesty's auspicious government;" and the alteration was agreed to. They then felt that it was necessary to give way in some degree to popular clamour, for the country had become violently agitated on the question of the septennial bill, the heads of which were those alluded to in the foregoing

motion. County meetings were held in all parts of the country, and resolutions and addresses in favour of a measure which seemed to promise the only check against the open and gigantic system of venality practised by the Irish government, were carried with extraordinary unanimity. The citizens of Dublin, in an address to their representatives, signed by the two high sheriffs and above eight hundred of the most respectable merchants and traders, openly instructed them "never to give their assent to any money bill of longer duration than three months, till a law passes in this kingdom for a septennial limitation of parliament." The heads of the bill were introduced into parliament, agreed to, and transmitted to England, but there they were suppressed by one of those collusions between the two governments which had been so frequently resorted to. The lord lieutenant, in reply to the address of the house of commons just alluded to, which was now allowed to pass, said, "I have received information of the most authentic nature, that the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments will not be returned during this session. I shall however fully lay before his majesty the sentiments of the house of commons, contained in this address, and shall renew the representations which I have already made in the strongest and warmest manner in favour of such a law."

The spirit of the patriots was roused by this juggling method of disposing of their favourite measure, and they now moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, testifying in the strongest terms our inviolable attachment to his person, family, and government, and lamenting that we are obliged to mingle with the effusions of our zeal and loyalty our solicitude for the return and our concern at the delay of the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments in this kingdom, a delay which we conceive to arise from some misrepresentation, inasmuch as we have the firmest reliance and the fullest confidence in his majesty's royal beneficence and justice; virtues which in their own operation must incline his majesty to listen graciously to the universal voice and to the most fervent prayers of his loyal people; more especially when they desire nothing new or doubtful, when they desire only that they may not be deprived of a reasonable frequency of election with respect to their own representation, of which no other part of his majesty's

subjects, not in the meanest of his colonies, is deprived, when they desire not a parliament once every year or oftener, to which they are entitled by a constitution of six hundred years' establishment, and by the express statute of Edward the Third, never repealed, and of above four hundred years' antiquity; but that no one parliament should continue above seven years, which was the longest period to which it was found possible to extend the duration of parliament in a neighbouring kingdom, an extension grounded upon circumstances there which never existed in this country; when therefore their application in this particular is strictly speaking not to limit but prolong parliaments, not to abridge but to increase prerogative, by giving the crown a power to continue the same parliament seven years, which it has not now by the laws and constitution; when they desire only that an unconstitutional and illegal custom may not be perpetuated upon them, or continuing the same parliament for the life of the reigning king, which there have been but two instances of from the beginning of time in this kingdom, and which was tolerated in these two instances only from the most unlimited and overflowing loyalty and attachment to his majesty's royal house, which induced our ancestors to suffer their most sacred rights to be in this particular suspended, rather than expose the recent establishment of his majesty's auspicious family to the most imaginary hazard; when they hope that this their conduct, which might well be rewarded with an increase, will not be punished by a deprivation of privileges; and that their just, humble, temperate, and legislative desires, their most reiterated and ardent supplications, will not be neglected, whilst the less regular applications and even resistance of some of their fellow-subjects in a case far different have been attended with satisfaction and redress." The court opposed this address with all its force, on the ground that its language was too bold; and it was thrown out by a majority of a hundred and seventeen against twenty-nine. But on the following day, the patriots, having assumed a more moderate tone, succeeded in carrying by a majority of ninety against eighty-eight, an address to the king, in which they said—"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your throne, and with all humility to testify our ardent and inviolable

attachment to your sacred person and government, and to implore that your majesty will suffer us to present to you the universal prayers of your loyal people of Ireland, in assistance of the representations and endeavours of the chief governor of this kingdom towards inducing your majesty, in your royal beneficence, to return to your most faithful subjects the bill transmitted to Great Britain for limiting the duration of parliament." The king returned an answer to this address:—"His majesty has received the address of the house of commons, on the subject of a bill some time since transmitted for limiting the duration of parliaments. The sentiments of his faithful commons were already known to his majesty by their passing the heads of that bill, nor can any solicitation add weight to that ancient and constitutional way of signifying their desires on the like occasions. His majesty will always have the highest satisfaction in complying with the wishes of his faithful commons; but no consideration can prevail with his majesty to swerve from that indispensable duty which the constitution prescribes to him, of concurring in such provisions only, as on mature deliberation and advice of his council appear to him at the time calculated to promote the true interest and happiness of his people." With this ungracious and unsatisfactory intimation from the crown, the agitation on this important subject was closed for the present session.

But the patriots went on struggling for popular measures with various degrees of success. A bill was introduced, "to prevent the buying and selling of offices which concern the administration of justice or the collection of his majesty's revenue," but it miscarried in the house of commons. Another, for "the better securing the liberty of the subject," passed the commons, and was transmitted to England, but it was there suppressed. The turbulence of the whiteboys continued in the south, and the public mind, already occupied with the political contentions in the legislature, was further agitated this summer by the trial and execution of father Nicholas Sheehy, which has been detailed in a previous chapter. A committee of the house of commons, which had been appointed to inquire into the causes of the insurrection in the southern part of the kingdom, now made its report, in which the opinion was expressed, "that if a law was passed, that any number of

persons assembling by night, and wilfully and maliciously destroying any kind of corn, in any manner whatsoever, cutting down, digging up or breaking of trees, levelling walls or ditches, or digging up ground, should be guilty of felony, it would be a means of preventing the like insurrections for the future." A bill for preventing tumultuous risings was accordingly passed, and received the royal assent, as did another bill for the better regulating of trials in cases of felony and treason. These were the chief measures of a session which had been characterized by a more regular and systematical, however unsuccessful, attack upon the corruptions of the Irish government than had been witnessed in any previous parliament. The session was closed in the June of 1766, and lord Hertford having returned to England, the office of lord lieutenant was soon after conferred on lord Townshend.

In spite of the disturbed state of some parts of the country, and the general discontent, the Irish revenue was gradually increasing, yet it still fell far short of the expenses of government, and it was found necessary to add to the national debt. The condition of the Irish population was made more alarming at the approach of the winter of 1765, by a great scarcity of grain, and a general failure of potatoes, the latter evil being still more severely felt by the lower classes. The government stepped forward to avert the danger, and two acts were passed, one to stop the distilleries for a certain time, the immediate consequence of which was a decrease in the excise, the other to prevent the exportation of corn; in both of these acts it was recited that it was apprehended that there was not sufficient corn in the kingdom for the food of the inhabitants until harvest. The corn bill was the occasion of a new encroachment by the crown on the rights of the Irish parliament. When the heads of the bill were transmitted to England, a proviso was inserted by the British cabinet, "that it should be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, by his or their order in the privy council of Great Britain, or for the chief governor or governors and privy council of Ireland for the time being, by their proclamation, to permit the exportation of any of the kinds of corn, grain, meal, or flour therein mentioned, anything therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding." When the bill, thus altered, came back to the Irish parlia-

ment, the patriots raised their voice energetically against the interference of the English ministry, and attempted to throw out the bill. The grounds on which they opposed it, which were perfectly constitutional, were, first, that even under the restrictions of Poyning's law, the king had only a power of assent or dissent, but not of alteration, because that, as it necessarily imparted a deliberative power, it could exist only in the lords and commons of Ireland; and, secondly, that if it were necessary to lodge a dispensing power in the executive, the proclamation ought not to issue from the king and privy council in England, but in the name of the lord deputy and privy council of Ireland. The Irish ministers, however, hurried the bill through parliament in its altered form with the greatest precipitancy; the patriots said that they had determined to drive the people to the desperate alternative of famine or the subversion of the constitution. They seem indeed to have determined on seizing this occasion for establishing the practice of altering the bills. It was said that lord Hertford was displaced because he gave offence in this instance by not supporting the court so strenuously as was expected.

The English government was now not only alarmed at the state of the country, but it also began to feel the inconveniences of the manner in which Ireland was ruled. There were a certain number of leaders in the Irish house of commons, who had each a certain number of dependents among the members, and who, by uniting, could at any time secure a majority in the house. These leaders had been gradually bought over, and were all now in the pay of the court; and their rapacity for court favours was increasing to such a degree, that it became difficult to satisfy them, while, if not contented, they could always take their revenge by overthrowing the court measures. These leaders were in the habit of stipulating with each new lord lieutenant upon what terms they would carry the king's business through the house, and they required as a necessary condition of their alliance that the disposal of court favours, such as places, pensions, or preferments, should pass through their hands, in order to keep their followers in a state of absolute dependence upon them. Each leader thus claimed as a right the privilege of gratifying his friends, and whenever these demands were not complied with, the measures of government were imme-

diately crossed and obstructed. Parliament was a sort of battle-field, on which these different leaders contended for the power which would make them necessary to government. It was the system of middle-men carried into the legislature.

Lord Townshend was selected for the lord licientancy, not only on account of his abilities, but because it was expected that his talents for popularity would give him the influence necessary to break down this system. But the task was found much more difficult than it was expected, and he adopted a course which only substituted one evil for another. To destroy the power of the leaders, the favours of the court were no longer allowed to pass through their hands, but they were distributed individually and directly to those who had hitherto been dependent upon them. Each was now made to look up immediately to the fountain head, and the streams of favour became both multiplied and enlarged, so that the drag upon government was greater than ever. The leaders offered resistance, became clamorous against the court, and joined in the opposition, and a considerable and rather long political agitation followed, which exhibited itself in innumerable squibs and pamphlets.

By his convivial habits and familiar manners, and by a lavish distribution of court favours, lord Townshend soon gained a considerable degree of popularity, and he determined to establish it by countenancing the favourite measure of the Irish patriots, the septennial bill. In his opening speech to the parliament, on the 20th of October, 1767, he recommended to their attention, by direction of the king, another measure which the patriots had struggled to obtain in former sessions. "It is with great satisfaction," he said, "that, in obedience to his majesty's commands, I now meet you here in parliament, being confident that the end of all your consultations will be to support the honour of the crown and the just rights and liberties of the people. As nothing can be more conducive to these great ends than the independency and uprightness of the judges of the land in the impartial administration of justice, I have it in charge from his majesty to recommend this interesting object to parliament, that such provision may be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices and appointments, during their good behaviour, as shall be thought expedient." He recommended to

their particular attention two other measures. "The protestant charter schools have from their first institution met with the constant assistance and protection of parliament; the same disposition, I am persuaded, will still continue, as they are the great sources of industry, virtue, and true religion. The linen manufacture calls likewise for your utmost attention, and it would be a pleasing circumstance to me, if, during my administration, I could see foreigners entirely prevented from interfering in any article of this important consumption."

The lords and commons, in their addresses, vied with each other in expressions of gratitude for the recommendation relating to the judges, and the heads of a bill to make the commissions of judges to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserint* were passed and transmitted to England. There an alteration, of no great importance, was made in the bill before it was returned, and this roused all the jealousy of the Irish parliament on a subject which had been so warmly discussed in the previous session. A committee of the house having pointed out the alteration, the commons immediately rejected the bill.

The parliament was also allowed to pass the heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliament to seven years, as in England, and it was transmitted, but the English cabinet altered the limitation from seven years to eight. As no other reason could be imagined for such an unnecessary alteration, it was generally believed that the English ministers were averse to the bill, but afraid to act openly at this moment in contradiction to the strongly declared feeling of the Irish people, had adopted the unworthy course of making an alteration in the bill in the belief that the Irish commons would act with regard to this bill as they did with that relating to the judges. But contrary to this expectation, the Irish commons were so anxious to secure the limitation of parliaments that they waived their objection on this occasion, and the act passed both houses and became the law of the land. The commons, indeed, could not contain their joy when the bill came back from England, and they immediately voted an address to the throne, offering their "unfeigned and grateful acknowledgments, for the condescension which your majesty has so signally manifested to your subjects of this kingdom, in returning the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, which we consider not only

as a gracious mark of paternal benevolence, but as a wise result of royal deliberation." And when the royal assent had been given, the popular exultation was so great, that the people took the horses from the lord lieutenant's coach as he left the parliament house, and drew him to the castle with the most enthusiastic marks of joy.

The only other subject of much importance which occupied the parliament during this session was the state of the military establishment. The lord lieutenant, in a message to the house of commons, acquainted them that his majesty required, for the public service, that some of the troops on the Irish establishment should be employed abroad; and that, as it might be expedient that a number of troops, not less than twelve thousand, including officers, should be kept within that kingdom for its better defence, exclusive of such as might be employed elsewhere, his majesty thought it necessary that his army on this establishment should be augmented to fifteen thousand two hundred and thirty-five men in the whole, of which number twelve thousand were to be kept in Ireland. In reply to this communication, the house of commons agreed upon an address to the lord lieutenant, expressing their constant willingness to contribute as far as lay in their power to the support of his majesty's government, but reminding him at the same time of the heavy debt of the nation, and of the prospect of its increasing, and informing him that the house, finding the finances at this time in such a situation, and not having an opportunity so late in the session to reconsider the state and resource of the country, could not give their concur-

rence to any measure which might be attended with a considerable additional expense. A committee, moreover, was appointed to inquire into the state of the military establishment, and into the application of the money granted for its support since the 25th of March, 1751, the result of which shewed great misconduct on the part of those to whose charge the establishment was committed. The committee said in their report, "That the entire reduction of the army after the conclusion of the peace did not take place till the latter end of the year 1764, and that it appears from the return of the quarter-master general that there were great deficiencies in the several regiments then upon the establishment, at the several quarterly musters comprised in the said paper which precede the month of January, 1765; the full pay of such vacancies must amount to a very large sum, and ought, as your committee apprehends, to have been returned as a saving to the nation, especially as it appeared to your committee that orders were issued by government not to recruit the regiments intended to be reduced." An address was voted to his majesty, laying before him the report of this committee, acknowledging his constant attention to the welfare of his people, and expressing the utmost confidence in his wisdom, that if upon such representation any reformation in the military establishment should appear necessary to his majesty, such alteration would be made therein as would better provide for the security of the kingdom, and at the same time reduce the expense of that establishment in such a manner as might be more suitable to the circumstances of the nation.

CHAPTER II.

LORD TOWNSHEND'S ADMINISTRATION; OBSTINATE OPPOSITION TO THE COURT; THE MONEY-BILL REJECTED; PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT, AND NEW SESSION.



THE duration of an Irish parliament was now finally limited to eight years. Immediately after the close of the session in which the octennial bill had passed, the parliament was dissolved, and a new one was elected. Lord Townshend exerted him-

self to the utmost to influence the elections, he made excursions into the provinces, shewed himself familiarly (it was said more familiarly than was consistent with his dignity) among the people, exhausted all his convivial arts, and left nothing untried that seemed calculated to strengthen the court interest. Bribes were squandered about with pro-

fuse liberality. But lord Townshend's popularity was gone, and he was now the butt of satire and ridicule from a periodical press which had been lately increasing in the freedom with which it attacked the persons and measures of ministers. One of these satires described the lord lieutenant as "a plump man, with a merry, round, unstudious looking countenance; a jovial companion, of great festive mirth, preferring even the latter end of a feast to any part of a fray. A person who cannot arrive at the heroic virtues, should always affect the social ones. It is said, indeed, that he is apt to quarrel in his liquor, but that is easily corrected. One perfectly regardless of pomp, dignity, or parade, going about scattering his proverbs to common passengers, as he walks the streets. It has been whispered, indeed, that he is a person of great design, but then I have been told that his execution is rather with the pencil than the pen." "What merry duke or duchess," continues this writer, who is describing him under the character of Sancho Panza, "made him a governor in a frolic, I cannot say, for I hear that it was not at first seriously intended. If Charles II., of facetious memory, was now monarch of these realms, it might perhaps be accounted for more ways than one, as Sancho's attachment to the Stuart line is sufficiently known; but his present majesty God bless him! I hear is no joker." "We, my lord," says another of these papers, addressing the chief governor, "who have beheld your predecessors, thought nothing at this time could be new in a lord lieutenant, except virtue. Rashness could not astonish a people who had seen the duke of Bedford; weakness could not astonish a people who had seen the duke of Northumberland; and a despicable character ceased to be a novelty, for we had not forgotten lord Hertford; but there remained one innovation in politics, which we had no conception of; a man who had all the defects of these great personages, without the alloy of their virtues; who was rash, weak, and contemptible, but was not intrepid, splendid, or decent; a man who had not spirit to assert government, and yet was audacious enough to violate the constitution; whose manners were ludicrous, whose person was despised, whose disposition was vehemence without firmness, and whose conduct was not steady oppression, but rather the tremour of tyranny; such a man could not have been foreseen; but at length the miracle was pro-

duced, and this phenomenon at the castle appeared in your lordship."

Amid this cloud of odium, lord Townshend expended fourteen months in trying every species of corruption to secure a powerful majority, before he ventured to call the new parliament together. During this interval, new troubles had arisen in the country, in addition to the continued outrages of the whiteboys. An absentee nobleman, it is said, who had let an estate on lease which was now expired, instead of renewing the lease for the highest rent he could get, adopted the then novel mode of raising money for the wants of the moment by letting it at very low rents on condition of the immediate payment of heavy fines. The occupiers were willing to give high rents, but they were unable to raise the money to pay exorbitant fines, and they were accordingly ejected to make room for wealthy undertakers, who immediately they obtained possession racked the rents of the subordinate tenants to the highest pitch. The people, thus provoked, rose against "foresters," and destroyed their houses, maimed their cattle, and committed other acts of violence. These insurgents were known by the name of steel-boys, and they soon followed in the steps of the oak-boys, became general reformers, and assumed so formidable an appearance that it was necessary to employ the military against them.

At length, on the 17th of October, 1769, the lord lieutenant met the new house of commons, which had unanimously chosen Mr. John Ponsonby for its speaker. In his speech, lord Townshend made special allusion to the octennial bill, on which he seemed to wish to establish his popularity. "It is with particular satisfaction," he said, "that in obedience to his majesty's commands, I meet the first parliament, limited in duration, that ever assembled in this kingdom. I am confident that you are come together with the justest sentiments of duty and affection to our most excellent sovereign, who has gratified the earnest wishes of his faithful subjects of Ireland with that great improvement of their constitution. I flatter myself that the protestant interest has already found the happy effect of it; and that the many gracious marks which you have experienced of his majesty's paternal regard, will animate your deliberations, and direct them to all such measures as may secure to you the blessings you enjoy." He only recommended three subjects to the

consideration of parliament, the encouragement of the charter schools, the linen manufacture, and the prevention of the running contraband goods, which had then been carried to such a length as to affect the revenue.

It soon appeared that lord Townshend's efforts to obtain a subservient house of commons had not been entirely successful. The patriots having at length gained their point in the limitation bill, determined now to attack the undue power which had been usurped by the privy council of interference in the legislature. It had been customary, in accordance with Poyning's act, to entrust to the privy council the bills to be transmitted from the Irish parliament to the king in England, and they had not only used their influence to suppress bills which were obnoxious to the court, but they had gradually assumed a right of altering and even of originating bills, as though they formed a sort of fourth branch of the legislature. Early in the present session the privy council took upon itself to originate a money bill, which gave so much offence to the commons, that they not only threw it out on the second reading, but they passed a resolution that the bill was rejected because it did not take its rise in that house. The debate on this occasion was unusually violent, and when the secretary of state, sir George Macartney, (a creature of lord Bute's, whose daughter he had married,) defended the manner of bringing in the bill, and observed, that taking its rise in the privy council was a tax the commons of Ireland paid for a continuance of their constitution, and that Ireland was a dependent government, and owed to England the highest obligations for the free exercise of its invaluable privileges, the house was thrown into so great an uproar, that the speaker experienced the utmost difficulty in restoring it to order.

Lord Townshend was irritated and embarrassed at this proceeding of the Irish commons, and protested against the whole proceeding, but the commons refused to allow his protest to be entered on their journals. It was suspected that the lord lieutenant intended to make his protest in the house of lords, and a motion was there made, "That the speaker of this house be desired that no protest of any person whomsoever, who is not a lord of parliament and a member of this house, and which doth not respect a matter which had been previously

in question before this house, and wherein the lord protesting had taken part with the minority, either in person or by proxy, be entered in the journals of this house." This motion, after a very warm debate, was negatived by a majority of thirty against five, upon which the five dissentient lords entered the following protest in the journals:—"Dissentient; first, because we conceive that it is the sole and exclusive right and privilege of a lord of parliament and a member of this house, to have his protest entered in the journals of this house; and that even a lord of parliament and a member of this house cannot have his protest so entered, except upon a matter previously in question before this house, wherein the lord protesting took part with the minority, either in person or by proxy. Secondly, because we conceive that this regulation of the privilege of protesting stands upon the same principle, in consequence of which this privilege hath obtained among the lords, and not among the representatives of the people. The latter, we apprehend, are considered by the constitution as actuated and justified by the sentiments of those whom they represent, whereas the lords, who act not as deputies, but in their own right, are more personally responsible for their conduct to posterity. The practice of a permanent justification also seems to have been deemed a more necessary guard upon a body whose power was permanent. Hence we conceive the privilege of protesting arose; that a lord, against whom the majority had declared, might have an opportunity of vindicating himself to future time, which the original custom of inserting the name of each lord in the journals, with the part he had taken in the question, rendered more necessary. And we therefore apprehend, as it would be absurd for a lord to justify his conduct where he had not acted, that the privilege of protesting hath been, by reason as well as practice, confined to cases in which the lords protesting had taken a part, and in which, upon question, the majority had been of a different opinion. Thirdly, because we conceive that the earl of Strafford, who first attempted, and that but in a single instance, to enter his protest as chief governor upon the journals of this house, was a person of such an arbitrary spirit, and the times in which he lived of so bad an example, and his said protest so informal and faulty in itself, that such his proceeding ought not to be considered as a precedent.

Fourthly, because we apprehend that the only subsequent instance, to wit, the protest of lord Sydney, which was made in heat by that governor, whose conduct was disapproved on his recal to England, which soon followed, and founded upon the former example, which ought not to have been imitated, was still more irregular and improper; inasmuch as it related to a matter which had never been before this house, and restricted the privileges and proceedings of the other house of parliament. Fifthly, because we conceive it to be peculiarly necessary at this time to express our sentiments upon this subject, when we have reason to apprehend that it is intended that a protest be entered upon the journals of this house, relative to the proceedings and privileges of the other house of parliament, in imitation of the last-mentioned protest. Sixthly, because we apprehend that we ought not to suffer this distinguishing privilege of the lords to be invaded or assumed by any person, in whatever station; and that we ought particularly to resist any such attempt, when it may be thought to involve a breach of the privileges of the other house of parliament also, and may therefore be productive of dissension between the two houses." The lords who placed their signatures to this protest were the lords Lowth, Charlemont, Mountmorres, Powerscourt, and Longford.

The court had carried by respectable majorities the measure for augmenting the forces on the Irish military establishment, though not without debates carried on with so much warmth that some of the members are said to have laid their hands angrily on their swords. The revenue also had been granted, and lord Townshend had gained a majority on a question which the patriots raised on that occasion. Not satisfied that the papers delivered in from the treasury were sufficient to bring the whole appropriation of the public money since the last parliament under their examination, they moved for an address to the lord lieutenant, apprising him of what papers had actually been delivered in, and requesting to be informed if those were the only estimates and accounts intended to be laid before them. This motion was negatived by a majority of sixty-five against forty-seven. His success on this occasion rendered the lord lieutenant's mortification greater at the rejection of the money bill which originated in the privy council, and feeling himself, in

the present temper of the house, so unsecure of his majorities, he determined to bring no more government measures before parliament till he could make more sure of what was technically called doing the king's business.

The irritation of the Irish house of commons was increased by the remarks which found their way into some of the London newspapers, and which show us how little the interests of Ireland were understood or appreciated by the public in England. The *Public Advertiser* of the 9th of December, 1769, contained the following paragraph upon the late proceedings of the Irish house of commons:—"Hibernian patriotism is a transcript of that filthy idol worshipped at the London Tavern; insolence, assumed from an opinion of impunity, usurps the place which boldness against real injuries ought to hold. The refusal of the late bill, because it was not brought in contrary to the practice of ages, in violation of the constitution, and to the certain ruin of the dependence of Ireland upon Great Britain, is a behaviour more suiting an army of whiteboys than the grave representatives of a nation. This is the most daring insult that has been offered to government. It must be counteracted with firmness, or else the state is ruined. Let the refractory house be dissolved; should the next copy their example, let it also be dissolved; and if the same spirit of seditious obstinacy should continue, I know no remedy but one, and it is extremely obvious. The parliament of Great Britain is supreme over its conquests, as well as colonies, and the service of the nation must not be left undone, on account of the factious obstinacy of a provincial assembly. Let our legislature, for they have an undoubted right, vote the Irish supplies; and so save a nation, that their own obstinate representatives endeavour to ruin."

Intemperate language like this, which perhaps expressed the feelings of ministers in their first irritation, would not have been tolerated if applied to the legislature of Great Britain, and was not calculated to calm the agitation in Ireland. On the eighteenth of December, it was moved in the Irish house of commons that the above paragraph should be read, and a resolution was immediately passed that it was a false and infamous libel upon the proceedings of that house, a daring invasion of the parliament, and calculated to create groundless

jealousies between his majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland. Two days afterwards, the obnoxious paper was, by order of the house, burnt before the gate of the house of commons by the hands of the common hangman, amid the shouts of an immense crowd of spectators.

It was now generally suspected that the lord lieutenant intended immediately to prorogue the parliament, and his immediate friends knew that this was the case. The patriots had resolved not to let the session pass over without again agitating the question of the pensions, and on the 18th of December, the report of a committee appointed to inquire into this subject was laid before the house. The court party, afraid of the consequences of bringing this matter before the house in its present temper, moved that the further consideration of the report should be postponed till the first Monday after the Christmas holidays, knowing that an adjournment of the session would take place before that time. On this occasion, some of the members who had failed the ministers on the money bill, returned to their banner, and the motion was carried by a very small majority, the numbers being ninety-eight against eighty-nine. Failing in this, the patriots renewed their attacks on the government on the 20th, when it was resolved that it was the undoubted privilege of the house of commons to address the chief governor to know whether he had any instructions or entertained any intentions to prorogue the parliament at an unusual season; and an address was agreed upon, requesting lord Townshend to inform the house whether he had any instructions or intention to prorogue the parliament sooner than usual. The ministers were now left in a larger minority than ever, for this motion was carried against them by a hundred and six against seventy-three. The lord lieutenant returned an answer which was hardly gracious. "I shall always," he said, "be desirous of complying with your request, when I can do it with propriety. I do not think myself authorized to disclose his majesty's instructions to me upon any subject, without having received his majesty's commands for so doing. With regard to my intentions, they will be regulated by his majesty's instructions and future events." It seems that lord Townshend was at this time only waiting for a justification from England of the measure he had already resolved upon.

The day after Christmas-day, the gentleman usher of the black rod summoned the commons to attend in the house of peers, where, after giving the royal assent to two money bills, he put an end to the session, with a speech, in which he made the following pointed remarks on the proceedings in the lower house:—"When I first met you in parliament," he said, "as I knew and could rely upon it that nothing could move from his majesty but what would be expressive of his constant and ardent desire to maintain and preserve every constitutional right to his people, I little thought that anything would happen during the course of this session that could possibly affect the just rights of his majesty and of the crown of Great Britain, so as to afford his majesty any just cause of dissatisfaction, and make it necessary for me specially to assert and vindicate those rights. It is, therefore, with great concern that I have seen and observed, in the votes and journals of the house of commons, printed by your order, a late proceeding by you, of such a nature, and of such effect, with respect to the rights of his majesty and the crown of Great Britain, as to make it necessary for me, on this day and in this place, to take notice of and animadvert thereupon; I mean, the vote and resolution of the 21st day of November last, by which you, gentlemen of the house of commons, declare that a bill entitled an act for granting to his majesty the several duties, rates, impositions, and taxes, therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums, in such a manner as is therein directed, which had been duly certified from hence to his majesty, and by his majesty had been transmitted in due form, under the great seal of Great Britain, and which had been read a first time by you, and which was rejected by you on that day, was so rejected, because it did not take its rise in your house. This vote and this resolution of yours, declaring that the said bill was rejected because it did not take its rise in your house, being contrary to the acts of parliament of this kingdom of the 8th of Henry VII., and the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, and the usage and practice ever since, and intrenching upon the just rights of his majesty and the crown of Great Britain, to transmit such bills to be treated of and considered in parliament

here, I am now to assert his majesty's royal authority and the rights of the crown of Great Britain in this respect, and in such a manner as may be most public and permanent; and, therefore, I do here, in full parliament, make my public protest against the said vote and resolution of the house of commons, by which you, gentlemen of that house, declare that the said bill was rejected by you, because it did not take its rise in your house, and against the entries of the said vote and resolution, which remain in the journals of the house of commons. And I do require the clerk of this house now to read my said protest, and to enter it in the journals of this house, that it may there remain to future ages, as a vindication of the undoubted rights and authority of his majesty, and of the rights of the crown of Great Britain in this particular. In this protest, I think myself warranted in all respects, and if it need, as I conceive it doth not, any other strength than that it derives from the statutes which I have mentioned, and from the usage and practice ever since, it would be found in that precedent which appears in the journals of this house of the 3rd day of November, 1692, under the reign of that glorious and immortal prince, king William III., the great deliverer of these kingdoms, and the constant and magnanimous assertor and preserver of the civil and religious rights of mankind."

The lord lieutenant's protest was accordingly entered in the journals of the house of lords; but the commons, on their return to their house, gave orders that their clerk should not enter his speech in their journals.

We have seen a specimen of the manner in which these transactions were viewed on the other side the channel; in Ireland they called forth a torrent of attacks on the government, in every possible shape, some of them characterized by extraordinary bitterness. Dissertations, satires, songs and ballads, caricatures, swarmed, both in the newspapers and in separate pamphlets and broadsides; and nothing like it had occurred since the affair of Wood's halfpence. The feeling which pervaded these effusions may be conceived from the following remarks in a letter addressed to the lord lieutenant, in one of the Dublin papers, soon after the prorogation of parliament. "You may possibly think it hard," says this letter, "to be censured for a measure which you are supposed to have condemned: you

may think yourself rescued in your political impotence from the detestation of this kingdom. It is your defence, my lord, that you have no weight on the other side of the water, that you are not the adviser of our ruin, but have the merit of being only the executioner of the rights of parliament. But this country has not so entirely forgotten the dignity of the representative of majesty (though your lordship has resided above two years among us) as to admit that contemptuous opinion you seem to aspire to. It beholds you as the only prominent feature of mal-administration in this kingdom, and therefore the only object of public indignation; and we pay you the compliment to esteem you a criminal, rather than the base drudge of an English minister, who despises and disgraces you. It is therefore, my lord, the full odium of the measure of the 26th of December which falls upon you; and that your lordship cannot depart from this country with the good fortune of only being an object of its contempt. The legality of the conduct of the commons does not require any further arguments; it has been everywhere discussed, and, except at court, everywhere acknowledged; to protest, therefore, against the rights of a kingdom was an outrageous measure, such as the present ministry alone could have insisted on, such as your lordship alone could have executed. You say you had orders; I believe you had orders; but as there are terms on which no honest man will accept an employment, so are there terms on which no honest man will continue in one; and the English minister, who could compel lord Townshend to execute the worst orders, could not compel lord Townshend to continue lord lieutenant. This nation does not pay the chief governor an immense salary purely for the honour of beholding him; nor does it mean that he should be a mere cipher of state, unable to serve and obsequious to injure us. We looked for protection, not violation, in your lordship; and you have not answered the purpose of your magistracy, in being the channel to let in upon this kingdom the tyrannic administration of another. You have disgraced yourself among us by the conduct you have pursued. I will suppose that you had pursued another conduct, and instead of endeavouring to keep your employment upon any terms, that you had laid it down when ignominious terms were proposed! The consequence must have been, that you

would have been recalled, as you will now be recalled; but recalled with honour, not with infamy. You would have been caressed by this kingdom with the raptures of gratitude, and you would have been received with acclamation by another, who must have admired a spark of liberty in a breast where it was so little expected; and who would have applauded you the more, because recommended by the sanction of ministerial displeasure. And for what more worthy object have you rejected the applause of nations? For the approbation of an administration so odious, that no honest man, so precarious, that no wise man, would have supported it. This administration, if it continues, no doubt, will reward you; you may obtain a sinecure which you cannot disgrace, or you may obtain some place where dignity and decency, and capacity would have been superfluous; or, to insult this kingdom still more, you may become a pensioner on its establishment, and be judiciously placed on that list where guilt is meritorious. You came to this kingdom at a time that was fortunate for your lordship; for you came when a graceless familiarity might have been popular, because contrasted with the sordid austerity of your rapacious predecessor. But then, my lord, your incoherent conduct destroyed the advantage at this conjuncture. You came here to destroy the power of an old junto; and you declared that you yourself had no power. You came, my lord, to establish government in Ireland on its own authority; and you gave the wages of government to those who opposed government. You came to destroy the *undertakers* in this kingdom [the paid leaders of the house of commons, who *undertook* the king's business], and by your late measure you have made their party the party of the nation. These men now, my lord, have destroyed you. Your insight into men seems to equal your insight into measures; and you have brought into parliament, for their parliamentary talents, men who have no parliamentary talents; your elect could not defend your measures, but they could embarrass your lordship by abusing all your connection. My lord, the genius of your administration seems to have been a rage of unbecoming inconsistency, and your government has been surprising to all men, and to all bodies of men, from the sacred person who fills the throne, to the gazing throng who wonder at your relaxation of all dignity. The nation must have been surprised

to behold your lordship proscribing a kingdom for its virtue, while the servants of government, who also opposed you, escaped the observation of your political vigilance. The nation must have been likewise surprised upon a former occasion, when, after obtaining applause for assenting to an octennial bill, you exclaimed against that bill, and corrected an undeserved popularity, by entering a private protest against your own measures; and, my lord, it has not been the least of your absurdities, that your private declarations have been libels on your conduct. Your gracious master, I make no doubt, was surprised when he heard that the deputy of a king (and give me leave to remind you, a pious and a decent king) had abandoned his sovereign, his office, and himself; and that at a drunken feast, with drunken aldermen, the representative of majesty was seen to squabble with age and infirmity,* without any other excuse but your excellency's intoxication. You yourself, my lord, must have been surprised when, in the presence of the whole nation, your secretary thought proper to disclaim all connection with his master, and disavow your lordship in vindication of his character. Strange, my lord, that your conduct should not only be the most outrageous but the most foolish and indecent thing imaginable! Your friends may possibly say, 'What could this weak and capricious man have done? Placed as he is infinitely above his pretensions, could he prescribe the terms of his station? He who had been so useless to ministry, should he have afterwards embarrassed them? Should such a man dare to be conscientious, and become refractory as well as helpless?' The people will answer your friends, that incapacity should have been a pledge for inoffensiveness, and that you should not have injured a kingdom you had not abilities to govern; that you should have compensated for the weakness of your administration by a glorious conclusion, and after so many indecencies and so many absurdities, your lordship should have made one effort at reputation."

"Your government," says another of these invectives, "had but one object, the augmentation of the army. I shall not enter into the merits of that measure, for I fear I should differ with too great an authority. Your professional partialities, too, should be

* This is said to refer to a dispute with the aged patriot, Dr. Lucas, who died soon after these events, on the fifth of November, 1771.

indulged. But let me question your discretion. You proposed the measure in your first session of parliament; but not till you had alienated the persons by whom you might have been sure to have carried it. A contest arose between English government and Irish confederacy, and you made the *augmentation* the ground on which they fought. Let us compare the state of these respective parties at that time and at present, and see how far your ability has increased, or your insufficiency has diminished, the strength of government. You contended the first session at an unlucky juncture. An augmentation of the army after the committee of supply was closed, which was necessary to provide for an additional expense—in a time of profound peace, when troops are the least requisite—soon after a barbarous use had been made of the military in England, and an unconstitutional one in America—when the faith of government with respect to the judges' bill had not been maintained—and just upon the verge of a general election. This, in point of time and circumstance, I say, independent even of the measure, was unfavourable ground. And on this ground, and in favour of such a measure, with what a host had you to contend? With the extended connection, the immense influence, and the popular manners of one leader, with the compact force and the hereditary firmness of another; with the first title, the first name, and the first fortune of the nation, in a third—supported by the esteem of the kingdom, by the popularity of the capital, by the parliamentary influence of a respectable phalanx, and by the calm inflexibility of his own determination. You had the craft of Tisdall and the rhetoric of Hutchinson to oppose you.* And besides the reconciled force of these formerly hostile connections, and former hostile advocates, you had to cope with the strength and reputation of an independent body, armed with the experience, the genius, the weight, and the popularity of their leaders. Government stood alone; unsupported, indeed, but as yet not prostituted by you; and government alone was beat only by four. Thus stood the force of government at the end of your first session of parliament. How did it stand at the con-

clusion of the last? You remained here for two years to lay siege to opposition. You made two summer progresses, but without advantage. I will not describe these excursions circumstantially. Not only the page of history, but the newspaper of the day, would be disgraced by a detail of irregularities, as mean as capricious. You negotiated with the powerful as if they were insignificant, and with the honourable as if they were like yourself. You treated with every man in the same tone. No wonder you treated in vain. In two instances, you seemed to succeed. The old leaders of debate on the side of the court were seen again at the head of your troops; and the rusty buckler of Tisdall, and the scoured shield of Hutchinson, were again held up in your defence. The wise, however, gave you no credit for this event. They did not allow you to have converted those who were never of a different persuasion. One grew conscious that he was too old to oppose; the other, that he was too notorious to oppose with effect. As a soldier, you should have punished their former desertion; as a statesman, you should have prevented it. What was the end of all your preparations? From the beginning of the winter to the day on which you prorogued the parliament, so commendably, in every material question, almost, you were defeated. After having had the power of the crown in your hands for two years, you were beat, on a critical motion, in the very last week of the last session, by a majority eight or nine times as great as that by which you had been beaten in the former session of parliament. An accession of weakness, my lord, which furnishes a proof of your talents for government, and shows that your ability is equal to your reputation. Neither does it apply solely to the establishment of your character as a negotiator. Without this example, who could have thought that your northern star [lord North] would have left you so benighted?"

A multitude of philippics of this description issued from the press; some of them not unworthy of *Junius*, and they were accompanied with satires, parodies, and ballads, that threw ridicule on the whole administration.† It would have been madness in the

* Two of the staunch supporters of the court, who had deserted lord Townshend on account of his policy to overthrow the system of the "undertakers" in parliament, but returned to support the court in the present session.

† Many of these pieces were collected together and published in a volume under the title of *Baratariana* (from the name Barataria, which in many of their effusions represented Ireland), and went through several editions. They are still worth our

lord lieutenant to call parliament together again in the midst of such a cloud of unpopularity, and he determined to wait until he could count more securely on the majority. Accordingly, by proclamation on the 12th of March, 1770, he prorogued the parliament to the 1st of May following, and by other successive proclamations it was further prorogued to different periods until the 26th of February, 1771, when it was again called together for the dispatch of business. During this long period the agitation caused by the sudden and continued prorogations of parliament had not ceased in Ireland, but, on the contrary, it found new ways of venting itself. The guild of merchants in Dublin met to give instructions to their representatives in parliament, and they resolved: "That it is not only the undoubted right, but highly becoming and of public utility, for all members of a free state, and more especially bodies corporate, to attend to and occasionally declare their sense of public measures; that it is the duty of the constituents to instruct their representatives in every matter of national concern; that the late sudden prorogation of the parliament of this kingdom was untimely, inasmuch as it has impeded the progress of many new and prevented the revival of many old laws, for the benefit, advantage, and better security of the internal police, commerce, trade, and manufactures of this kingdom; that this corporation do instruct their representatives in Parliament on the present calamitous

attention as curious illustrations of the political feeling of the day. I will quote one of the satirical pieces, a parody on the Athanasian Creed, published in *The Freeman's Journal*, at the beginning of March, 1770, and reflecting immediately on the rejection of the money bill and the sudden prorogation of parliament:—

"*The courtier's creed for the year 1770.*"

"1. Whosoever would be an *Hibernian courtier*, it is now necessary, before all mental endowments, that he expound rightly the law of Poynings, as explained by the fourth and fifth chapters of Phillip and Mary.

"2. Which interpretation, unless he keeps pure and unmixed with any rational interpretation, unquestionably he cannot enjoy place or pension, neither shall he receive concordatum in this kingdom.

"3. Now the true construction of Poynings' law is, that four different branches of the legislature are always to be acknowledged in one Irish privy council constantly subsisting.

"4. For in the enacting of every law, the king hath a deliberative voice, the lords have a deliberative, the commons have a deliberative, and the privy council have a deliberative.

"5. The king hath a negative voice, the lords a

situation of this city and kingdom, and that such expedients as may be judged necessary to prevent the like distress hereafter, be suggested to them, for their future government." These sentiments soon reached England, where the subject of the Irish prorogation was formally brought before parliament. On the 3rd of May, 1770, a motion was made in the house of commons by the hon. Boyle Walsingham, and seconded by the hon. Constantine Phipps, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before that house a copy of all instructions given to the lord lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland, relating to the late sudden prorogation of the Irish parliament, at a time when affairs of the greatest national importance to that kingdom were depending in the said parliament, together with the papers on which the said instructions were founded, and his answer thereto; and likewise a copy of a message of the 16th of November last, from the lord lieutenant of Ireland to the house of commons of that kingdom, relating to the augmentation of the forces there." The question was taken up warmly by the opposition, who censured in the severest manner many parts of the recent conduct of government in the administration of the affairs of Ireland. It was said that the ministers as soon as they had cajoled the parliament of Ireland out of a large sum of money for the purposes of a military aug-

negative, the commons a negative, and the council a negative.

"6. And yet there are not four deliberatives, or four negatives; but one deliberative, and one negative, frequently exercised against king, lords, and commons, by his majesty's most honourable privy council.

"7. Further, it is essential to the preservation of his present place, and to his future hopes of preferment, that he conceive just ideas of the origination of money-bills.

"8. His *interest* then will ever oblige him to confess, that all benevolences, or *free gifts* from the people, constitutionally take their rise in an assembly neither made or created by, or proceeding from, the people.

"9. This is the *Hibernian courtier's* political faith, which whosoever inviolably adheres to, shall be rewarded with a masked pension for himself, and a fancy ball, without masks, for his wife and daughters.

"10. And for all those who reject the foregoing liberal explanations, there shall be protests, prerogatives, partial sheriffs, packed juries, and influenced electors, even unto their lives' end.

"11. As it was in the arbitrary reign of the house of Stuart, so it shall continue, while venality and dissipation prove useful engines in the hands of a corrupt administration."

mentation in a time of profound peace, immediately turned round and abridged the rights of the commons in granting it, insisting that the power of originating money-bills belonged to the privy council. Admitting for a moment, they said, their own principle, government had not a right to take the money, if parliament had not a right to give it, and they should either have refused the supply or have acquiesced in the legality of the grant. The more the conduct of administration in this respect was examined, the more it would be found perplexed, inconsistent, and tyrannical; the lord lieutenant, having obtained the money, returned thanks to the two houses for their liberality, and then entered a protest upon the journals of the lords, informing the whole world that they were not authorized to exert it. They asserted that the laws of Great Britain had been violated, and its dignity sacrificed, in order to cheat our fellow-subjects in the sister nation out of their property; and they contended that Poynings' law was no authority for this violent procedure. That law gave the privy council the privilege of certifying parliamentary bills to this kingdom, but the privilege of certifying did not include the authority to originate. Sir William Meredith animadverted with severity on the conduct of one of the Irish ministers (Sir George Macartney), who had represented the privy council money bill as a fine paid for the renewal of parliament. This, it was said, was an insolent avowal of the worst spirit of despotism; that it was a throwing aside the mask to tell the subject to his face that he shall not possess his own absolute right unless he pays the minister for indulging him in it. It was urged that they, the English commons, were bound by their duty to inquire into the causes of the present deplorable state of their sister island, as they possessed a coercive power over ministers in every part of the British dominions; that they should give that redress to the people of Ireland which their own parliament could not give; and that it was even their own interest to pursue in this case the measures which were at the same time evidently dictated by justice.

The motion was opposed by lord North, who was at this time prime minister, and who repeated the assertions made by the lord lieutenant in his protest. It was represented, in defence of the proceedings of the Irish government, that it was necessary to

preserve a due subordination in every part of the empire; that a controlling power must be lodged somewhere; and that the various dependencies, which had been protected for so long a series of years, ought rather to obey the laws of the state which had protected them, than think of dictating to it. The reason for proroguing the parliament, lord North said, was the solicitude of the ministers to preserve the dependence of Ireland upon England. The Irish house of commons had entered into resolutions contrary to Poynings' law, which consequently shook the foundation of our authority over Ireland; on this account the parliament was prorogued, and the manner of the prorogation was warranted no less by precedent than justified by reason. The prorogation indeed was unavoidable, and the minister who, under the circumstances, had not urged the expedience and necessity of it, would merit an impeachment. In answer to the complaints of the injury done to the public by the expiration of several useful bills during the period of the prorogation, lord North pledged himself that any loss so sustained should be made good from the privy purse. The ministers were supported by a majority of a hundred and seventy-eight against sixty-six.

In Ireland, in spite of the general discontent, lord Townshend laboured successfully in buying over the members of the opposition. Among those who, allured by his promises, deserted the patriot ranks, was one of their most popular leaders, Mr. Sexton Pery, and lord Loftus. Encouraged by these defections, and driven by the necessities of the state, the lord lieutenant could no longer delay the meeting of parliament. Moreover, it would soon be necessary to call for supplies, and those considerable. The augmentation of the army had very considerably increased the debt of the nation, and the pension list had been also increasing. On the 29th of October, 1770, the corporation of the city of Dublin, under their common seal, transmitted an address to the king, informing him that from some defects in the laws relating to corn, flour, and other necessities of life, and in the laws affecting the police of that city, from which they could only be relieved by the meeting of parliament, they had already experienced much inconvenience, and anticipated still greater, and they besought him to grant them such relief as in his wisdom he should think fit. At length, as has been already

stated, the lord lieutenant determined to meet his parliament, and the session was opened on the 26th of February, 1771. The lord lieutenant's speech was cautiously worded; it announced no government measures, and it called attention only to the high price of corn. "The affection which his majesty bears to his faithful subjects of Ireland," he said, "and his readiness to concur with you in every measure which may conduce to their prosperity, have determined his majesty to call you together at this time, that you may take into your serious consideration such laws as shall be immediately necessary for the general good of this country. The present high price of corn is an object of the first importance, and demands your utmost attention; and I also recommend to you the continuance or revival of such laws as from experience have proved of advantage to the public. I have particular pleasure in being able to inform you, that not only the usual bounties on the exportation of Irish linens have been continued by the British parliament, but that they have been still further extended; a circumstance which I hope will be productive of beneficial effects to that manufacture." He gratified the commons by waiving the question of supplies. "As I have reason to expect, that with very strict economy, the duties which were granted last session of parliament, and which will not expire until Christmas next, may be sufficient to answer the expenses of his majesty's government, I am not now to ask for any further supply."

Loyal addresses were voted by both houses, and both thanked the king for continuing lord Townshend as their chief governor; the commons alluded to the question of the money bill. "And we beg leave to assure your majesty, that as nothing can give us greater satisfaction than your majesty's approbation of our conduct, so nothing can affect us more sensibly, than any mark of your royal displeasure, and that we are incapable, even in thought, of attempting anything against your majesty's authority or the rights of the crown of Great Britain, from whence we own, with the utmost gratitude, we derive our principal protection and support. We acknowledge, with the most perfect submission, that we are ever tenacious of the honour of granting supplies to your majesty, and of being the first movers therein, as they are the voluntary tribute of grateful hearts to the best of monarchs:

and we most humbly beseech your majesty, that your majesty will not permit our zeal in this particular to be construed into an invasion of your majesty's royal authority, than which nothing can be more distant from our thoughts. And we beg leave to assure your majesty, that your majesty's rights are equally dear to us as our own, as we are sensible that our happiness depends upon the preservation of both inviolate." Addresses of thanks were also voted by both houses to the lord lieutenant. These addresses did not pass without considerable opposition; in the commons the patriots showed a formidable strength, for they numbered, in the division on the address to the king, a hundred and seven against it, while the ministerial majority amounted only to a hundred and thirty-two. In the upper house, fifteen lords signed the following protest against that part of the address which thanked the king for continuing lord Townshend in the viceroyalty. "Dissentient, first, because the repeated proofs we have of his majesty's paternal tenderness towards his people convince us, that a misrepresentation of his faithful commons could alone have determined his royal breast to exert his undoubted prerogative of proroguing his parliament, at a crisis when the expiration of laws essential to the well-being of this kingdom seemed peculiarly to point out the most urgent demand for the assistance of the legislature; at a time when the commons had given a recent efficacious testimony of their unremitting zeal for his majesty's service, by voting an augmentation of his majesty's forces, a measure which had been represented to parliament as highly acceptable to the king; at a season, too, when the suddenness of this unexpected mark of royal displeasure rendered its consequences almost irretrievably fatal to the nation, insomuch, that we see, with the deepest concern, an extraordinary deficiency in his majesty's revenue, proceeding from the declining state of our credit, trade, and manufactures, thereby occasioned. Secondly, because the unbounded confidence we repose in his majesty's inviolate regard to the fundamental principles of the constitution, assures us that the attempt which has been lately made to infringe that balance indefeasibly inseparable from its very formation, by entering upon the journals of this house a protest, animadverting upon the proceedings of the house of commons, was the result of per-

icious counsels, insidiously calculated to alienate the affections of the most loyal subjects from the most amiable of princes; an opinion in which we conceive ourselves by so much the better founded, as this unconstitutional extension is unprecedented, save only in one instance, which was followed by the just disapprobation of the sovereign, testified by the immediate removal of the chief governor. We farther conceive, that as the constitution of this kingdom is, in respect to the distinct departments of the crown, the lords, and the commons, one and the same with that of Great Britain, we should depart, not only from our duty to our king and to this our country, but likewise from that which we owe to Great Britain, if, in our high capacity of hereditary great council of Ireland to the crown, we should acquiesce under an attempt which manifestly tends to subvert that reciprocal independence of the three estates which is the basis of its security. Thirdly, because the justice and piety which shine conspicuous in our sovereign, as well in his domestic life as on the throne, do not suffer us to suppose, that the dismissal of trusty nobles and commoners from his majesty's privy council (the former only because they made a just exercise of their hereditary birthright as peers of the realm, the latter on account only of their parliamentary conduct), can have proceeded from the truly informed intention of so great and good a prince. Fourthly, because moderation, firmness, consistency, a due distinctive regard to all ranks of persons, a regular system of administration, being, as we conceive, indispensably requisite to the support and dignity of government, and to the conduct of his majesty's affairs, we cannot, without violation of truth and justice, return thanks to the king for continuing a chief governor who, in contempt of all forms of business and rules of decency hitherto respected by his predecessors, is actuated only by the most arbitrary caprice, to the detriment of his majesty's interest, to the injury of this oppressed country, and to the unspeakable vexation of persons of every condition." This protest was signed by sixteen lords, with the duke of Leinster at their head; the same sixteen peers protested the same day against the address of thanks to the lord lieutenant, and they signed the following protest against entering the lord lieutenant's protest on the journals. "Dissentient, 1. Because we conceive

that by the entering of the lord lieutenant's protest upon the journals of this house, at the close of the last session, the privileges of this house and the constitutional rights of the peerage have been most flagrantly infringed and violated; and that therefore the earliest opportunity should be seized of vindicating the rights and privileges of the peerage, and of wiping away the affront which this house has received therein, by expunging from its journals this matter of offence which has been unwarrantably and illegally obtruded upon them. 2. Because we conceive, that the above mentioned protest contains in it matter in the highest degree illegal and unconstitutional, inasmuch as it claims a right, and presumes to animadvert upon some proceedings of the lower house of parliament. Now we are bold to assert, that whenever any one branch of the legislature shall arrogate a right to animadvert upon either of the other two branches, the branch of the legislature so subject to animadversion would instantly cease to be part of the supreme power; the balance of the constitution would be overturned, and that branch in which this jurisdiction resided, would be completely sovereign; a supposition which is equally abhorrent to the spirit and to the letter of the constitution. 3. Because we conceive that this house hath and ought to have the sole and exclusive dominion over its own journals, in like manner as the commons have over theirs; and that the lord lieutenant hath no more right to order an entry to be made upon our journals than he hath to order an entry to be made upon the journals of the commons; and we conceive, that as the crown, though a branch of the legislature, is no estate of parliament, therefore the crown or its representative can have no jurisdiction over the journals of the estates of parliament, which are the records of the proceedings of the deliberative branches of the legislature, whereof the crown is not one. And we are the more confirmed in this opinion, by reflecting, that there is not a single instance even in the most arbitrary times of such a power being claimed or exercised by the crown in Great Britain over the journals of the British peers. We apprehend also, that no matter can with propriety be entered upon the journals of this house, without the leave of this house previously had or implied, as is clearly evinced by the constant practice of reading the minutes by the clerk before the house is adjourned, in order that every peer may

have an opportunity of preventing anything improper from being entered upon the journals. Now on the last day of the last session no such opportunity was given, the reading of the minutes having been prevented by the prorogation. 4. Because, though it had been asserted, that the journals of this house, being public records, it is improper that any alteration should be made therein, we are of opinion that this maxim extends only to the judicial proceedings of this house, not seeing that in other instances there is any reason to distinguish between the journals of this house and those of the other house of parliament, from which matters have frequently been expunged; as it is also notorious that matters, not of a judicial nature, have frequently been expunged from the journals of the house of lords of Great Britain. Indeed, were it otherwise, the speaker, or even the clerk of this house, or any indifferent person, who might, however irregularly, get access to the journal book, might insert therein matter of the most criminal import, amounting even to the crime of treason; and it would be a strange solecism to say that such insertion must for ever remain to the disgrace of this house, without any power in us to expunge and purge away such obnoxious matter. 5. Because it hath been declared to be a high breach of the privileges of parliament, that the crown should take notice of the proceedings of either house of parliament, unless the same shall be regularly laid before it; a circumstance in which we conceive that the protest of lord Strafford, however in all other respects irregular and unconstitutional, hath the advantage over those of lord Sydney and of our present chief governor. 6. Because we think this entry peculiarly improper, inasmuch as the viceroy hath therein, by a breach of the privileges of this house, made our journals the instrument of a breach of the privileges of the other house of parliament, a practice which, if not discountenanced by us, might probably end in a rupture between the two houses.*

While the lords thus discussed the question on the ground of the protest, the patriots in the commons exclaimed against the indignity which the house threw upon itself by condemning, in a vote of approbation of the lord lieutenant's conduct, their own conduct in the preceding session.

* The signatures to these protests were, "Leinster (by proxy), Westmeath, Lanesborough, Shannon, Moira (by proxy), Longford, Mountashel, Knapton,

Ponsonby, the speaker of the Irish house of commons, had been always distinguished by his staunch adherence to the cause of the patriots, and now, as soon as the vote of thanks to the lord lieutenant was passed, he determined to resign his office, which he did on the 4th of March, in a letter to the house, in which he said, "When I had the honour of being unanimously elected to the chair of this house, I entered on that high office with the warmest sentiments of loyalty to his majesty, and the firmest determination to dedicate all my endeavours to transmit to my successor the rights and privileges of the commons of Ireland as inviolate as I received them. But, at the close of the last sessions of parliament, his excellency the lord lieutenant was pleased to accuse the commons of a crime (which, I am confident, was as far from their intentions as it ever was, and ever shall be, from mine), that of intrenching upon his majesty's royal prerogative, and the just and undoubted rights of the crown of Great Britain; and as it has pleased the house of commons to take the first opportunity, after this transaction, of testifying their approbation of the conduct of the lord lieutenant, by voting him an address of thanks this session; I must, as in my humble opinion that address conveys a tacit censure of the proceedings, and a relinquishment of the privileges of the commons, beg leave to resign an office I can no longer execute with honour. Your choice may fall upon some gentleman whose sentiments on this occasion may differ from mine, and who may not think an address of this nature is so derogatory to the dignity of the house."

Upon Ponsonby's resignation, the court party immediately set up their new convert, Mr. Pery, as a candidate for the speakership, and he was elected to the chair, but only by a majority of four.

This was again a short session, and seems to have had for its principal object to test the strength of the court party, and ascertain how far the lord lieutenant could count on his majorities. To humour the opposition a little, the commons were allowed to examine rather freely into some portions of the public accounts, and to meddle with some particular instances of pensions; but the patriots, not thus satisfied, gave their opponents no rest, dividing the house on

Lisle, Mornington, Powerscourt, Charlemont, Balinglass, Lowth, Bellamont, Bective, Molesworth."

every question, and although their numbers went on diminishing, they lost no occasion of protesting against the corruptions of the government. In the course of the session they moved the following resolution, which, though lost by a majority of one hundred and twenty-three against sixty-eight, remains on the journals as a declaration of the state of Ireland at this moment: "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, expressing, that his faithful commons of Ireland have been always most ready to repose the utmost trust in the persons employed in high authority under his majesty; that therefore, his faithful commons did confidently hope, that a law for securing the independency of the judges of this kingdom would have passed; such a law having been recommended and promised by his excellency the lord lieutenant, in the speech from the throne, in the first session of his excellency's government. That, in like manner, as his excellency had recommended to that house, in his speech from the throne in that session of parliament, an attention to the high price of corn, his majesty's faithful commons did flatter themselves that the tillage of this kingdom would have received encouragement; but that, on the contrary, in a session professedly called for the making and renewing useful laws, his majesty's commons have the unspeakable grief to find, that two laws heretofore enacted, and transmitted this session in order to be continued and revived, the one for the benefit of tillage and for the restraining of distilleries, the other for a bounty on the carriage of

corn coastwise, have not been returned, though calculated to meet and correspond with the wishes of government expressed from the throne respecting that important article to the community; whereby this kingdom hath been debarred of two useful laws, the salutary effects of which it had formerly experienced, and which the present circumstances of this country and the morals of the people peculiarly require. That the suppression of these bills, and the unexpected alteration of others, whereby the hopes of this country, founded on the declarations of his majesty's servants here, have been frustrated, tend to weaken the confidence of the public in his majesty's ministers, so essential to the dignity of the crown and to the happiness of the subject. That both public and private credit are in a very low state. That government securities, which used to bear a considerable premium, cannot now be circulated at *par*. That money can scarcely be obtained, and the price of land is falling. That these circumstances cannot fail to be attended by melancholy and anxious apprehensions, in the most loyal of his majesty's subjects. And humbly imploring that his majesty will be graciously pleased to take such steps for the remedy thereof, as his majesty's royal wisdom and benignity shall suggest." Though defeated on this motion, the patriots made a strenuous opposition to an address of confidence to the lord lieutenant, moved two days before the close of the session, when they were defeated by a majority of a hundred and six against fifty-one.*

* In one of the satirical pieces published at this time, the following account is given of the motives which led lord Townshend to call this session. "Before this great assembly (the privy council) did Sancho open this mighty project of his soul. He spoke to them, through the mouth of don Philip, and informed them, in the first place, *of the success of his majesty's bribes all over the island*. He told them of his determination to call the assemblies *before himself*—as a means of degrading the commons, and asserting the authority of his own *protest*. That it would be an experiment without hazard; as it was not the season for asking anything on *his part*—and the virtue of a prorogation was ever at hand, to prevent any acquisition on the part of the people. That as things stood at present, it appeared improbable that the Spanish [British] court would continue *him* in the government of the island, when the critical time should come, in which the army and the revenues were to be negotiated in the cortes [parliament], unless he were to exhibit some antecedent exemplifications of his prowess. That the success of this short convention might render probable his retaining the dominion of the island for another year. But above

The lord lieutenant appears now to have all, that the manly protest with which he concluded the last meeting, was not perfect, or consummate, being as yet the declaration of *one of the parties only*, and rejected from the journals of the other. Whereas, if the commons could be *brought* to pour out their incense and load him with encomiums, it would be deemed, that they relinquished their claims with their resentment; and their conduct would imply not merely an *acquiescence*, but a formal *ratification*, of the charge which he boasted to have brought against them. Moreover, that the great count Loftonzo [lord Loftus] was deeply impressed with those sentiments. And that if promises, without limitation, recommended by oaths, and confirmed by *some* performances, were capable of seducing the heart of man, a majority should be procured to deliver up this fortress into the hands of the crown. And finally, that don Renaldo, the grand corregidor of the capital, was devoted to the interests of the court; and would easily obtain from the oppidary assembly [the town council] an address to the sovereign, petitioning for a general convention of the states. And at the same time, the faithful Renaldo should have a precaution, by the tenor of this address, to renounce every constitutional

been satisfied with his trial of strength, and on the 18th of May, 1771, he prorogued the session. His speech, when he met the parliament again on the 8th of October following, was characterized by a spirit of confidence that he had not shown before. He began by stating, that "My experience of your attachment to his majesty's person, and of your zeal for the public service, affords me the best grounded hopes that nothing will be wanting on your part to co-operate with his majesty's gracious intentions to promote the welfare and happiness of this kingdom; and when to this consideration I add my remembrance of your kind regard to the ease and honour of my administration, I feel the most sensible pleasure in the present opportunity which his majesty has given me of meeting you a fourth time in parliament. The present prospect of public affairs seems to afford you the fullest opportunity for deliberation on such subjects as immediately relate to your own domestic happiness; I must therefore recommend to your consideration whatever tends to promote and strengthen the interior police of this kingdom, and such laws as may be salutary and for the benefit of the lower orders of the community, for these have ever been found the most effectual means of binding their affections to their country, and securing their allegiance to one common parent."

Lord Townshend spoke on this occasion in a very different tone on the subject of the supplies to that in which he had opened the former session. "As in assembling you together in the last session, it was not his majesty's purpose to ask supplies, but solely to comply with the wishes of his people, it was not thought proper to call upon you at that time for any further aid; but as in the ordinary course it now becomes necessary to provide for the expenses of the ensuing two years, your last grants being nearly expired, I have no doubt of your turning your thoughts to that important subject, and of your granting such supplies as shall be found necessary for the honourable and firm sup-

title in the people to the cortes. That it should be asked as a *farour*, and not a right—that it should be *supplication*, and not *claim*. Thus the meeting of the senate, which would really be a political experiment, and a probable confirmation of the bondage of Barataria [Ireland], would be trumpeted through the kingdom as if it were a gracious benevolence yielded to the petition of duty—a royal concession to the wishes of the people. Whatever different pursuits or objects in life may have governed the sentiments

port of his majesty's government, the security of this kingdom, and for the maintenance of the public credit. I have ordered the proper estimates and accounts to be laid before you, from which you will find, not only that the revenue has fallen considerably short of former years, but that the deductions made therefrom for payment of different grants for premiums, bounties, and public works, have been so very great, that it has not been nearly sufficient to defray the charges of his majesty's establishments and other necessary expenses of government, and that a large arrear has been incurred on that account. If such grants are judged proper to be continued, either for these or other public uses, you will observe that it is impossible that the revenue, as it now stands, can answer those services, and also the support of government; I therefore think it incumbent upon me to recommend this subject to your serious consideration. It is with concern that I must ask a sum of money to discharge the arrears already incurred on his majesty's establishment; but you will find that they have been unavoidable, for that the strictest economy has been used, not only in the charges of the late augmentation, upon which a very large saving has been made, but in the reduction of the staff, which is now diminished to the number directed by his majesty."

In the conclusion of this speech, which was much longer than usual on similar occasions, he recommended to parliament the interests of the protestant religion, the charter schools, and the linen manufacture; and he alluded pointedly to the proceedings of the steel-boys in the north, whose turbulence had been almost overlooked in the agitation produced by the parliamentary contests of the two last years. "The illegal associations, and audacious outrages committed in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in the north, deserve your most serious attention; they are as destructive to commerce as disgraceful to liberty."

Lord Townshend seemed now to have perfected his system of managing parlia-

of the several persons who composed this conclave, certain it is, that there was scarcely one of them who had not an interest in the assembling of the cortes at all events. It would be the harvest, and they were the labourers—it would be the *time of service*; and, though their *standing wages* were exorbitant, yet did they moreover expect to receive *daily hire* and *occasional booty*."—"The History of Barataria continued," in the *Freeman's Journal*, April, 1771.

ment, and he began the session with a decided majority, in the house of commons, of at least three to one. During the first two days, the patriots forced the house to no less than seventeen different divisions, most of them relating to the eulogies on lord Townshend's administration contained in the addresses, in all of which they were defeated by the majority just mentioned. One of these was an amendment substituting for these eulogies a paragraph to the following effect:—"That we are ready with our lives and fortunes to support his majesty's crown and dignity; that our hope for redress, where we are aggrieved, is founded in his majesty's paternal benevolence; to pour out our unfeigned thanks to his majesty for the blessings we derive from his auspicious reign, and with hearts flowing with attachment to his person and family, to lament that we cannot, without misinforming our sovereign, enumerate amongst those blessings the continuance of his excellency lord Townshend in the government of this kingdom." The patriots, however, succeeded in passing a resolution, "that it was then necessary to declare, that the condition of this kingdom required that all practicable retrenchments should be made in its expenses, consistent with the true interest of this kingdom and the honourable support of his majesty's government."

Although the old questions of the money bill and prorogation of parliament seemed to have been dropped within the walls of parliament, they were still agitated abroad; and the bitterness with which the public journals continued to attack lord Townshend's administration was increased by the mortification caused by the defection of so many of the opposition leaders from the popular ranks. Among these, the principal were Mr. Pery, lord Loftus, and the earl of Tyrone, who were all attacked with the most violent personalities and abuse, while no bounds were set to the praise bestowed on Mr. Ponsonby for his magnanimous conduct in resigning the speakership. The outrages in the north, to which the attention of parliament was especially directed by the lord lieutenant's speech, and which were brought forward very early in the session, gave rise to new discontents, which for a moment turned off the anger of the popular party in another direction.

It appears that the authorities had experienced considerable hindrance in bringing

the insurgents to justice, from the difficulty of finding juries who would convict them. Living in the same districts, and well aware of the sufferings of the peasantry which had driven them into insurrection, they seem to have been influenced either by sympathy for their condition or by fear of their vengeance. One or two cases had occurred which gave considerable offence to the government. On one occasion, a steel-boy, charged directly with felony, was apprehended and taken to Belfast, where he was placed in confinement previous to being transferred to the county jail. His case appears to have created more than usual interest among his class, several thousands of whom assembled together and proceeded to Belfast to set the prisoner at liberty. Intelligence of their design reached the town before them, and the offender was removed to the barrack and placed under a guard of soldiers. When the assailants came, they traced their comrade to the barracks, and thither they went resolutely to demand him; and no doubt much loss of life must have occurred, but for the interposition of a gentleman of great influence, who, seeing that the military were too much inferior in numbers to their opponents to oppose a successful resistance, interposed at the risk of his life, and persuaded them to set the prisoner at liberty. The steel-boys carried him off in triumph; and many of those who were engaged in this enterprise, returned to their homes and held no further connection with the rioters. The latter went on increasing, instead of diminishing; they exacted oaths of association, outraged persons and property, and were often guilty of acts of great inhumanity. Some of them, who were taken and tried at Carrickfergus, escaped through the unwillingness of the jury to bring in a verdict against them.

The evil had thus risen to a pitch which could not be tolerated, and the government thought that the best remedy would be found in removing the offenders for trial to a different county from that in which the offence was committed. Accordingly a bill was introduced, entitled an act for the more effectual punishing wicked and disorderly persons, who have committed or shall commit violence and do injuries to the persons or properties of any of his majesty's subjects in the counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh, the city and county of Londonderry, and the county of Tyrone, or any of them, or who resist or oppose the levying the public taxes in the

said counties, or any of them; and for the more effectual bringing to justice certain offenders therein mentioned. The sixth section of this act provided that, "Whereas there is great reason to believe, that such wicked persons have been greatly encouraged in the commission of such enormous crimes by their hopes of being acquitted, if to be tried by the petty juries of their respective counties; for the more impartial trial of all persons so as aforesaid offending, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any indictment or indictments for offences committed since the 1st day of January last, or which shall be committed, against the acts of the twenty-ninth year of the reign of his late majesty George the Second, and the fifth of his present majesty, hereinbefore mentioned, or either of them, or for high treason or murder committed since the first day of January last, or to be committed hereafter, or for any offence or offences which shall hereafter be committed against this act, shall be found in any of the said counties where such offences shall be committed, the offender or offenders to be mentioned in such indictment or indictments, may be proceeded against and tried upon indictment or indictments for such offences before such commissioners of oyer and terminer and general gaol delivery as shall be assigned by the king's majesty's commission under the great seal of this kingdom of Ireland, by the good and lawful men of the body of the county of Dublin, or of the county of the city of Dublin, as respectively shall be appointed in such commission, and at such places within the said counties or either of them as shall be appointed in the said commission; and such proceeding shall be valid and effectual in the law, as if the offence had been done within the county where the same shall be tried; and such indictment or indictments in such cases shall be certified unto such commissioners upon his majesty's writ of *certiorari* to be issued for that purpose; and that in all such cases no challenge to the array or the polls shall lie or be allowed, by reason that the jurors do not or have not come from the proper county or place where the offence was committed, or by reason that the trial is out of the county or place where such offence was committed; but nevertheless upon the trials of such offences the challenge to any juror for want of freehold in the county where the same shall be tried by virtue of this act, and all other due challenges to jurors, shall

be allowed, anything in this present act contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding."

Although this act seemed to be called for by the necessity of the moment, its principle was unconstitutional, and loud clamours were raised by the opposition, who insisted that the character of the northern insurrection had been greatly exaggerated by the court. The feeling against the new law was so great, that though several of the steel-boys, against whom examinations had been taken, were carried to Dublin and put upon their trial, no jury could be prevailed upon to find them guilty. It was found necessary before long to repeal the obnoxious act, and then, when some of the insurgents were tried in their respective counties, they were condemned and executed. Such is the blindness or faction into which party struggles too often degenerate. The steel-boy insurrection was now soon extinguished, but it ended in an extensive emigration to America.

Lord Townshend was again exposed to the galling attacks of the public press, which increased in intensity with the session of parliament. The opposition writers ridiculed his person and his government, and they even parodied his speech, which had been remarked as being more elaborate than usual. In this latter effusion he was made to say to the parliament—"My experience of your entire devotion to the ministry, and of your mean regard to your private interests, affords me the best grounded hopes that nothing will be wanting on your part to co-operate with the said ministry's gracious intentions of completing the poverty and misery of this kingdom; and when to this consideration I add the remembrance of the abject compliments you paid to the oppressive and dishonourable practices of my administration, I feel the most sensible pleasure in the opportunity which the ministry has given me of insulting the nation a fourth time in parliament. The present prospect of the national calamities is thought by your turbulent constituents to furnish you with the strongest reasons for a strict inquiry into these misdemeanours, which have been destructive of your internal happiness; I must therefore strictly charge you to consider of nothing but what may tend to promote the prerogative in this kingdom, which is to be effected by enacting such laws as may be a proper curb upon the lower orders of the community, for these

have ever been found the most effectual means of preventing these wretches from engaging in any struggles for liberty, and aweing them into an allegiance to one despotic lord." To the commons he was made to speak in terms like these:—"As in that mere farce of your last mock session, it was not the ministry's purpose to ask supplies, but ostentatiously to make a parade of their majority in each house, it was not thought politic to call upon you at that time for any further aid; but as in the ordinary course it is now become absolutely necessary to provide for the many extensive jobs of the ensuing two years, your last grants being totally squandered away, I have no doubt of your obeying my mandate upon that important subject, and of your granting such supplies as shall be found necessary for the honourable and firm support of the ministry's authority, for the depression of this kingdom, and for the discharge of the wages of iniquity to those tools of power who are the instruments employed for its ruin." "I must acknowledge," it continues, (parodying another paragraph addressed to the commons), "that even I myself could scarcely muster up effrontery sufficient to ask a sum of money to discharge the debts I have incurred in jobbing for the ministry; but my experience of your folly and venality soon put shame to flight, though (between ourselves) I strove to bring up those heavy charges as well as I could, partly by some cunning tricks in regard to the augmentation, and partly by the reduction of the staff, by which I put a considerable sum into my own pocket, and at the same time imposed it upon the world as economy." In fine, to complete this bitter parody, the lord lieutenant was made to conclude his address to the two houses as follows:—"It is, I know, a thing of course, to recommend the support of the protestant interest; however, I choose to speak in its favour, merely because I am thereby enabled to remind you of my very important services in procuring the law for limiting the duration of parliaments; to tell the truth, as I am quite indifferent about any religion, I can only say, that as far as the protestant religion may be consistent with the principles of the earl of Bute and the natural interest of despotism, it shall have my hearty concurrence. It will help to forward the designs of the ministry, if you make a mighty bustle about those few tenants in the north who have presumed to murmur against their landlords.

No complaints from such wretches must be attended to, however justified by the most shameless oppressions: on the contrary, every attempt towards publishing their grievances must be interpreted riot and rebellion, as this artful construction may afford a good pretext for a new augmentation, which will effectually put a period to the expiring liberty of this kingdom. The folly of former parliaments, and the indifference of my predecessors for the interest of this kingdom, have never produced any other recommendation for its service, but the support of the charter schools and the linen manufacture. For my part, I shall not pretend to outdo those who went before me. The ministry have very good reasons to rely most firmly on your ready submission to their will and pleasure, and are persuaded that all your proceedings will be influenced by a pitiful regard to your own private advantage, without the smallest consideration of the true interest of your country. For my own part, as I have resided so long among you, I am very confident that I am *better known than trusted*, so it would be looked upon as a banter, if I should pretend to make any declaration of my love or attachment to this country."

Even *jeux d'esprit* like this become a part of the history of the age, and they often initiate us more than anything else into the true feelings and motives of political parties. The real grounds of opposition to lord Townshend's administration was less against particular measures than against the corrupt and unconstitutional means by which the government was supported, and by which it was believed that the real interests and prosperity of Ireland were overthrown. The opposition was now steadily fixed upon certain points, which all bore upon one grand object, the independence of the Irish parliament and its right of determining on the wants of Ireland. It was a determination to overthrow that mere English interest which had so long ruled the country, blind to its real sentiments, but supported first by the weakness of the English settlers in comparison to the natives and their need of protection, then by the fear of popery and the pretender, and now by mere dint of corruption and bribery.

In general all government questions were now carried triumphantly with large majorities. Two only of these deserve special notice, because they were both turned to ridicule by the opposition writers. The

first was an act to encourage the reclaiming of unprofitable bogs. It recited that there were large tracts of deep bogs in several counties of the kingdom which were not only unprofitable, but were injurious, in rendering the air unwholesome by the vapours and exhalations which arose from them. It had been found by experience that such bogs were capable of being drained and converted into arable or pasture land, if encouragement were given to the lower class of people to apply their industry to the reclaiming of them. It was therefore enacted that, notwithstanding the penal laws then in force, any catholic might be at liberty to take a lease of fifty plantation acres of such bog, and one-half of an acre of arable land adjoining thereto, as a site for a house, or to dig for gravel or limestone, at such rent as should be agreed upon between him and the owner of the soil; and for his encouragement the tenant was to be free for the first seven years from all tithes and cesses; but it was provided that if half of the bog thus taken were not reclaimed at the end of twenty-one years, the lease should be void. And, among other conditions, it was provided that the act should not extend to any bog within one mile of a city or market-town.

Nothing could show us more clearly the jealous animosity with which the catholics were still regarded than the provisions of this act; yet it had been repeatedly brought into parliament before, and thrown out, as tending to encourage popery, and it was still looked upon with so much alarm by some of those who at this time supported government, that the lord lieutenant seems to have thought it necessary to show his zeal by some measure in support of the protestant interest. The one selected was ridiculous enough. By an act passed in the reign of queen Anne it was provided that every popish priest duly converted to the protestant religion should receive a pension of thirty pounds a-year from the treasury until provided for by some ecclesiastical preferment beyond that amount. Lord Townshend imagined that by a small increase of the pension the number of converts would of course be increased; and by a statute which was passed during this session, and which recites the former act, stating that the provision made as aforesaid for such popish priests was in no respect a sufficient encouragement for popish priests to become converts, it was enacted that the pension

should be increased to forty pounds. We are not told how far this experiment was successful; but this lord lieutenant's notions of proselytising provoked the wit of the opposition in numerous songs and epigrams, on what they termed "Townshend's golden drops."

The security which the court felt in its majorities encouraged lord Townshend to try anew the question of the dependence of the Irish parliament, and the question arose again upon a money-bill. If the bills agreed to by the Irish parliament, and especially those which related to supplies, were liable to be altered by the ministry in England, the independence of the parliament itself was of course destroyed. The crown had gradually assumed this right until it was attempted to assert that it was a part of the prerogative; and the ministers now sought to establish it by the acts of the Irish parliament itself. A money-bill which originated duly in parliament in the course of the session, was transmitted to England in accordance with Poynings' act, and was returned with some alterations, which were detected by a committee of the house of commons appointed to compare the original heads of the bill with that sent back by the English privy council, and the Irish house of commons immediately rejected the bill. To mark more distinctly on this occasion the grounds on which they acted, the commons immediately brought in another money bill to the same effect, which was passed, and the government was not deprived of its supplies. But the dispute caused considerable heat, and the attacks on lord Townshend's administration were renewed from without. The following passages from one of the bitter opposition papers, conveyed in the form of a letter addressed to the lord lieutenant, will give the best notion of the principles on which the opposition to his government professed to act, and of the special question which they had on this occasion taken up. "And now, my lord," says this writer, "let us examine the alterations which defeated the money-bill of this session. We transmitted into Great Britain a money-bill of such extensive liberality, as gave us reason to expect royal acknowledgment, not ministerial insult, in return. But we were disappointed! the committee of comparison between our copy and the transmiss, reported to the house three positive and substantial alterations in the very matter of the supply. It appeared that the ancient duty which we

had imposed on cottons, both from motives of commerce and subsidy, was struck out of the bill. Your lordship has been told, 'this was a clerical error! it was inserted in the other copy!' It is unnecessary to expose the suspicious circumstances which attended this particular, they were many; however I shall admit the defence so far. But what, my lord do you say to the *express words inserted*, which positively exempt British herrings from a tax imposed by the commons? Is this a solid alteration of our money-bill or not? Is the insertion of a number of words, of so marked an import, a literal inaccuracy, or a clerical error? Impossible! And now, my lord, let us examine the next alteration. The house of commons imposed a duty on certain foreign diaper of particular denomination. This tax the legislative authority of the English ministry thought proper utterly to defeat by a positive clause which was inserted, exempting from the duty all such as should be imported from Great Britain, which was, in effect, all that should be imported. Which of the servants of the crown informed your excellency that this was accident or error? Whoever he was, I envy him neither his station or emoluments; he has dearly purchased them! Trust not men who show themselves ready to go all lengths with you! They are not men of principle, therefore you cannot rely on them. What then did those gentlemen mean who boasted of having discovered a *correct* copy of this bill? They pleaded somewhat like the prisoner who, being arraigned for three murders, demanded a general acquittal for having proved that one of them was manslaughter without *malice propence*. They thought to disarm the noblest spirit of national resentment that ever exalted a patriot assembly, by endeavouring to prove that bill only contained one accidental and two intentional violations of the constitution—and, therefore, out of tenderness to one unlucky accident, we were to pardon two malignant transgressions. No, my lord, if our essential rights are to be destroyed, what matters it whether they fall by one, or two, or three wounds!—the admission of an altered money-bill, in any possible instance, is a crime, for the perpetration of which the commons of Ireland are not yet sufficiently debased. They know that their very existence depends on preserving purity in this particular. If any power had a right to *alter*, in any degree, what authority could

draw a line of limitation, and the absurdity is obvious as well as criminal, which amuses us by distinctions between alterations *tending to increase* and those which *affect* to diminish the supply. The representatives of the people form a great scale of taxation, so proportioned as that the several imposts many sustain each other. They know that, in many instances, to diminish the rate, is to increase the revenue, as in the case of tea and tobacco, and that on the other hand, in order to support internal taxation, they must lay commercial impositions on the articles of importation. In short, the whole scheme of supply must be one work—and it must be the work of the commons entire."

"Suffer not yourself, therefore, my lord," continues our writer, "to be persuaded that any circumstance in the *tendency* can be a mitigation in the matter of altering a money-bill; for if the idea be once admitted, it will be soon established—if the crown can once become possessed of a right of alteration, that will imperceptibly become a right of proposition. Then, indeed, would the whole order of the legislature be overturned; the representatives of the people would be reduced to a simple negative over their own liberalities; and the constitutional liberty of this country would be at an end. We might then reflect, with an idle veneration, upon the wisdom of our ancestors, who had guarded the house of commons against the possibility of admitting a new tax by surprise. For the law of parliament requires it should be proposed and discussed five different times, before they can adopt or transmit it to Great Britain—that, I say, would be a fruitless precaution, if a silent insertion of new matter into the money-bill, or an alteration of the old, were in any possible instance, to be a measure admissible. Trust me, my lord, the crown is not possessed of power enough in this country to enforce so ruinous a tenet; and if ever it shall become so powerful, its power will be absolute. After this review of the laws and constitution, I believe no man will be found, who does not admire the whole conduct of the house of commons on the late memorable transaction—it was all wisdom, spirit, and moderation! The committee of comparison reported that the money-bill had been altered; the commons, therefore, rejected the bill. On the same day, they prepared and passed heads of a bill under a different title, but as nearly as possible of the same import as that which they had rejected; and this they did, that

they might furnish the world with a decisive testimony, that they had rejected a money-bill, not on account of any particular objections to the *import* of the alterations it had suffered, but merely because it was an altered money-bill. The English ministry being sufficiently informed of the invincible resolution of the Irish house of commons, thought proper to return the new bill to them without any further experiment; the committee of comparison reported, 'that the bill was unaltered,' and it passed the house with unusual celerity. *Thus* the house of commons have formed a perfect and conclusive authority on this greatest of national questions, and vindicated themselves from any doubts which the days of prerogative may have suggested against them; they have covered themselves with honour, and shall leave behind them an example which will be at once the admiration and the control of their posterity. They have wiped away the impressions of a vulgar timidity, which has ever united the ideas of destruction with the rejection of a money-bill. They have taught administration, 'that the emoluments of the crown cannot purchase everything, and though government may sometimes be gratified in unreasonable requests, it will not be complied with in unlawful commands.'"

On the whole, lord Townshend appears to have been well satisfied with the success of his endeavours to corrupt the representatives of the Irish nation; and when, on the 2nd of June, 1772, he prorogued the parliament, he spoke in a tone of confidence which implied a belief that he had done an acceptable service to the crown. He talked of the unusual length of the session. "I cannot," he said, "put an end to this session of parliament, without returning you my particular thanks for your long and close attention to the public business. I congratulate you on the many excellent laws which have received the royal assent this session. The act for preventing the delays of justice, by reason of privilege of parliament, must be received as a very strong mark of your disinterested regard for the rights and welfare of your fellow-subjects. The act to prevent frauds committed by bankrupts, and that for rendering securities by mortgage more effectual, cannot fail to produce the most salutary effects, by restoring that credit and confidence amongst the people, which have been much wanted, and are essentially necessary in this commercial country; and it was with particular satis-

faction that his majesty gave his royal consent to these laws, which do honour to your deliberations, and are so wisely calculated for the public good." The financial statement was less encouraging. "I thank you," he said, to the members of the house of commons, "in his majesty's name, for the supplies which you granted at the beginning of this session; they shall be faithfully applied to the support of his majesty's establishments, and to the advancement of the public service: but, although I have expectations, that the act for amending and explaining a clause in the act of tonnage and poundage, will be productive of some addition to his majesty's revenue, I think it my duty to inform you, that the arrears which had been incurred upon his majesty's establishments, civil and military, before the time of your meeting, made it necessary to borrow one hundred thousand pounds immediately after the act was passed which gave authority for that purpose: and that sum not proving sufficient, I have, some time since, been obliged to order the further sum of one hundred thousand pounds to be raised, being the remainder of the credit entrusted to me by that act. So early a demand for the whole loan, gives me reason to apprehend that, unless there should be a considerable increase in his majesty's revenue, a still greater arrear will accrue before the usual time of your meeting in another session. I do therefore most earnestly recommend it to you, to take it into your serious consideration (between this and the next session of parliament) what will be the best method of making provision for such deficiencies as arise upon the present duties, so as to guard against any further increase of the national debt. The additional duties given for the support of government, in aid of his majesty's hereditary revenue, are nearly the same which were granted in the year 1727, at the late king's accession. Had they been solely applied to that purpose, they would have been fully sufficient, and no debt or arrear would have been contracted or incurred; but the large expense occasioned by the many premiums, now payable under different heads, must necessarily continue to increase both; it will therefore be true policy, and worthy of your wisdom, to give particular attention to this object, and by establishing such a system as will best obviate any further inconvenience and most effectually promote every great national purpose." Lord Townshend next alluded to

the repression of the insurrection of the steel-boys, which had restored tranquillity to the north. "It gives me great pleasure to observe, that the tumults and outrages of the lower ranks of people, which unhappily disturbed some of the northern counties in this kingdom, have now subsided. I flatter myself that these deluded persons are fully convinced of the atrociousness of their attempts, and the impossibility of effecting any of the purposes intended by them. I would, however, recommend it to such gentlemen, whose weight and influence lie particularly in those parts, to have a watchful eye over their behaviour, and to exert themselves, with the other civil magistrates, in enforcing a due obedience to the laws; and I doubt not that, by their authority on the one hand, and by their justice and moderation on the other, a thorough reformation will be effected, and the dispositions of the people reclaimed to peace and good order. It gives me great concern to see the assistance of the military power so frequently called for; nothing can be more worthy of your serious reflection than to render that resource unnecessary, by a judicious improvement of your police, and providing for the due execution of the laws." He concluded with a rather self-complacent vindication of his own conduct. "His majesty gave it in express command to me, to make your interests and prosperity the great object of my adminis-

tration, and my own inclinations incited me to a strict and zealous performance of that duty. I have, upon every occasion, endeavoured to the utmost of my power, to promote the public service; and I feel the most perfect satisfaction in now repeating to you my acknowledgments for the very honourable manner in which (after a residence of near five years amongst you) you have declared your entire approbation of my conduct. Be assured, that I shall always entertain the most ardent wishes for your welfare; and shall make a faithful representation to his majesty, of your loyalty and attachment to his royal person and government."

This was the last time lord Townshend met an Irish parliament. His administration had lasted during a period to which the Irish had been lately unaccustomed, for it had become usual to appoint the lord lieutenant merely for the purpose of going over to hold a parliament. He had evidently had a special mission, to place the Irish government on a particular footing. In that he had but partially succeeded; and, as he had become unpopular, it was determined to appoint a successor. Immediately after the close of the session, lord Townshend returned to England, and, in the following October, Simon earl of Harcourt was sent to Ireland, as his successor.

CHAPTER III.

LORD HARCOURT'S ADMINISTRATION; ATTEMPT TO TAX THE ABSENTÉES; IRISH DISTRESSES AND FIRST INTERFERENCE OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.



THERTO the object of every government had been to support an English interest, which was itself a declaration of hostility to Irish feelings; or, in other words, the policy which had been blindly pursued towards Ireland was the determined resolution to treat it on the footing of an English colony. Lord Townshend had succeeded in raising the English interest, on a

new prop, but how far the government was a gainer by it is doubtful. The old oligarchy of the parliamentary leaders had given the court far less trouble than the extensive system of corruption by which it was succeeded. Although the lord lieutenant was more dependent upon the old leaders, or, as the opposition called them, undertakers individually, he had fewer persons to consult or negotiate with on particular questions, and could more easily know his majority. Now he had to keep together a numerous body of discordant materials, subject, from

time to time, to those caprices which affect all such bodies under the same circumstances, by which the court found itself suddenly in a minority that could neither be foreseen nor prevented. The open corruption which hesitated not at buying individually the whole house of commons, became every day more and more a subject of scandal, and was strengthening the opposition by rendering it more popular. Lord Townshend had become personally obnoxious, and the fury of the patriots had been expended upon him individually, and it was probably hoped that the government would be relieved of much of its present unpopularity by his removal.

Such was the state of Ireland when lord Harecourt was entrusted with the government. The opposition received him as one whom they supposed to be entrusted with a commission to give a more popular character to the administration, and they assailed him with complaints against his predecessor. One of their writers, in a newspaper letter addressed to the new viceroy, has given us an excellent review, of course marked a little with the feelings and virulence of party, of the administration we have just described. "The state of this country," he says "and the ill-advice, as representative of the king, you are sure to be exposed to, justify an early address on the part of the public; more sincere than the assent with which the parliament, the city, and the poet receive you, it shall not be less decent, less full of ardent hopes, of favourable impressions. We salute you with that credulous cordiality, that open hospitality, and all those lively expectations peculiar to a generous and a sanguine people. At the departure of the late viceroy we feel an alacrity, the effect of relief; and, inferring from the physical to the political climate after such tempests, we hope that better days will succeed. We know you bring with you a decorum and splendour long forgotten in this country, and we believe you add qualities which are substantial. No people are more addicted to their chief governor, until by his conduct he corrects every tendency in his favour, and destroys the faintest supposition of his virtue. You come among us in times that are critical, but not difficult; you ascend the Irish throne in the day of its unpopularity and degradation, with powers, and, we presume, with wishes to raise it above its present condition—fraud, perfidy, and profusion. There is no royal disease, we con-

ceive, in that seat, which once was honourable, communicated from viceroy to viceroy, in a course of infected succession. You must have been already informed that the power of this country was formerly in a few natives. Government disliked this system, because these men sometimes opposed; and the nation disliked it, because they generally complied with ministers. We thought it dangerous to collect the being of the people to the point of a life-blood, not always protected by virtue. The scheme of government should have been rather to weaken than destroy a natural influence, and on that principle government would have found support. The viceroy should have enlarged the basis of administration, and in opposition to an oligarchy should have stood on popular affection. Time, the friend of power, a resident influence whose operations are constant, and the leaning of this country to administration, would have safely established the desired revolution; *revolution* which should steal upon a nation, never alarm it. A different system was pursued. The chief governor began his attack upon the power of the oligarchy by an insult on their persons, not considering that, although their power ought to have been impaired, their persons were to be respected. Instead of resting administration on the nation in general, he detached the nation from his ministry by an idle contest, almost in the commencement of his authority, and placed the oligarchy on the very ground on which he should have placed himself; making them, not the heads of a faction, but the leaders of the people. There was no idea of securing, or softening, or detaching, by address, by moderation, or a faint example of better government. To discredit the established influence of others was the object of the viceroy; for this the power of the crown was ineffectually and dishonourably abused, difficulties which arose from indiscretion were encountered by profusion, profusion created new difficulties, to be withstood by new extravagance. A wanton increase of nominal employments and real sinecures; engagements dishonourable if they are kept, and dishonourable if they are violated; a swarm of dependents, unfit for any station, introduced into the high station of parliament; were the happy resources of a government that was to reconcile to innovation, and purposed to *repose* in this country. Thus the new system, which was to fall upon this country like manna from above,

shook the realm. The question was no more, whether an English administration or an Irish oligarchy should prevail; the question was now, whether Ireland, in days of peace and poverty, should pay for the continuance of a fatal government, and for the support of every project of corruption, by the imposition of a land-tax."

"Thus, my lord," continues the writer we are quoting, "were we taught to look back with affliction at our old oligarchy. The scheme of politics, however narrowed, was not *then* a job with every person who wore the livery of the court; the wealth of the nation was not *then* devoted to every purpose except the exigencies of the kingdom and the splendour of the crown; the country was not *then* laid under contribution to support the idle and griping train of the revenue; the nation was not *then* a wasted field of battle, where the viceroy consulted victory, and not government. It was unfortunate for this country that the man appointed to unite to administration all the branches of power, was the most distinguished for his aversion to business. The sceptre fell among his domestics, who became ministers to him, and incumbrances to us. Thus the indolence of the executive power became a rent-charge upon the nation.

"I have described the event of this system in general terms; I will not tire your patience by entering into the detail of measures, about which there is little doubt, either as to their existence, or impropriety; but this, my lord, I will say, that when you come among us, you will see the foulest policy that ever took the name of government. Viceroys, who have hitherto presided in this country, submitted upon every occasion to every minister, because their natural situation was below their elevation, and they stood upon a fearful precipice from whence they trembled to fall; but the terms on which you will receive and preserve the favours of your sovereign will not be unworthy; for you, my lord, can command favours. An accomplished peer of England, full of age and honours, will not forfeit the maturity of his good name for an office, little to his fortune, nothing to his glory, and by no means flattering to the tranquillity of his disposition. Speaking from the throne, he will observe *truth*; and contributing to any popular measure, consistency; his douceurs will be without treachery, his engagements without falsehood. He will not bring along with him to a plundered country,

a hungry *following*, but rather Amalthea's horn, and scatter the novelty of prosperity among us. In the distribution of bounty he will remember, that the money he gives is not his own, and he will show that vice is, at least, not his object; his pensions and places will not scandalize his royal master, nor put a public mark on the worthlessness of the receiver. My lord, you are to reside among us; and if you are not to share our prosperity or distresses, you will however enjoy, by public observations on your conduct, the full fame of your administration. An evanescent harpy of the crown will have no scruples; but the gentleman who means to live in the midst of his tenantry, no doubt, will be a gracious landlord. A resident chief governor labours under a difficulty unknown to some viceroys, and little considered by the last. He is apt to become too jocular a fellow, and to forget the dignity of his office in the levity of his person; the delegated crown is too great a weight to be long sustained by every subject. We have seen the paltry actor sink into himself, before the royal mantle was laid aside, and the tragedy of his government concluded. As to lord Townshend, I shall say little of him. His spirit, his decorum, his ministry, his manners, all have been discussed, not much to his honour, still less to his reformation. Fortune raised this man to a ridiculous visibility, where the extravagant genius of his character fatally displayed itself. At one time he would elope from his office, and no man could say where the *delegated crown* had hid itself; at another time, business must follow him from haunt to haunt, and detect him with the most disgraceful company, in the most disgraceful intimacy. The old servants of the court, accustomed to the regularity of former times, looked up with astonishment to a comet that seemed to have broken from one sphere, to introduce confusion into another. With respect to his friendships, it was impossible to say whom he loved, and not easy to determine whether he loved any one; as to bounty, the favour was cancelled before it was conferred, and the object of it hated for ever. It is not strange that such a character should exist; but it is very strange, that in such a character there should be parts and genius; a momentary ray, which like a faint, wintry beam, shot and vanished. He had even starts of good feeling, also, absorbed in a moment in the hurricane of his bosom, as his parts were lost in the clouds of his

understanding. I speak of his foibles; as to his vices, I shall not dwell upon them. We saw this man arrayed like majesty, and felt indignation; we see him now descend from the throne, and are ashamed that he was ever an object of serious resentment. We leave him to the vacancy of a mind ill-suited to retreat, and more accustomed to the face of state and the blunder of business. We leave him to a country that his talents will never injure—to an office which we wish he may discharge better—and to a large patronage, from which we hope he may not derive a multitude of enemies.”

Lord Harcourt seemed anxious to encourage the expectations which had been raised by his appointment to the lord lieutenancy. He remained nearly twelve months in Ireland before he met the parliament, and during this period, he at least gained respect for his amiable and indulgent temper. Like his predecessors, however, he seemed willing to relieve his own shoulders of the pressure and responsibility of government, and regarding himself as a mere form, he left the reality of office to his inferior ministers. When at length, on the 12th of October, 1773, the parliament assembled, the lord lieutenant opened the session with a speech equalling in insipidity that of the worst of his predecessors. He assured them in general terms of the king's regard for their interest; he informed them that he had directed the public accounts and estimates to be laid before them, in order that they might be enabled to judge of the supplies necessary for the support of the government; and he repeated the old formal recommendation, that they should take into their consideration the charter schools and the linen manufacture. “I am firmly persuaded,” he said, in conclusion, “that we are met together animated with the same intentions of maintaining the honour and dignity of his majesty's government, and of promoting the good of this kingdom, your conduct has convinced me that I shall receive from you the fullest proofs of your loyalty and attachment to the king, and of your zeal in the public service; mine, I trust, will show that I have nothing more sincerely at heart than the welfare and prosperity of Ireland.”

Although the addresses and other preliminaries, which had been warmly opposed in the preceding sessions, were allowed to pass without opposition, the patriots soon showed that they were not inactive. There was no more popular subject of complaint than the

public accounts, because on one side they were becoming burthensome to the country, while, on the other, a close examination into the expenditure could not fail to expose to view the corrupt means by which the government had been supported. It was reported at the commencement of the session, that some of the documents throwing too much light on this latter subject, would be concealed from parliament, and the patriots seized upon this report as the grounds for a distinct demand that no document should be kept back, but they were defeated by a majority of eighty-eight against fifty-two. The money bills were now carried through without opposition, and the attention of the patriots was transferred to another grievance, the commercial restrictions to which Ireland had been subjected by the British parliament. When he was called up to present the money bills, on the 24th of December, the speaker of the house of commons, Mr. Pery, although he was now a supporter of the court, pressed upon the attention of the lord lieutenant the necessity of obtaining a relief from these restraints, and took credit for the docility then shown by the house over which he presided. “The moderation and temper,” he said, “with which all their proceedings have been conducted during the course of this session, afford the clearest proof, not only of their gratitude for his majesty's attention and condescension to their wishes, but also of the just sense they entertain of your excellency's effectual intercession in their favour, to which they attribute those measures of economy which have been lately adopted, and which, they doubt not, will be continued; and they have the fullest confidence that the same humane and benevolent disposition will induce your excellency to represent to his majesty, in the strongest light, not only their duty and affection to him, but also the state and circumstances of this kingdom, from which, and from your excellency's credit and influence, they conceive the most sanguine hopes that those restrictions which the narrow and short-sighted policy of former times, equally injurious to Great Britain and to us, imposed upon the manufactures and commerce of this kingdom, will be remitted. If great Britain reaped the fruits of this policy, the commons of Ireland would behold it without repining, and submit to it without complaining; but it aggravates the sense of their misfortunes to see the rivals, if not the enemies, of Great Britain in the undisturbed

possession of those advantages to which they think themselves entitled upon every principle of policy and justice."

So far, lord Harcourt at least affected a wish to correct the errors of previous rulers. On the same day that the money bills were presented, he gave the royal assent to a bill repealing the unconstitutional act of a former session, for the trial of offenders out of their own counties. He also abolished the board of excise which had been recently established, and thus created some saving to the nation. Yet a motion proposed by the patriots in the house of commons, "That it is necessary and parliamentary at this time to declare, notwithstanding the reduction of expense lately made by government, and though the report is not yet made from the committee of accounts, and notwithstanding we have the utmost confidence in the present chief governor, that the present expenses of government ought to be greatly retrenched," was opposed by the court, and negatived by a majority of a hundred and twelve against eighty-eight.

Government aimed at popularity perhaps as much as at increasing the revenue by another measure which was brought forward early in the session, at the recommendation of government, and it was understood by the immediate suggestion of the British cabinet. This was a tax upon absenteeism, a grievance to which the Irish patriots had long been in the habit of ascribing much of their distress. It was proposed that a tax of two shillings in the pound should be laid upon the net rents and annual profits of all landed property in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not actually reside in that kingdom for the space of six months in each year from Christmas 1773, to Christmas 1775. Several English noblemen of great influence, who possessed large estates in Ireland, would be affected by this measure, and the moment it was announced that the project of such a tax was entertained, they united with the Irish landlords resident in England in opposing it. Five of them, the duke of Devonshire, the marquis of Rockingham, and the lords Besborough, Milton, and Upper Ossory, joined in a letter to the premier, lord North, in which they requested information with regard to the rumoured tax, and explained their objections to it. "It is publicly reported," they said, "that a project has been communicated to the king's ministers for proposing in the parliament of Ireland a tax of regulation, which is par-

ticularly and exclusively to affect the property of those of his majesty's subjects who possess lands in that kingdom, but whose ordinary residence is in this. It is in the same manner publicly understood that this extraordinary design has been encouraged by an assurance from administration, that if the heads of a bill proposing such a tax should be transmitted from Ireland, they would be returned with the sanction of his majesty's privy council here under the great seal of England. My lord, we find ourselves comprehended under the description of those who are to be the object of this unprecedented imposition. We possess considerable landed property in both kingdoms, our ordinary residence is in England. We have not hitherto considered such residence as an act of delinquency to be punished, or as a political evil to be corrected, by the penal operation of a partial tax. We have had many of us our birth and our earliest habits in this kingdom; some of us have an indispensable public duty, and all of us (where such duty does not require such restriction) have the right of free subjects of choosing our habitation in whatever part of his majesty's dominions we shall esteem most convenient. We cannot hear without astonishment of a scheme by which we are to be stigmatized by what is, in effect, a fine for our abode in this country, the principal member of our British empire, and the residence of our common sovereign. We have ever shown the utmost readiness in contributing, with the rest of our fellow-subjects, in any legal and equal method to the exigencies of the public service, and to the support of his majesty's government. We have ever borne a cordial, though not an exclusive, regard to the true interests of Ireland, and to all its rights and liberties; to none of which we think our residence in Great Britain to be in the least prejudicial, but rather the means, in very many cases, of affording them a timely and effectual support. We cannot avoid considering this scheme as in the highest degree injurious to the welfare of that kingdom as well as of this. Its manifest tendency is to lessen the value of all landed property there, to put restrictions upon it unknown in any part of the British dominions, and, as far as we can find, without parallel in any civilized country. It leads directly to a separation of these kingdoms in interest and affection, contrary to the standing policy of our ancestors, which has been at every period, and

particularly at the glorious revolution, inseparably to connect them by every tie both of affection and interest. We apply to your lordship in particular. This is intended as a mode of public supply, and as we conceive the treasury of Ireland, as well as that of England, is in a great measure within your lordship's department, we flatter ourselves we shall not be refused authentic information concerning a matter in which we are so nearly concerned, that if the scheme which we state to your lordship doth exist, we may be enabled to pursue every legal method of opposition to a project in every light unjust and impolitic."

The answer of lord North was at first evasive, but he subsequently acknowledged that a bill of this kind was expected to be sent over by the Irish parliament, and that it would not be suppressed by the English ministers. Upon this lord Rockingham, in the name of himself and the other lords, wrote a circular letter to all those who were specially interested in opposing the tax, proposing a general meeting to concert the most effective means of opposing it. In this letter he said, "I am desired by the duke of Devonshire, lord Besborough, lord Upper Ossory, and lord Milton, to communicate to you the inclosed papers, which contain what has passed between us and his majesty's ministers upon the information we had received, of a partial land-tax which is calculated to affect only those who do not commonly reside in that kingdom. We thought it proper to apply to lord North, in order to authenticate our intelligence, and to lay a proper ground for a future proceeding on this subject. It was thought respectful to government not to give too easy a credit to the report of so very extraordinary a procedure. It appeared necessary to lose no time in stating our objections, that we might give the ministry here an opportunity of reconsidering the matter before it should be openly countenanced by the king's servants in Ireland. Lord North's second answer to our letter contains an explicit avowal of the design; it is coloured over with the usual pretences of supplying the revenue, and restoring public credit; but if the ordinary revenue of Ireland, by any management, is become now, in the time of profound peace, so unequal to the support of the establishments as to require extraordinary aids, we cannot conceive that the necessity of *new taxes* can furnish a reason for imposing such as are *unjust*. The Irish parliament

meets again on the 28th of this month. Many gentlemen of consideration for their interest and abilities will oppose this project in Ireland; but, with the previous countenance it has received here, it is to be apprehended that their opposition may prove ineffectual, and that the tax-bill may be transmitted to England before the end of November. The opposition, therefore, in order to be effectual must be early, and it must be made in England as well as in Ireland. We have a right to be heard by our counsel against this measure, and may oppose it in every stage of its progress before the privy council here. It is, therefore, wished that a general meeting of those who are most immediately concerned may be held in London about the middle of November. You shall undoubtedly be informed of any future steps that may be taken in this unprecedented plan of taxation, and shall receive proper notice of the precise time and place that shall be thought advisable for the meeting."

In the meanwhile the feeling against the tax on absentees exhibited itself in Ireland much more strongly than was expected, and the fate of the measure seemed so problematical, that another circular from lord Rockingham, towards the end of November, put off all further question of a meeting till that fate should be ascertained. The ministers were not so confident in it as to make it a government measure, but, though approved by the Irish ministers, it was left as an open question, and it was finally rejected by a hundred and twenty-two against a hundred and two, a very small majority, considering the influence exerted against it by the most powerful of the Irish landholders.

The rejection of this measure obliged the government to seek other means of raising supplies, and it was found necessary, or at least expedient, to raise the sum of two hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds by tontine annuities, with benefit of survivorship, at six pounds per cent. Stamp duties were also granted, with some other additions to the revenue; but all was insufficient to cover the expenditure of government, and at Lady-day, 1773, the Irish national debt amounted nearly to one million sterling. The pensions on the Irish establishment had also increased.

The increasing discontents in America rendered it more necessary at this time to conciliate Ireland, where the American cause soon found sympathy, and where there was a

great inclination to imitate. Two measures therefore passed this session, calculated severally to gratify the two great classes of Irish subjects. The one was a bill for the improvement of agriculture, which was so acceptable to the protestants that the commons voted the thanks of the house to the king for having returned it; and the other was an act of indulgence to the catholics, though the prejudices of their opponents hindered it from being one of much importance. Very early in the session, on the 10th of November, 1773, leave was given to bring in the heads of a bill to secure the repayment of money which should be really lent and advanced by persons professing the popish religion to protestants on mortgages of lands, tenements, and hereditaments. Although this was understood to be a government measure, and the bill was brought in by three of the most unscrupulous supporters of the court, Mr. Monk Mason, Sir Lucius O'Brien, and Mr. Langrishe, it excited so much dissatisfaction in quarters where it was not advisable to give offence, that this, and another bill brought in the day before to enable papists upon certain terms, and subject to certain provisos, to take leases of lives, of lands, tenements, and hereditaments, were neither of them proceeded with. However, as positive orders were sent over by the British ministry to pass some act of legislature soothing to the catholics, the Irish government hit upon one that should give them the least possible degree of indulgence, and on the 5th of March, 1774, leave was given to bring in a bill to enable his majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion to *testify their allegiance to him*. Although this act remitted no part of the penal code, yet it was received with gratitude, because it gave the Irish catholics the right at least of being regarded as subjects of the crown.

Parliament was prorogued in the June of 1774, and did not meet again till the October of 1775. During this period the English ministers, still more alarmed at the turn affairs were taking in America, showed other symptoms of a conciliatory disposition towards Ireland. In the warm debates of the English legislature on the subject of America at this time, the name of Ireland was often introduced, both as a sufferer, and for the sake of comparison, for ministerial orators had declared that the English parliament had an equivocal right to tax all the dependencies of the crown, not only America but

Ireland too, while the opposition took up the gauntlet and asserted that it had a right to tax neither. The dispute and subsequent war with the American colonies was especially prejudicial to Ireland. The exportation of Irish linen to America had been very considerable, and now this source of national wealth was entirely stopped by an embargo which was laid upon the exportation of provisions from Ireland to the rebellious colonies. The effect was disastrous to Ireland. Wool and black cattle, as well as land, fell suddenly in value; and in many places the rents could hardly be collected. As the American fisheries, too, were now cut off, it became necessary to think of some means of supplying their place, and unless she were relieved from some of her commercial restrictions, the prosperity of Ireland seemed threatened with ruin. On the 11th of October, 1775, the British minister, in the English house of commons, showed the first mark of attention for Ireland in moving for a committee of the whole house to consider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland. A conversation followed in which pointed remarks were made on the absurdity of many of the restrictions placed upon Irish commerce, and on the melancholy condition to which that country was reduced, and Burke, then a young man in the house, after thanking lord North for the friendly disposition he had now shown towards his (Burke's) native country, proposed to extend the motion by adding the words *trade and commerce*, thus affording an opportunity for granting such relief and indulgence in its exports as might be yielded without prejudice to Great Britain. This was objected to; but the committee eventually granted several bounties to the ships of Great Britain and Ireland for their encouragement in prosecuting the Newfoundland fishery. It was also resolved, in favour of Ireland, that it should be lawful to export from thence clothes and accoutrements for such regiments on the Irish establishment as were employed abroad; and that a bounty of five shillings per barrel should be allowed on all flax seeds imported into Ireland, as a remedy against the evils apprehended from the cutting off the great American supply of that article. A few other similar resolutions were passed with a special view to the benefit of Ireland.

The increased suffering of that country

was at this time shown in the turbulence of its peasantry. During the year 1775, the outrages of the whiteboys became again frequent, and gave alarm to the government. Associations were formed to suppress these insurgents, which led to serious conflicts between them and the Irish gentry. On the 17th of August, they broke into the house of a tithe collector near Castlecomber, and seizing upon the collector, dragged him out of his bed, blinded him, carried him naked to a place four miles from his own house and two from Kilkenny, and there slit his ears, and after striking him several times on the head with a loaded whip, were on the point of burying him alive, when one of their party interceded for him so forcibly that, after being sworn to institute no pursuit or prosecution, he was allowed to depart. In the November following, a party of these miscreants paid a midnight visit to Johnstown, in the county of Kilkenny, where, besides a variety of less serious outrages on the place and its inhabitants, they seized the priest, wrapped him up naked in brambles and thorns, and in this condition buried him to the neck; threatening to treat in a similar manner all priests who fell into their hands that should preach against them, or endeavour to persuade people from joining them. In the same month a gentleman of Clonmel, named Ambrose Power, having entrusted himself in their hands after they had sworn to do him no injury, was inhumanly murdered by the whiteboys in that neighbourhood. Their depredations had become so serious, that the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation offering a reward of a thousand pounds for the first person who should be discovered as an accomplice in the last-mentioned murder, and three hundred pounds each for the next twelve, with a pardon to the informer, if he were not one of the actual perpetrators of the murder. Several of them were soon after captured by the spirited exertions of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, and they were tried and convicted at Clonmel, and immediately hanged and quartered by torchlight. This and the further exertions of the authorities helped to keep them in check.

When lord Harcourt opened the parliament, in the October of 1775, he took care to remind them of the recent acts of the British legislature in their favour. "By the act which extends the great advantage of British fisheries to Ireland," he said "a

source of industry and wealth is opened to you which has made other nations great and flourishing. That act which allows the clothing and accoutrements necessary for his majesty's forces paid from the revenue of this kingdom to be exported from Ireland, is a particular mark of the royal favour; and even that which allows the importation of rape-seed into Great Britain from this kingdom, under certain regulations, connected with those salutary laws passed in our last session, form such a system of agriculture and improvement as will, I trust, secure riches and plenty to the people of Ireland. A bounty granted by Great Britain upon the importation of flax is so marked a recommendation of the linen manufacture, that it becomes needless for me to urge the most persevering application to that staple of the country."

However grateful the Irish may have felt for these trifling concessions, they seem not to have been prepared for the return which the English ministers determined to exact from them. On the 23rd of November the house of commons was surprised with a message from the lord lieutenant, informing them that he had "his majesty's commands to acquaint you, that the situation of affairs in part of his American dominions is such as makes it necessary, for the honour and safety of the British empire, and for the support of his majesty's just rights, to desire the concurrence of his faithful parliament of Ireland, in sending out of this kingdom a force not exceeding four thousand men, part of the number of troops upon this establishment, appointed to remain in this kingdom for its defence; and to declare to you his majesty's most gracious intention, that such part of his army as shall be spared out of this kingdom to answer the present exigency of affairs, is not to be continued a charge upon this establishment so long as they shall remain out of this kingdom. I am further commanded to inform you, that as his majesty had nothing more at heart than the security and protection of his people of Ireland, it is his intention, if it shall be the desire of parliament, to replace such forces as may be sent out of this kingdom by an equal number of foreign protestant troops, as soon as his majesty shall be enabled so to do; the charge of such troops to be defrayed without any expense to this kingdom." A committee was immediately appointed to consider of this message, and it reported in concurrence with the wishes of government,

that the four thousand men might be spared from the establishment, provided they were not a charge to it during their absence, and a resolution was proposed to the house to that effect.

This resolution, however, did not pass without warm opposition. The patriots collected all their force, and they moved as an amendment the insertion at the commencement of the resolution, of the following words:—"That having, in consequence of his majesty's gracious recommendation, and of our mature consideration of the state of this country, repeatedly declared our opinion that twelve thousand men are necessary for the defence of this kingdom; being sensible that it would be a violation of the trust reposed in us, should we have subjected our constituents to a very heavy expense in times of perfect tranquillity, for the purpose of providing a force which we are to part with in times of danger, and being convinced that since the time at which we first declared twelve thousand men to be necessary, the probability of a war has increased and not diminished; it is now the opinion of this house," &c. (running into the original resolution of granting the four thousand men). This amendment was rejected by a majority of a hundred and three against fifty-eight; but the court was surprised and mortified at being defeated by a hundred and six against sixty-eight, on the second part of the lord lieutenant's proposal, the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom. The house of commons made known their determination in an address to the lord lieutenant, in which, after declaring their loyalty, and expressing their willingness to contribute to the support of the crown, they requested, "That your excellency will be pleased to return his majesty our most grateful thanks for his gracious declaration, that his majesty hath nothing more at heart than the security and protection of his people of Ireland, of which his majesty has given a signal proof, by his offer, if it shall be the desire of parliament, to replace such forces as may be sent out of this kingdom, by an equal number of protestant troops, the charge thereof to be defrayed without any expense to this kingdom. And we entreat your excellency, that you will be pleased to assure his majesty, that, fully sensible of his majesty's benevolent attention to his faithful commons, after mature deliberation, they have agreed not to desire that the four thousand troops, which may be sent out of this kingdom in the present exi-

gency, should be replaced as mentioned in your excellency's message; confiding in the vigilance and care of government, and trusting that with its assistance, his majesty's loyal people of Ireland may be able so to exert themselves as to make such aid at this juncture unnecessary."

The resolution of the Irish commons was unpalatable to the government for more reasons than one, and they had struggled earnestly in the house for the admission of the foreign troops, so that it was not till after very violent debates that the question was decided in favour of the patriotic party. It was the more mortifying to the ministry, as they confided in the large majorities which they seemed to command, and it was rendered still more annoying to them when, to remedy the weakness occasioned by the present, as well as former, great and continual drain of their standing forces, an attempt was made by the patriotic party to embody the militia; a measure much more disagreeable to government, than even the rejection of the Hessian or Hanoverian forces, and which therefore they exerted themselves successfully to negative. But however great the feeling in the Irish parliament, the ministry had to experience a still greater outburst of indignation in the English house of commons. They had acted hastily and rashly in making an open engagement for the disposal of the public money to pay for the Irish troops without having consulted the representative body which was to grant it, and they had touched a very sore point with the English people in proposing to introduce foreign troops into so intimate a portion of the British empire. There was great inconsistency too, after the many attempts which had been made of late years to treat Ireland as a part of the kingdom dependent on the British legislature, that the ministers should now treat with it as a separate dependency of the crown. Accordingly, after the Christmas recess, on the 15th of February, 1776, Mr. Thomas Townshend (afterwards lord Sydney), rose in his place in the English house of commons to call its attention to what he stigmatized as a breach of the privileges of the house, and informed them, "that the earl of Harcourt, lord lieutenant-general, and general governor of Ireland, did, on the 23rd of November last, in breach of the privileges and in derogation of the honour and authority of this house, send a written message to the house of commons of the parliament of Ireland,

signed with his own hand, to the following effect;” and then recited the message, upon which he moved, that a committee be appointed to enquire into the matter of the said complaint, and to report the same, as it shall appear to them, to the house. He supported his motion with considerable ability, and was well seconded by his party, who maintained, that the privileges of that house, though applied to themselves individually or collectively in a more confined sense, were the indubitable right of all the commons of England, who had one general interest in them, and that though each of these was an object of consideration, they all sunk to a very inferior degree of importance, when at all placed in opposition to, or compared with, that inestimable privilege the power of granting money, of holding the purse of their constituents, and of guarding it from the hands of violence, art, or fraud. This was a trust of the first magnitude, which, in fact, included every other; for while that was preserved inviolate, the crown would remain under the constitutional control of parliament; but whenever that was wrested by open force, defeated by indirect means, or evaded by fraud, the liberties and privilege of the people would be annihilated. They pointed to the wise, commendable, and well-founded jealousy shown by the commons, when at any time, even the other house had interfered in the smallest degree with that great privilege; but when any attempts of the sort were made by the crown, or by its ministerial agents, they immediately caught the alarm, and however they were before divided, had, at all times, uniformly united, as if actuated by one soul, in resisting the smallest encroachment upon their power of granting or refusing their own money, and that of their constituents. They represented, that the message in question contained matters of the most suspicious and alarming nature, for if the conditions it held out had been accepted, the parliament of England would have been pledged to that of Ireland for the payment of eight thousand men, only to have the use of four thousand; so that Ireland was to be bribed into an acceptance of this insidious bargain, by retaining her usual establishment as to number, while she was to be eased of one-third of the burthen. Such a proposition, they said, could only have originated from the worst designs, as the absurdity was too glaring to be charged to any degree of folly; but the nature of the bargain was a mat-

ter of little consequence, when compared with that double violation of the constitution, that daring temerity of engaging for the payment of great sums of money, and venturing to propose the introduction of foreign forces, without the consent of parliament. It was intimated by some that no doubt could be entertained of the designs from whence these propositions originated; one being an experiment on the Irish parliament, to try if it could be induced to consent to the reception of foreign troops, thereby to establish a precedent which might be afterwards applied to other purposes. The other also had its fixed object, it was a scheme, they said, however deep, formed on very simple principles, and went directly to vest in the crown the virtual power of taxing, as opportunity might serve, both Great Britain and Ireland. In Ireland the minister was to be taught to ask some favour; then England was to be pledged; in England again, when such circumstances occurred, as rendered the attempt impracticable, Ireland was to be taxed, to maintain the supremacy of the British legislature. In the mean time, it prepared the minds of the people, and habituated them to such notions as would by degrees be the means of reducing the parliament of each to be the mere instrumental agents of the crown, without the least degree of will or independence whatever.

The ministers were embarrassed by this attack; for the matter was serious. The offer of introducing foreign troops without the previous consent of parliament, indeed to introduce them at all as a permanent part of our military establishment, could not be regarded as a matter of indifference. Moreover, on this occasion no small marks of want of concert and system appeared in the grounds upon which this measure was explained or defended in the debate. Lord North disavowed those specific instructions upon which it was supposed the message must have been founded, but acknowledged his general co-operation in matters relative to the government of Ireland. He disclaimed all responsibility whatever for the conduct of his majesty's servants in that kingdom, alleging that the viceroy might have mistaken or exceeded his instructions; that he might not have conveyed his meaning in the clearest terms, but that there was no relation between the British ministry and the king's servants in that country which rendered the former in any

degree accountable for this matter, and consequently they could not be affected by any censure grounded upon them. They, however, justified the first proposition in the message as referring to the promise which the king had before made to the parliament of Ireland, that twelve thousand men constituting the forces on that establishment should always be left for the defence of the kingdom. In that sense the minister said the proposal was strictly defensible, and came clearly and legally within the constitutional exercise of the royal prerogative. As to the second proposition, it was allowed that the paying for eight thousand men, when four thousand only were obtained, appeared to be contrary to ordinary notions of economy; that, however, if the men could not be obtained upon better terms, the measure was defensible on the ground of necessity; and if there were also sufficient reasons for thinking it better to employ Irish troops than foreigners in North America, it would be a justification of the latter part of the same proposition. Whilst the official ministers rested their defence on these grounds, a totally different mode of defence was adopted by some of those who were the great sticklers for prerogative, and who were then known by the title of the "king's friends." They maintained the high prerogative right of introducing foreign forces into any part of the king's dominions whenever the exigencies of state rendered it expedient or necessary. They also insisted that the message was worded in a manner perfectly agreeable to official usage; that the king had a right to bind himself by promise to his Irish parliament, and to make an application for a release from that promise. That the measure was in exact conformity with, or more properly a part of, those undoubted branches of the prerogative by which the crown raised troops of its own will, and then applied to parliament for their payment, or entered into treaties for the same purpose with foreign princes, and pledged it for a due performance of the articles. Some other supporters of ministers, not satisfied with endeavouring by explanation to weaken the offensive character of the message, tried to prove that the message meant the direct reverse to the interpretation which had been given to it; they contended that the whole parliament of Ireland had not only totally misunderstood the meaning of the message, and misconceived the lord lieutenant's inten-

tions, but that they had gone through a series of public business founded upon that deception and error, without the smallest light being offered by the nobleman in question, though the speaker had, at the head of the house of commons, made a public declaration of his and their blindness in his presence.

Some of the opposition, on the other hand, considered the business as of somewhat a less dangerous nature, since the scheme was not carried into execution. They held, that the spirit and magnanimity of Ireland in rejecting the foreign troops, and in refusing to accept the offer for lessening her own burthen by throwing a part of it upon Great Britain, had already obviated the mischievous tendency of that measure; so that the only object of censure now remaining, was the evil intention from which it originated. They also held, that the whole weight of the censure would fall upon the lord lieutenant, who was merely an agent, while those who were really culpable might, from some crooked motive of policy, rejoice in the blow given to the Irish viceroy. After a very warm debate, the motion for a committee was rejected by a majority of two hundred and twenty-four to a hundred and six. A motion was then made for laying the votes of the Irish commons relative to this business, before the house, which passed in the negative without a division. The following motion was then made:—"That it is highly derogatory to the honour, and a violent breach of the privileges of this house, and a dangerous infringement of the constitution, for any person whatever to presume to pledge his majesty's royal word to the house of commons of the parliament of Ireland, that any part of the troops upon the establishment of that kingdom shall, upon being sent out of that kingdom, become a charge upon Great Britain without the consent of this house; or for any person to presume to offer to the house of commons of the parliament of Ireland, without the consent of this house, that such national troops so sent out of Ireland, shall be replaced by foreign troops at the expense of Great Britain." This motion was similarly rejected, without a division, and thus the affair was allowed to rest.

By these and some other circumstances the ministerial majority was gradually loosened, and, though it was always sufficient for the purposes of the government, many of those who usually joined in it were now

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